













THE  
ANCIENT HISTORY

OF

THE EGYPTIANS, CARTHAGINIANS, ASSYRIANS,  
BABYLONIANS, MEDES AND PERSIANS,  
GRECIANS, AND MACEDONIANS.

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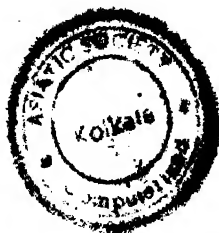
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**BOOK XX.**

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THE

**HISTORY**

OF

**ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.**

CONTINUED.

This twentieth book contains three articles. In the first the history of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, is related. He reigned eleven years, and was dethroned in the year of the world 3836. The second article goes on from the defeat of Perseus to the ruin of Corinth, which was taken and burnt in the year of the world 3858, and includes something more than twenty-one years. The third article contains the history of Syria and that of Egypt, which are generally joined together. That of Syria comprises almost 100 years from Antiochus Eupator, son of Antiochus Epiphanes, to Antiochus Asiaticus, under whom Syria became part of the Roman empire, that is to say, from the year of the world 3840 to 3939. The history of Egypt includes also 100 years, from the twentieth year of Ptolemy Philometor, till the expulsion of Ptolemy Auletes ; that is, from the year of the world 3845 to the year 3946.

**ARTICLE I.**

**THIS** article contains eleven years, being the duration of the reign of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, from the year of the world 3826 to 3837.

## HISTORY OF

### SECT. I.

Perseus prepares secretly for a war against the Romans. He endeavours a reconciliation with the Achæans in vain. His secret measures not unknown at Rome. Eumenes arrives there, and informs the senate of them. Perseus attempts to rid himself of that prince, first by assassination, and afterwards by poison. The Romans break with Perseus. Different opinions and dispositions of the kings and states, in regard to the Macedonian war. After several embassies on both sides, the war is declared in form.

A. M. 3826.  
Aut. J. C. 178.

The death of Philip happened very opportunely for suspending the war against the Romans," and giving them time to prepare for it. That prince had formed a strange design, and had already begun to put it in execution ; this was to bring a considerable body of troops, both horse and foot, from European Samatia, which now forms part of Poland. Certain Gauls had settled near the mouths of Borysthenes, now called the Nieper, and had taken the name of Bastarnæ. That people were neither accustomed to till the earth, to feed cattle, nor to engage in commerce : they lived by war, and sold their services to any people that would employ them. After they had passed the Danube, Philip was to have settled them upon the lands of the Dardanians, whom he had resolved utterly to exterminate ; because, being very near neighbours of Macedonia, they never failed to take every favourable occasion for making inroads into it. The Bastarnæ were to leave their wives and children in this new settlement, and to march into Italy, in order to enrich themselves with the booty they were in hopes of making there. Whatever the success might be, Philip conceived he should find great advantages in it : If it should happen that the Bastarnæ were conquered by the Romans, he should easily be consoled for their defeat by seeing himself delivered from his dangerous neighbours, the Dardanians, by their means ; and if their irruption into Italy succeeded, whilst the Romans were employed in repulsing all these new enemies, he should have time to recover all he had lost in Greece. The Bastarnæ were already upon their march, and were considerably advanced, when they received advice of Philip's death. This news, and several accidents that befell them, suspended their first design, and they dispersed into different parts. Antigonus, whom Philip intended for his successor, had been employed against his will in negotiating this affair. At his return, Perseus put him to death ; and to secure himself the better on the throne, sent ambassadors to the Romans, to demand that they would renew with him the alliance they had made with his father, and that the senate would acknowledge him king. His sole intent was to gain time.

Part of the Bastarnæ had pursued their march,<sup>p</sup> and were actually at war with the Dardanians. The Romans took umbrage at it. Perseus excused himself by his ambassadors, and represented that he had not sent for them, and had no share<sup>q</sup> in their enterprise. The senate, without making any farther inquiry into the affair, contented themselves with advising him to take care that he observed inviolably the treaty made with the Romans. The Bastarnæ, after having gained some advantages at first, were at length reduced, the greatest part of them at least, to return into their own country. It is said, that having found the Danube frozen over, in endeavouring to pass it, the ice broke under them, and a great number of them were swallowed up in the river.

It was known at Rome that Perseus had sent ambassadors to Carthage,<sup>q</sup> and that the senate had given them audience in the night, in the temple of Æsculapius. It was thought proper to send ambassadors into Macedonia to observe the conduct of that prince. He had lately reduced the Dolopians,<sup>r</sup> who refused to obey him, by force of arms. After that expedition he advanced towards Delphi, upon pretence of consulting the oracle; but in reality, as it was believed, of having an opportunity to make the tour of Greece, and negotiate alliances. This journey at first alarmed the whole country, and occasioned so general a consternation, that even Eumenes did not think himself safe in Pergamus. But Perseus, as soon as he had consulted the oracle, returned into his own kingdom, passing through Phthiotis, Achaia, and Thessaly, without committing any hostilities in his march. He afterwards sent either ambassadors or circular letters to all the states through which he passed, to demand that they would forget such subjects of discontent as they might have had under the reign of his father, which ought to be buried in his grave.

His principal attention was to reconcile himself with the Achæans. Their league, and the city of Athens, had carried their hatred and resentment so high against the Macedonians, as by a decree to prohibit all intercourse with them. This declared enmity gave the slaves, who fled from Achaia, the opportunity of retiring into Macedonia, where they found an assured asylum, and knew they should not be followed or claimed after that general interdiction. Perseus caused all these slaves to be seized, and sent them back to the Achæans, with an obliging letter, in which he exhorted them to take effectual methods for preventing their slaves from making his dominions their place

<sup>p</sup> Freinshem. in *Iiv.*

<sup>q</sup> *Iiv.* l. xli. n. 27—29.

<sup>r</sup> Dolopia was a region of Thessaly, upon the confines of Epirus.

of refuge any longer. This was tacitly demanding the re-establishment of their ancient intercourse. Xenarchus, who was at that time in office, and desirous of making his court to the king, seconded his demand very strongly, and was supported by those who were most solicitous for recovering their slaves.

Callicrates, one of the principal persons of the assembly, who was convinced that the safety of the league consisted in the inviolable observance of the treaty concluded with the Romans, represented, that a reconciliation with Macedonia was a direct infraction of it, whilst that kingdom was making preparations to declare war against Rome as soon as possible. He concluded, that it was necessary to leave things in their present condition, till time should ascertain whether their fears were just or not. That if Macedonia continued in peace with Rome, it would be time enough when that appeared, to re-establish an intercourse with them; without which, a reunion would be precipitate and dangerous.

Acron, Xenarchus's brother, who spoke after Callicrates, did his utmost to prove that such terrors were without foundation; that the question did not relate to the making of a new treaty and alliance with Perseus, and much less to coming to a rupture with the Romans, but solely to reverse a decree, for which the injustice of Philip might have given room, but which Perseus, who had no share in his father's conduct, was undoubtedly far from deserving. That that prince could not but be assured, that, in case of a war against the Romans, the league would not fail to declare for them. *But, added he, whilst the peace subsists, if animosities and dissensions are not made to cease entirely, it is at least reasonable to suspend them, and to let them sleep for a while.*

Nothing was concluded in this assembly. As it was taken amiss that the king had contented himself with only sending them a letter; he afterwards sent ambassadors to the assembly, which had been summoned to Megalopolis. But those who apprehended giving Rome offence, used such effectual means, that they were refused audience.

The ambassadors sent by the senate into Macedonia,<sup>r</sup> reported, at their return, that they could not get access to the king, upon pretence that he was sometimes abroad, and sometimes indisposed; two subterfuges equally false. That, for the rest, it appeared plainly, that great preparations were making for war, and that it was reasonable to expect it would speedily break out. They gave an account also of the state in which they found Ætolia; that it was in great commotion from domestic divisions, which

A. M. 3831.

Ant. J. C. 173.

<sup>r</sup> Liv. l. xlii. n. 2. 5, 6.

the violence of two contending parties had carried to the utmost excess ; and that their authority had not been capable of uniting and appeasing the persons at the head of them.

As Rome expected a war with Macedonia, preparations were made for it by the religious ceremonies, which amongst the Romans always preceded declarations of war ; that is to say, by expiation of prodigies, and various sacrifices offered to the gods.

Marcellus was one of the ambassadors whom the senate had sent into Greece. After having appeased to the utmost of his power the troubles of Ætolia, he went into Peloponnesus, where he had caused the assembly of the Achæans to be summoned. He extremely applauded their zeal, in having constantly adhered to the decree, which prohibited all intercourse with the kings of Macedonia. This was an open declaration of what the Romans thought with regard to Perseus.

That prince was incessantly soliciting the Grecian cities, by frequent embassies and magnificent promises, far exceeding his power to perform. They were sufficiently inclined in his favour, and far more than in that of Eumenes, though the latter had rendered great services to most of those cities ; and those who formed part of his dominions would not have changed condition with such as were entirely free. There was, however, no comparison between the two princes in point of character and manners. Perseus was utterly infamous for his crimes and cruelties. He was accused of having murdered his wife with his own hands, after the death of his father ; of having made away with Apelles, whose aid he had used in destroying his brother ; and of having committed many other murders, both within and without his kingdom. On the contrary, Eumenes had rendered himself esteemed by his tenderness for his brothers and relations ; by his justice in governing his subjects ; and by his generous propensity to do good and to serve others. Notwithstanding this difference of character, they gave Perseus the preference ; whether it was that the ancient grandeur of the Macedonian kings inspired them with contempt for a state whose origin was wholly recent, and whose birth they had witnessed ; or that the Greeks had some change in view ; or because they were pleased with having some support in him to hold the Romans in respect.

Perseus was particularly attentive in cultivating the amity of the Rhodians,\* and in separating them from the side of Rome. It was from Rhodes that Laodice, the daughter of Seleucus, went to share the Macedonian throne with Perseus, by marrying him. The Rhodians had fitted him out as fine a fleet as could be imagined. Perseus had furnished the materials, and

\* Polyb. Legat. lx. lxi.



gave gold ribands to every soldier and seaman who came with Laodice. A sentence passed by Rome in favour of the Lycians against the people of Rhodes, had extremely exasperated the latter. Perseus endeavoured to take advantage of their resentment against Rome to attach them to himself.

The Romans were not ignorant of the measures taken by Perseus to bring over the states of Greece into his views;<sup>t</sup> Eumenes came expressly to Rome to inform them at large of his proceedings. He was received there with all possible marks of distinction. He declared that, besides his desire to pay his homage to the gods and men, to whom he owed an establishment which left him nothing to wish, he had undertaken this voyage expressly to advise the senate in person to be upon their guard against the enterprises of Perseus. That that prince had inherited his father's hatred for the Romans as well as his crown, and omitted no preparations for a war which he believed in a manner fallen to him in right of succession. That the long peace Macedonia had enjoyed supplied him with the means of raising numerous and formidable troops; that he had a rich and powerful kingdom; that he was himself in the flower of his youth, full of ardour for military expeditions, to which he had been early inured in the sight and under the conduct of his father, and in which he had since much exercised himself, in different enterprises against his neighbours. That he was highly considered by the cities of Greece and Asia, though it was impossible to say by what sort of merit he had acquired that influence, unless it were by his enmity for the Romans. That he was upon as good terms with powerful kings. That he had espoused the daughter of Seleucus, and given his sister in marriage to Prusias. That he had found means to engage the Bœotians in his interest, — a very warlike people, whom his father had never been able to bring over; and that, but for the opposition of a few persons well affected to the Romans, he certainly would have renewed the alliance with the Achæan confederates. That it was to Perseus the Ætolians applied for aid in their domestic troubles, and not to the Romans. That, supported by these powerful allies, he made such preparations for war himself, as put him into a condition to dispense with any foreign aid. That he had 30,000 foot, 5000 horse, and provisions for ten years. That, besides his immense annual revenues from the mines, he had enough to pay 10,000 foreign troops for a like number of years, without reckoning those of his own kingdom. That he had laid up in his arsenals a sufficient quantity of arms to equip three armies as great as that he had actually on foot; and that, though Macedonia should be incapable of supplying him

<sup>t</sup> Liv. l. xlii. n. 11—14.

with troops, Thrace (which was an inexhaustible nursery of soldiers) was at his devotion. Eumenes added, that he advanced nothing upon simple conjecture, but upon the certain knowledge of facts, founded upon the best information. *For the rest*, said he, in concluding, *having discharged the duty which my regard and gratitude for the Roman people made indispensable, and delivered my conscience, it only remains for me to implore all the gods and goddesses, that they would inspire you with sentiments and measures consistent with the glory of your empire, and the preservation of your friends and allies, whose safety depends upon yours.*

The senators were much affected with this discourse. Nothing that passed in the senate, except that king Eumenes had spoken, was known abroad, or suffered to take air at first; so inviolably were the deliberations of that august assembly kept secret.

The ambassadors from king Perseus had audience some days after. They found the senate highly prejudiced against their master; and what Harpalus (one of them) said in his speech, inflamed them still more against him. It was, that Perseus desired to be believed upon his own word, when he declared he had neither done nor said any thing that argued an enemy. That, as for the rest, if he discovered that they were obstinately bent upon a rupture with him, he should know how to defend himself with valour. That the fortune and events of war are always hazardous and uncertain.

The cities of Greece and Asia, anxious for the effect which these embassies might produce at Rome, had also sent deputies thither under different pretexes, especially the Rhodians, who suspected that Eumenes had joined them in his accusation against Perseus; and they were not deceived. In an audience granted them, they inveighed violently against Eumenes, reproached him with having stirred up Lycias against the Rhodians, and of having rendered himself more insupportable to Asia than Antiochus himself. This discourse was very agreeable to Asiatic people, who secretly favoured Perseus; but very much displeased the senate, and had no other effect than to make them suspect the Rhodians, and hold Eumenes in higher consideration, from this kind of conspiracy which they saw formed against him. He was dismissed in consequence with the highest honours and great presents.

Harpalus having returned into Macedonia with the utmost diligence, reported to Perseus, " that he had left the Romans in a disposition not to defer long a declaration of war against him. The king was not displeased with his account, believing himself in a condition, with the great preparations he had made, to sup-

port it with success. He was more particularly glad of a rupture with Eumenes, from whom he suspected that Rome had been apprised of his most secret measures ; and began with declaring against him, not by the way of arms, but by that of the most criminal treachery. He despatched Evander of Crete, the general of his auxiliary forces, with three Macedonians, who had already been employed by him upon like occasions, to assassinate that prince. Perseus knew that he was preparing for a journey to Delphi, and directed his assassins to Praxo, a woman of condition, in whose house he had lodged when he was in that city. They lay in ambush in a defile, so narrow that two men could not pass abreast. When the king came there, the assassins, from the heights where they had posted themselves, rolled two great stones down upon him, one of which fell upon his head, and laid him senseless upon the earth, and the other wounded him considerably in the shoulder ; after which they poured a hail of lesser stones upon him. All that were with him fled, except one who stayed to assist him. The assassins, believing the king dead, made off to the top of mount Parnassus. His officers, when they returned, found him without motion, almost without life. When he came a little to himself, he was carried to Corinth, and from thence into the island of Ægina, where great care was taken to cure his wounds, but with so much secrecy that no one was admitted into his chamber ; which gave reason to believe him dead. That report spread even to Asia. Attalus gave credit to it too readily for a good brother ; and looking upon himself already as king, was preparing to espouse the widow. Eumenes, at their first interview, could not forbear making him some gentle reproaches upon that head, though he had at first resolved to dissemble his sentiments of his brother's imprudence.

Perseus had attempted at the same time to poison him by the means of Rammius, who had made a voyage into Macedonia. He was a rich citizen of Brundisium, who received in his house all the Roman generals, foreign noblemen, and even princes, who passed through that city. The king put into his hands a very subtle poison, for him to give to Eumenes when he should come to his house. Rammius did not dare to refuse this commission, however great his horror for it, lest the king should make a trial of the draught upon himself ; but he set out with a full resolution not to execute it. Having been informed that Valerius was at Chalcis, upon his return from his embassy into Macedonia, he went to him, discovered the whole, and attended him to Rome. Valerius also carried Praxo thither along with him, at whose house the assassins had lodged in Delphi. When the senate had heard these two witnesses, after such black attempts, they thought it unnecessary to deliberate longer

upon declaring war against a prince who made use of assassinations and poison to rid himself of his enemies, and proceeded to take due measures for the success of so important an enterprise.

Two embassies which arrived at Rome about the same time, gave the senate great pleasure. The first came from Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, the fifth of that name. He sent the son, whom he intended for his successor, to Rome, to be educated there, from his earliest infancy, in the principles of the Romans, and to form himself in the great art of reigning, by the conversation and study of their great men; and he desired that the Roman people would take him under their care and tuition. The young prince was received with all the marks of distinction that could be shown him; and the senate caused a commodious house to be provided for him and his train at the expense of the public. The other embassy was from the Thracians, who desired to be admitted into the alliance and amity of the Romans.

As soon as Eumenes<sup>x</sup> was entirely recovered, he repaired to Pergamus, and applied himself in making preparations for war with uncommon ardour, inflamed more than ever by the new crime of his enemy. The senate sent ambassadors to compliment him upon the extreme danger he had escaped; and despatched others at the same time to confirm the kings, their allies, in their ancient amity with the Roman people.

They had sent also to Perseus to make their complaints, and to demand satisfaction. These ambassadors, seeing they could not have audience, though many days had elapsed, set out in order to return to Rome. The king caused them to be recalled. They represented that by the treaty concluded with Philip his father, and afterwards renewed with him, it was expressly stipulated, that he should not carry the war out of his own kingdom, nor attack the Roman people. They then enumerated all his infractions of that treaty, and demanded that restitution should be made to the allies, of all he had taken from them by force. The king replied only with rage and reproaches, taxing the Romans with their avarice and pride, and the insupportable haughtiness with which they treated kings, to whom they pretended to dictate laws as to their slaves. Upon their demanding a positive answer, he referred them to the next day, as he intended to give it them in writing. The substance of it was, that the treaty concluded with his father did not affect him: that if he had accepted it, it was not because he approved it, but because he could not do otherwise, not being sufficiently established upon the throne: that if the Romans were willing to enter into a new treaty, and would propose reasonable con-

<sup>x</sup> Liv. l. xlii. n. 25—27.

ditions, he should consider what it was necessary for him to do. The king, after having delivered this writing, withdrew abruptly ; and the ambassadors declared that the Roman people renounced his alliance and amity. The king returned in great wrath, and told them, in a menacing tone, that they were to take care to quit his kingdom in three days. At their return to Rome, they reported the result of their embassy ; and added, that they had observed, in all the cities of Macedonia through which they passed, that great preparations were making for war.

The ambassadors that had been sent to the kings in alliance with the Romans, reported that they found Eumenes in Asia, Antiochus in Syria, and Ptolemy in Egypt, well inclined to the Roman people, and ready to do every thing that should be desired of them. The senate would not grant audience to the ambassadors of Gentius, king of Illyria, who was accused of holding intelligence with Perseus ; and deferred hearing those from the Rhodians, who had also rendered themselves suspected, till the new consuls entered upon their office. However, not to lose time, orders were given for fitting out a fleet of fifty galleys, to sail as soon as possible for Macedonia, which was executed without delay.

P. Licinius Crassus and C. Cassius Longinus, were elected consuls, and Macedonia fell by lot to Licinius.

Not only Rome and Italy, but all the kings and cities, as well of Europe as Asia, had their eyes fixed upon the two great powers on the point of entering into a war.

Eumenes was animated by an ancient hatred against Perseus, and still more by the new crime, which had almost cost him his life in his journey to Delphi.

Prusias, king of Bithynia, had resolved to stand neuter, and wait the event. He flattered himself that the Romans would not insist upon his taking up arms against his wife's brother ; and hoped that, if Perseus were victorious, that prince would easily acquiesce in his neutrality at the request of his sister.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, besides having promised to aid the Romans, inviolably adhered, either in war or peace, to the party which Eumènes espoused, after having contracted an affinity with him, by giving him his daughter in marriage.

Antiochus had formed a design to possess himself of Egypt, relying upon the weakness of the king's youth, and the indolence and cowardice of those who had the care of his person and affairs. He imagined that he had found a plausible pretext for making war upon that prince, by disputing Coele-syria with him ; and that the Romans, employed in the war with Macedonia, would not obstruct his ambitious designs. He had,

however, declared to the senate by his ambassadors, that they might dispose of all his forces, and had repeated the same promise to the ambassadors whom the Romans had sent to him.

Ptolemy, through his tender age, was incapable of resolving for himself. His guardians were making preparations for the war with Antiochus, in defence of Coele-syria, and promised to contribute every thing in their power to aid the Romans in the Macedonian war.

Masinissa supplied the Romans with corn, troops, and elephants, and intended to send his son Misagenes to join them. His plan and political motives were the effect of his desire to possess himself of the Carthaginian territories. If the Romans conquered, he conceived it impossible to execute that project, because they would never suffer him to ruin the Carthaginians entirely; in which case he should continue in his present condition. If, on the contrary, the Roman power, which alone, out of policy, prevented him from extending his conquests, and at that time supported Carthage, should happen to be reduced, he expected, in consequence, to make himself master of all Africa.

Gentius, king of Illyria, had only rendered himself much suspected by the Romans, without knowing, however, which party he should choose; and it seemed, that if he adhered to either, it would be rather out of caprice and by chance, than from any fixed plan or regular project.

As for Cotys of Thrace, king of the Odrysæ, he had declared openly for the Macedonians.

Such was the disposition of the kings with regard to the Macedonian war. As for the states and free cities, the populace were universally inclined in favour of Perseus and the Macedonians. The opinions of the persons in authority amongst those states and cities were divided into three classes. Some of them abandoned themselves so abjectly to the Romans, that by their blind devotion to them they lost all credit and authority among their citizens; and of these, few concerned themselves about the justice of the Roman government; most of them having no views but to their private interest, convinced that their influence in their cities would prevail in proportion to the services they should render the Romans. The second class was of those who gave entirely into the king's measures; some because their debts and the bad state of their affairs made them desire a change; others, because the pomp that reigns in the courts of kings, upon which Perseus valued himself, agreed best with their own pride and vanity. A third class, which were the most prudent and judicious, if it were absolutely necessary to take either part, would have preferred the Romans'

to the king's ; but had it been left to their choice, they would have been best satisfied that neither of the parties should become too powerful by reducing the other ; but, preserving a kind of equality and balance, should always continue in peace ; because then one of them, by taking the weaker states under its protection, whenever the other should attempt to oppress them, would render the condition of them all more happy and secure. In this kind of indeterminate neutrality they saw, as from a place of safety, the battles and dangers of those who had engaged either in one party or the other.

The Romans, after having, according to their laudable custom, discharged all the duties of religion, offered solemn prayers and sacrifices to the gods, and made vows for the happy success of the enterprise for which they had been so long preparing, declared war in form against Perseus, king of Macedonia, except he made immediate satisfaction in regard to the several grievances already more than once explained to him.

At the same time arrived ambassadors from him, who said that the king their master was much amazed at their having made troops enter Macedonia, and that he was ready to give the senate all the satisfaction that could be required. As it was known that Perseus sought only to gain time, they were answered, that consul Licinius would be soon in Macedonia, with his army ; and that if the king desired peace in earnest, he might send his ambassadors to him, but that he need not give himself the trouble of sending any more into Italy, where they would not be received ; and for themselves, they were ordered to quit it in twelve days.

The Romans omitted nothing that might contribute to the success of their arms.\* They despatched ambassadors on all sides to their allies, to animate and confirm those who persisted to adhere to them, to determine such as were fluctuating and uncertain, and to intimidate those who appeared inclined to break with them.

Whilst they were at Larissa, in Thessaly, ambassadors arrived there from Perseus, who had orders to address themselves to Marcius, one of the Roman ambassadors, to remind him of the ancient ties of friendship his father had contracted with king Philip, and to demand an interview between him and their master. Marcius answered, that his father had often spoken of king Philip's friendship and hospitality ; and appointed a place near the river Peneus for the interview. They went thither some days after. The king had a great train, and was surrounded with a great crowd of lords and guards. The ambassadors were no less attended ; many of the citizens of Larissa, and of the deputies from other states, who had repaired thither, making

\* Liv. l. xlii. n. 37. 44. Polyb. Legat. lxiii.

it a duty to go with them, well pleased with that occasion of carrying home what they should see and hear. They had besides a curiosity to be present at an interview between a great king and the ambassadors of the most powerful people in the world.

After some difficulties which arose about the ceremonial, and which were soon removed in favour of the Romans, who had the precedency, they began to confer. Their meeting was highly respectful on both sides. They did not treat each other like enemies, but rather as friends, bound by the sacred ties of hospitality. Marcius, who spoke first, began by excusing himself for the unhappy necessity he was under of reproaching a prince for whom he had the highest consideration. He afterwards expatiated upon all the causes of complaint the Roman people had against him, and his various infractions of treaties with them. He insisted very much on his attempt upon Eumenes, and concluded with professing that he should be very glad the king would supply him with good reasons for his conduct, and thereby enable him to plead his cause, and justify him before the senate.

Perseus, after having touched lightly upon the affair of Eumenes, which he seemed astonished that any one should presume to impute to him without any proof, rather than to so many others of that prince's enemies, entered into a long detail, and replied, as well as he was able, to the several heads of the accusation against him. *Of this I am assured,*<sup>y</sup> said he, in concluding, *that my conscience does not reproach me with having committed any fault knowingly, and with premeditated design, against the Romans; and if I have done any thing unwarily, apprized as I now am, it is in my power to amend it. I have certainly done nothing to deserve the implacable enmity with which I am pursued, as if I had been guilty of the blackest and most enormous crimes, which were neither to be expiated nor forgiven. It must be without foundation, that the clemency and wisdom of the Roman people are universally extolled, if for such slight causes as scarce merit complaint and remonstrance, they take up arms and make war upon kings in alliance with them.*

The result of this conference was, that Perseus should send new ambassadors to Rome, in order to try all possible means to prevent a rupture and open war. This was a snare laid by the artful commissioner for the king's inadvertency, in order to gain time. He feigned at first great difficulties in complying

<sup>y</sup> Conscius mihi sum, nihil me scientem deliquisse; et si quid fecerim imprudentiâ lapsus, corrigi me et emendari castigatione hæc posse. Nihil certè insanabile, nec quod bello et armis persequendum esse censeatis, commisi: aut frustra clementiæ gravitatisque vestræ fama vulgata per gentes est, si talibus de causis, quæ vix querelâ et expostulatione dignæ sunt, arma capitis, et regibus sociis bella inferitis. *Liv.*



with the truce demanded by Perseus, for time to send his ambassadors to Rome, and seemed at last to accede to it only out of consideration for the king. The true reason was, because the Romans had not yet either troops or general in a condition to act; whereas on the side of Perseus every thing was ready; and if he had not been amused by the vain hope of a peace, he might have taken the advantage of a conjuncture so favourable for himself, and so contrary to his enemies, to have entered upon action.

After this interview the Roman ambassadors advanced into Bœotia, where there had been great commotions; some declaring for Perseus, and others for the Romans; but at length the latter party prevailed. The Thebans and the other people of Bœotia, by their example, made an alliance with the Romans; each by their own deputies, and not by the consent of the whole body of the nation, according to ancient custom. In this manner the Bœotians, from having rashly engaged in the party of Perseus, after having formed, through a long course of time, a republic which on several occasions had preserved itself from the greatest dangers, saw themselves separated and governed by as many councils as there were cities in the province: all which in the sequel remained independent of each other; and formed no longer one united league as at first. And this was an effect of the Roman policy, which divided them, to make them weak; well knowing that it was much easier to bring them into their measures, and subject them by that means, than if they were still all united together. No other cities in Bœotia, except Coronæa and Haliartus, persisted in the alliance with Perseus.

From Bœotia the commissioners went into Peloponnesus. The assembly of the Achaean league was summoned to Argos. They demanded only 1000 men, to garrison Chalcis, till the Roman army should enter Greece; which troops were ordered thither immediately. Marcus and Atilius, having terminated the affairs of Greece, returned to Rome in the beginning of the winter.

About the same time Rome sent new commissioners into the most considerable islands of Asia,<sup>2</sup> to exhort them to send powerful aid into the field against Perseus. The Rhodians signalized themselves upon this occasion. Hegesilochus, who was at that time Prytanis, (the principal magistrate was so called,) had prepared the people, by representing to them that it was necessary to efface by actions, and not by words only, the bad impressions with which Eumenes had endeavoured to inspire the Romans in regard to their fidelity. So that upon the arrival of the ambassadors, they showed them a fleet of forty ships, entirely

<sup>2</sup> Liv. l. xlii. n. 45—48. Polyb. Legat. lxiv—lxviii.

equipped, and ready to sail upon the first orders. This agreeable surprise was highly pleasing to the Romans, who returned from thence exceedingly satisfied with so conspicuous a zeal, which had even anticipated their demands.

Perseus, in consequence of his interview with Marcius, sent ambassadors to Rome to treat there upon what had been proposed in that conference.

He despatched other ambassadors with letters for Rhodes and Byzantium, in which he explained what had passed in the interview, and deduced at large the reasons upon which his conduct was founded. He exhorted the Rhodians in particular to remain quiet, and to wait as mere spectators till they saw what resolutions the Romans would take. *If, contrary to the treaties subsisting between us, they attack me, you will be, said he, the mediators between the two nations. All the world is interested in their continuing to live in peace, but it behoves none more than you to endeavour to reconcile them. Defenders not only of your own, but of the liberty of all Greece, the more zeal and ardour you have for so great a good, the more ought you to be upon your guard against every one who should attempt to inspire you with different sentiments. You cannot but know, that the certain means to reduce Greece into slavery,<sup>a</sup> is to make it dependant upon one people only, without leaving it any other to have recourse to.* The ambassadors were received with great respect; but were answered, that, in case of a war, the king was desired not to rely upon the Rhodians, nor to demand any thing of them to the prejudice of the alliance they had made with the Romans. The same ambassadors went also into Bœotia, where they had almost as little reason to be satisfied; only a few small cities separating from the Thebans to embrace the king's party.<sup>b</sup>

Marcius and Atilius at their return to Rome reported to the senate the success of their commission. They dwelt particularly upon their address, in their stratagem to deceive Perseus, by granting him a truce, which prevented him from beginning the war immediately with advantage, as he might have done, and gave the Romans time to complete their preparations, and to take the field. They did not forget their dexterity in dissolving the general assembly of the Bœotians, to prevent their uniting with Macedonia by common consent.

The greatest part of the senate expressed much satisfaction in so wise a conduct, which argued profound policy and uncommon dexterity in negotiation. But the old senators, who

<sup>a</sup> Cum cæterorum id interesset, tum præcipuè Rhodiorum, qui plus inter alias civitates dignitate atque opibus excellant: quæ serva atque obnoxia fore, si nullus aliò sit quàm ad Romanos respectus. *Liv.*

<sup>b</sup> Coronæa and Haliartus.

had imbibed other principles, and persevered in their ancient maxims, said, they did not recognize the Roman character in such dealing: that their ancestors, relying more upon true valour than stratagem, used to make war openly, and not in disguise and under cover; that such unworthy artifices should be abandoned to the Carthaginians and Grecians, with whom it was reckoned more glorious to deceive an enemy, than to conquer him with open force; that indeed stratagem sometimes, in the moment of action, seemed to succeed better than valour; but that a victory, obtained vigorously in a battle, where the force of the troops on each side was closely tried, and which the enemy could not ascribe either to chance or cunning, was of a much more lasting effect, because it left a strong conviction of the victor's superior force and bravery.

Notwithstanding these remonstrances of the elder senators, who could not relish these new maxims of policy, that part of the senate which preferred the useful to the honourable were much the majority upon this occasion, and the conduct of the two commissioners was approved. Marcius was sent again with some galleys into Greece, to regulate affairs as he should think most consistent with the service of the public; and Atilius into Thessaly, to take possession of Larissa, lest, upon the expiration of the truce, Perseus should make himself master of that important place, the capital of the country. Lentulus was also sent to Thebes, to have an eye upon Bœotia.

Though the war with Perseus was resolved at Rome, the senate gave audience to his ambassadors. They repeated the same things which had been said in the interview with Marcius, and endeavoured to justify their master, principally upon the attempt he was accused of having made on the person of Eumenes. They were heard with little or no attention, and the senate ordered them and all the Macedonians at Rome to quit the city immediately, and Italy in thirty days. The consul Licinius, who was to command in Macedonia, had orders to march as soon as possible with his army. The prætor Lucretius, who had the command of the fleet, set out with five-and-forty galleys from Naples, and arrived in five days at Cephalonia, where he waited for the arrival of the land forces.

## SECT. II.

The consul Licinius and king Perseus take the field. They both encamp near the river Peneus, at some distance from each other. Engagement of the cavalry, in which Perseus has considerably the advantage, and makes an ill use of it. He endeavours to make a peace, but ineffectually. The armies on both sides go into winter-quarters.

A. M. 3638. The consul Licinius, after having offered his  
Ant. J. C. 171. vows to the gods in the Capitol, set out from

Rome, covered with a coat of arms, according to the custom. The departure of the consuls, says Livy,<sup>c</sup> was always attended with great solemnity and an incredible concourse of the people, especially upon an important war, and against a powerful enemy. Besides the interest which every individual might have in the glory of the consul, the citizens were induced to throng about him, out of a curiosity to see the general, to whose prudence and valour the fate of the republic was confided. A thousand anxious thoughts presented themselves at that time to their minds upon the events of the war, which are always precarious and uncertain. They remembered the defeats which had happened through the bad conduct and temerity, and the victories for which they were indebted to the wisdom and courage, of their generals. *What mortal*, said they, *can know the fate of a consul at his departure: whether we shall see him with his victorious army return in triumph to the Capitol, from whence he sets out, after having offered up his prayers to the gods; or whether the enemy may not rejoice in his overthrow?* The ancient glory of the Macedonians; that of Philip who had made himself famous by his wars, and particularly by that against the Romans, added very much to the reputation of Perseus; and every body knew, that from the time of his accession to the crown a war had been expected from him. Full of such thoughts, the citizens in crowds conducted the consul out of the city. C. Claudius and Q. Mutius, who had both been consuls, did not think it below them to serve in his army in quality of military tribunes, (or, as we may now say, as colonels, or brigadiers,) and went with him; as did P. Lentulus and the two Manlii Acidini. The consul repaired in their company to Brundisium, which was the rendezvous of the army; and passing the sea with all his troops, arrived at Nymphæum, in the country of the Apollonians.

Perseus, some days before, upon the report of his ambassadors who had returned from Rome, and assured him that there remained no hope of peace, held a great council, in which opinions were different. Some thought it necessary for him either to pay tribute, if required, or give up a part of his dominions, if the Romans insisted upon it; in a word, to suffer every thing that could be endured, for the sake of peace, rather than expose his person and kingdom to the danger of entire destruction. That if a part of his kingdom was left him, time and chance might produce favourable conjunctures, to put him in a condition not only to recover all he had lost, but even to render him formidable to those who at present made Macedonia tremble.

The greater number were of a quite different opinion. They

<sup>c</sup> Liv. lib. lxii. n. 49—63.

insisted, that by making cession of any part he must determine to lose all his kingdom. That it was neither money nor lands that incited the ambition of the Romans, but universal empire. That they knew the greatest kingdoms and most powerful empires were subject to frequent revolutions. That they had humbled or rather ruined Carthage, without taking possession of its territories ; contenting themselves with keeping it in awe by the neighbourhood of Masinissa. That they had driven Antiochus and his son beyond mount Taurus. That there was no kingdom but Macedonia that was capable of giving umbrage to, or making head against, the Romans. That prudence required Perseus, whilst he was still master of it, seriously to consider with himself, whether by making the Romans sometimes one concession, and sometimes another, he was resolved to see himself deprived of all power, expelled from his dominions, and obliged to ask, as a favour of the Romans, permission to retire and confine himself in Samothracia, or some other island, there to pass the rest of his days in contempt and misery, with the mortification of surviving his glory and empire ; or whether he would prefer to hazard all the dangers of the war, armed as became a man of courage in defence of his fortunes and dignity ; and, in case of being victorious, have the glory of delivering the universe from the Roman yoke. That it would be no more a wonder to drive the Romans out of Greece, than it had been to drive Hannibal out of Italy. Besides, was it consistent for Perseus, after having opposed his brother with all his efforts, when he attempted to usurp his crown, to resign it merely to strangers that endeavoured to wrest it out of his hands ? That, in fine, all the world agreed, that there was nothing more inglorious than to give up empire without resistance, nor more laudable than to have used all possible endeavours to preserve it.

This council was held at Pella, the ancient capital of Macedonia. *Since you think it so necessary*, said the king, *let us make war then with the help of the gods.* He gave orders at the same time to his generals to assemble all their troops at Citium, whither he went soon after himself, and all the lords of his court and his regiments of guards, after having offered a sacrifice of a hecatomb, or 100 oxen, to Minerva Alcidema. He found the whole army assembled there. It amounted, including the foreign troops, to 39,000 foot, of whom almost half composed the phalanx, and 4000 horse. It was agreed, that since the army Alexander the Great led into Asia, no king of Macedonia commanded one so numerous.

It was twenty-six years since Philip had made peace with the Romans ; and as during all that time Macedonia had remained in tranquillity, and without any considerable war, there were in it great numbers of youth capable of bearing arms, who had al-

ready begun to exercise and form themselves in the wars which Macedonia had supported against the Thracians his neighbours. Philip, besides, and Perseus after him, had long formed the design of undertaking a war with the Romans. Hence it was that at the time we speak of every thing was ready for beginning it.

Perseus, before he took the field, thought it necessary to harangue his troops. He mounted his throne, therefore, and from thence, having his two sons on each side of him, spoke to them with great energy. He began with a long recital of all the injuries the Romans had committed with regard to his father, which had induced him to resolve to take up arms against them; but that a sudden death had prevented him from putting that design in execution. He added, that presently after the death of Philip, the Romans had sent ambassadors to him, and at the same time had marched troops into Greece to take possession of the strongest places: that afterwards, in order to gain time, they had amused him during all the winter with deceitful interviews and a pretended truce, under the specious pretext of negotiating a reconciliation. He compared the consul's army, which was actually on its march, with that of the Macedonians; which in his opinion was much superior to the other, both in the number and valour of their troops, as well as in ammunition and provisions of war, collected with infinite care during a great number of years. *You have therefore, Macedonians,* said he, *in concluding, only to display the same courage which your ancestors showed, when having triumphed over all Europe, they crossed into Asia, and set no other bounds to their conquests, than those of the universe. You are not now to carry your arms to the extremities of the East, but to defend yourselves in the possession of the kingdom of Macedonia. When the Romans attacked my father, they covered the unjust war with the specious pretence of re-establishing the ancient liberty of Greece: the present they undertake without any disguise, to reduce and enslave Macedonia. That haughty people cannot bear that the Roman empire should have any king for its neighbour, nor that any warlike nation should have arms for their defence. For you may be assured, if you refuse to make war, and will submit to the orders of those insulting masters, that you must resolve to deliver up your arms, with your king and his kingdom, to them.*

At these words the whole army, which had expressed only moderate applause for the rest of his discourse, raised cries of anger and indignation, exhorting the king to entertain the best hopes, and demanding earnestly to be led against the enemy.

Perseus then gave audience to the ambassadors from the cities of Macedonia, who came to offer him money and provisions for the occasions of the army; each according to their

power. The king thanked them in the kindest manner, but did not accept their offers; giving for his reason, that the army was abundantly provided with all things necessary. He only demanded carriages to convey the battering-rams, catapultæ, and other military engines.

The two armies were now in motion. That of the Macedonians, after some days' march, arrived at Sycurium, a city situated at the foot of mount Ossa; the consul's was at Gomphi in Thessaly, after having surmounted the most incredible difficulties in ways and defiles almost impassable. The Romans themselves confessed, that had the enemy defended those passes, they might easily have destroyed their whole army in them. The consul advanced within three miles of the country called Tripolis, and encamped upon the banks of the river Peneus.

At the same time Eumenes arrived at Chalcis, with his brothers Attalus and Athenæus: Philetærus, the fourth, was left at Pergamus, for the defence of the country. Eumenes and Attalus joined the consul with 4000 foot and 1000 horse. They had left Athenæus with 2000 foot at Chalcis, to reinforce the garrison of that important place. The allies sent also other troops, though not in any considerable number, and some galleys. Perseus, in the mean time, sent out several detachments to ravage the neighbouring country of Phæræ, in hopes that if the consul should quit his camp, and march to the aid of the cities in his alliance, that he might surprise and attack him to advantage; but he was disappointed, and obliged to content himself with distributing the booty he had made amongst his soldiers, which was very considerable, and consisted principally in cattle of all sorts.

The consul and king held each of them a council at the same time, in order to resolve in what manner to begin the war. The king, highly proud of having been suffered to ravage the territories of the Phæreans without opposition, thought it advisable to go and attack the Romans in their camp without loss of time. The Romans were very sensible, that their slowness and delays would discredit them very much in the opinion of their allies, and reproached themselves with not having defended the people of Phæræ. Whilst they were consulting upon the measures it was necessary to take, (Eumenes and Attalus being present,) a courier came in upon the spur, and informed them that the enemy were very near with a numerous army. The signal was immediately given for the soldiers to stand to their arms, and 100 horse were detached, with as many of the light-armed foot, to take a view of the enemy. Perseus, at ten in the morning, finding himself no farther from the Roman camp than a short half league, made his foot halt, and advanced with his horse and light-armed soldiers. He had scarce march-

ed a quarter of a league, when he perceived a body of the enemy, against which he sent a small detachment of horse, supported by some light-armed troops. \*As the two detachments were very near equal in number, and neither side sent any fresh troops to their aid, the skirmish ended without its being possible to say which side was victorious. Perseus marched back his troops to Sycurium.

The next day, at the same hour, Perseus advanced with all his troops to the same place. They were followed by carts laden with water, for there was none to be found within six leagues of the place: the way was very dusty, and the troops might have been obliged to fight immediately, fatigued as they were with thirst, which would have incommoded them exceedingly. The Romans keeping close in their camp, and having withdrawn their advanced guards within their intrenchments, the king's troops returned to their camp. They did the same several days, in hopes the Romans would not fail to detach their cavalry to attack their rear-guard, and when they had drawn them on far enough from their camp and the battle was begun, that they might face about. As the king's horse and light-armed foot were very much superior to those of the Romans, they assured themselves of having no difficulty in defeating them.

This first design not succeeding, the king encamped nearer the enemy, within little more than two leagues of them. At the break of day, having drawn up his infantry in the same place as he had done the two preceding days, about 1000 paces from the enemy, he advanced at the head of his cavalry and light-armed foot towards the camp of the Romans. The sight of the dust, which flew nearer than usual, and seemed to be raised by a greater number of troops, gave them alarm, and the first who brought the news, could scarcely persuade them that the enemy was so near, because for several days before they had not appeared till ten in the morning, and the sun at that time was just rising. But when it was confirmed by the cries of many, who ran in crowds from the gates, there was no longer any room to doubt it, and the camp was in very great confusion. All the officers repaired with the utmost haste to the general's tent, as the soldiers did each to his own. The negligence of the consul, so ill informed in the motions of an enemy, whose nearness to him ought to have kept him perpetually upon his guard, gives us no great idea of his ability.

Perseus had drawn up his troops at less than 500 paces from the consul's intrenchments. Cotys, king of the Odrysæ in Thrace, commanded the left, with the horse of his nation; the light-armed troops were distributed in the intervals of the front rank. The Macedonian and Cretan horse formed the right wing. At the extremity of each wing, the king's horse and



those of the auxiliaries were posted. The king kept the centre with the horse that always attended his person ; before whom were placed the slingers and archers, about 400 in number.

The consul, having drawn up his foot in battle-array within his camp, detached only his cavalry and light-armed troops, who had orders to form a line in the front of his intrenchments. The right wing, which consisted of all the Italian horse, was commanded by C. Licinius Crassus, the consul's brother ; the left, composed of the horse of the Grecian allies, by M. Valerius Levinus ; both intermingled with the light-armed troops. Q. Mucius was posted in the centre with a select body of horse ; and 200 of the Gaulish cavalry, and 300 of Eumenes's troops, were drawn up in his front. Four hundred Thessalian horse were placed a little beyond the left wing, as a body of reserve. King Eumenes and his brother Attalus, with their troops, were posted in the space between the intrenchments and the rear ranks.

This was only an engagement of cavalry, which in number was almost equal on both sides, and might amount to about 4000 on each, without including the light-armed troops. The action began by the slings and missive weapons, which were posted in the front ; but that was only the prelude. The Thracians, like wild beasts long pent up, and thereby rendered more furious, threw themselves first upon the right wing of the Romans, who, perfectly brave and intrepid as they were, could not support so rude and violent a charge. The light-armed foot, whom the Thracians had amongst them, beat down the lances of the enemy with their swords, sometimes cutting the legs of the horses, and sometimes wounding them in their flanks. Perseus, who attacked the centre of the enemy, soon put the Greeks into disorder ; and as they were vigorously pursued in their flight, the Thessalian horse, which, at a small distance from the left wing, formed a body of reserve, and in the beginning of the action had been only spectators of the battle, were of great service when that wing gave way. For those horse retiring gently and in good order, after having joined the auxiliary troops of Eumenes, gave a safe retreat between their ranks to those who fled and were dispersed ; and when they saw the enemy was not warm in their pursuit, were so bold as to advance to sustain and encourage their own party. As this body of horse marched in good order, and always kept their ranks, the king's cavalry, who had broke in the pursuit, did not dare to wait their approach, nor to come to blows with them.

Hippias and Leonatus having learnt the advantage gained by the cavalry, that the king might not lose so favourable an opportunity of completing the glory of the day, by vigorously pushing the enemy, and charging them in their intrenchments,

brought on the Macedonian phalanx of their own accord, and without orders. It appeared, indeed, that had the king made the least effort, he might have rendered his victory complete; and in the present ardour of his troops, and terror into which they had thrown the Romans, the latter must have been entirely defeated. Whilst he was deliberating with himself between hope and fear, upon what he should resolve, Evander of Crete,<sup>a</sup> in whom he reposed great confidence, upon seeing the phalanx advance, ran immediately to Perseus, and earnestly begged of him not to abandon himself to his present success, nor engage rashly in a new action that was not necessary, and wherein he hazarded every thing. He represented to him, that if he continued quiet, and contented himself with the present advantage, he would either obtain honourable conditions of peace, or, if he should choose to continue this war, the first success would infallibly determine those, who till then had remained neuter, to declare in his favour. The king was already inclined to follow that opinion; wherefore, having praised the counsel and zeal of Evander, he caused the retreat to be sounded for his horse, and ordered his foot to return into the camp.

The Romans lost 2000 of their light-armed infantry at least in this battle; and had 200 of their horse killed, and as many taken prisoners. On the other side, only twenty of their cavalry and forty foot soldiers were left upon the field. The victors returned into their camp with great joy, especially the Thracians, who, with songs of triumph, carried the heads of those they had killed upon the end of their pikes:—it was to them that Perseus was principally indebted for his victory. The Romans, on the contrary, in profound sorrow, kept a mournful silence, and, filled with terror, expected every moment that the enemy would come and attack them in their camp. Eumenes was of opinion, that it was proper to remove the camp to the other side of the Peneus, in order that the river might serve as an additional fortification for the troops, till they had recovered their panic. The consul was averse to taking that step, which, as an open profession of fear, was highly dishonourable to himself and his army; but, however, being convinced by reason, and yielding to necessity, he passed with his troops, under cover of the night, and encamped on the other bank of the river.

Perseus advanced the next day to attack the enemy, and to give them battle; but it was then too late; he found their camp abandoned. When he saw them intrenched on the other side of the river, he perceived the enormous error he had committed the day before, in not pursuing them immediately upon their de-

<sup>a</sup> Perseus made use of him in the intended assassination of Eumenes.

feat ; but he confessed it a still greater fault to have continued quiet and inactive during the night. For without putting the rest of his army in motion, if he had only detached his light-armed troops against the enemy during their confusion and disorder in passing the river, he might, without difficulty, have cut off at least part of their army.

We see here, in a sensible example, to what causes revolutions of states, and the fall of the greatest empires, owe their being. There is no reader but must have been surprised at seeing Perseus stop short in a decisive moment, and let slip an almost certain occasion of defeating his enemy : it requires no great capacity nor penetration to discern so gross a fault. But how came it to pass, that Perseus, who wanted neither judgment nor experience, should be so much mistaken ? A notion is suggested to him by a man he confides in. It is weak, rash, and absurd. But God, who rules the heart of man, and who wills the destruction of the kingdom of Macedonia, suffers no other notion to prevail in the king's breast, and removes every thought which might, and naturally ought, to have induced him to take quite different measures. Nor is that sufficient. The first fault might have been easily retrieved by a little vigilance during the night. God seems to have laid that prince and his army in a profound sleep. Not one of his officers has the least thought of observing the motions of the enemy in the night. We see nothing but what is natural in all this : but the Holy Scripture teaches us to think otherwise ; and we may well apply to this event what was said of Saul's soldiers and officers : *And no man saw it, nor knew it, neither awaked : for they were all asleep, because a deep sleep from the Lord was fallen upon them.* 1 Sam. xxvi. 12.

The Romans, indeed, having put the river between them and the enemy, saw themselves no longer in danger of being suddenly attacked and routed ; but the check they had lately received, and the wound they had given the glory of the Roman name, made them feel the sharpest affliction. All who were present in the council of war assembled by the consul, laid the fault upon the Ætolians. It was said, that they were the first who took the alarm and fled ; that the rest of the Greeks had been drawn away by their example, and that five of the chief of their nation were the first who took to flight. The Thessalians, on the contrary, were praised for their valour, and their leaders rewarded with several marks of honour.

The spoils taken from the Romans were not inconsiderable. They amounted to 1500 bucklers, 1000 cuirasses, and a much greater number of helmets, swords, and darts of all kinds. The king made great presents of them to the officers who had distinguished themselves most ; and having assembled the army,

he began by telling them, that what had happened was a happy presage for them, and a certain pledge of what they might hope for the future. He made great encomiums upon the troops who had been in the action; and in magnificent terms expatiated upon their victory over the Roman horse, in which the principal force of their army consisted, and which they had before believed invincible; and promised himself from thence a more considerable success over their infantry, who had only escaped their swords by a shameful flight during the night; but that it would be easy to force the intrenchments in which their fear kept them shut up. The victorious soldiers, who carried the spoils of the enemies they had slain upon their shoulders, heard this discourse with sensible pleasure, and promised themselves every thing from their valour, judging of the future by the past. The foot, on their side, especially that which composed the Macedonian phalanx, stimulated by a laudable jealousy, pretended at least to equal, if not to excel, the glory of their companions upon the first occasion. In a word, the whole army demanded, with incredible ardour, only to come to blows with the enemy. The king, after having dismissed the assembly, set forward the next day, passed the river, and encamped at Mopsium, an eminence situate between Tempe and Larissa.

The joy for the good success of so important a battle affected Perseus, at first, in all its extent. He looked upon himself as superior to a people, who themselves were so with respect to all other princes and nations. This was not a victory gained by surprise, and in a manner stolen by stratagem and address, but carried by open force, and the valour and bravery of his troops; and that in his own sight, and under his own conduct. He had seen the Roman haughtiness give way before him three times in one day: at first, in keeping close through fear in their camp; then, when they ventured out of it, shamefully betaking themselves to flight; and, lastly, by flying again, during the obscurity of the night, and in finding no other security than by being enclosed within their intrenchments, the usual refuge of terror and apprehension. These thoughts were highly soothing, and capable of deceiving a prince, already too much affected with his own merit.

But when his first transports were a little abated, and the incubriating fume of sudden joy was somewhat evaporated, Perseus came to himself; and reflecting in cold blood upon all the consequences which might attend his victory, he began to be in some sort of terror. The wisest of the courtiers about him,<sup>b</sup> taking advantage of so happy a disposition, ventured to give him the advice which his present temper made him capa-

<sup>b</sup> Polyb. Legat. lxxix.

ble of appreciating; this was, to make the best of his late success, and conclude an honourable peace with the Romans. They represented to him, that the most certain mark of a prudent and really happy prince, was not to rely too much upon the present favours of fortune, nor abandon himself to the delusive glitter of prosperity. That, therefore, he would do well to send to the consul, and propose a renewal of the treaty, upon the same conditions as had been imposed by T. Quintius, when victorious, upon his father Philip. That he could not put an end to the war more gloriously for himself, than after so memorable a battle; nor hope a more favourable occasion of concluding a sure and lasting peace, than at a conjuncture when the check the Romans had received would render them more tractable, and better inclined to grant him good conditions. That if, notwithstanding that check, the Romans, out of a pride too natural to them, should reject a just and equitable accommodation, he would at least have the consolation of having the gods and men for witnesses of his own moderation, and the haughty obstinacy of the Romans.

The king acquiesced in these wise remonstrances, to which he never was averse. The majority of the council also applauded them. Ambassadors were accordingly sent to the consul, who gave them audience in the presence of a numerous assembly. They told him they came to demand peace; that Perseus would pay the same tribute to the Romans as his father Philip had done, and abandon all the cities, territories, and places, which that prince had abandoned.

When they withdrew, the council deliberated upon the answer it was proper to make. The Roman firmness displayed itself upon this occasion in an extraordinary manner. It was the custom at that time,<sup>c</sup> to express in adversity all the assurance and loftiness of good fortune, and<sup>d</sup> to act with moderation in prosperity. The answer was, that no peace could be granted to Perseus, unless he submitted himself and his kingdom to the discretion of the senate. When it was related to the king and his friends, they were strangely surprised at so extraordinary, and, in their opinion, so ill-timed a pride; most of them believed it needless to talk any farther of peace, and that the Romans would be soon reduced to demand what they now refused. Perseus was not of the same opinion. He judged rightly, that Rome was not so haughty but from a consciousness of superiority; and that reflection daunted him exceedingly. He sent again to the consul, and offered a more considerable tribute than had been imposed upon Philip. When he saw the consul would retract nothing from his first answer, having

<sup>c</sup> Ita tum mos erat, in adversis vultum secundæ fortunæ gerere, moderari animos in secundis.

no longer any hopes of peace, he returned to his former camp at Sycurium, determined to try again the fortune of the war.

We may conclude, from the whole conduct of Perseus, that he must have undertaken this war with great imprudence, and without having compared his strength and resources with those of the Romans. To think himself fortunate in being able, after a signal victory, to demand peace, and submit to more oppressive conditions than his father Philip had complied with till after a bloody defeat, seems to argue, that he had taken his measures and concerted the means of success very ill; since, after a first action entirely to his advantage, he begins to discern all his weakness and inferiority, and in some sort inclines to despair. Why then was he the first to break the peace? Why was he the aggressor? Why was he in such haste? Was it to stop short at the first step? How came he not to know his weakness, till his own victory showed it him? These are not the signs of a wise and judicious prince.

The news of the battle of the cavalry, which soon spread in Greece, made known what the people thought, and discovered in its full light to which side they inclined. It was received with joy, not only by the partisans of Macedonia, but even by most of those whom the Romans had obliged, of whom some suffered with pain their haughty manners and insolence of power.

The prætor Lucretius at the same time was besieging the city of Haliartus in Bœotia.<sup>d</sup> After a long and vigorous defence, it was taken at last by storm, plundered, and afterwards entirely demolished. Thebes soon after surrendered, and then Lucretius returned with his fleet.

Perseus, in the mean time, who was not far from the camp of the Romans, gave them great trouble; harassing their troops, and falling upon their foragers, whenever they ventured out of their camp. He took one day a thousand carriages, laden principally with sheafs of corn which the Romans had been to reap, and made 600 prisoners. He afterwards attacked a small body of troops in the neighbourhood, of which he expected to make himself master with little or no difficulty; but he found more resistance than he had imagined. That small body was commanded by a brave officer called L. Pompeius, who, retiring to an eminence, defended himself there with intrepid courage, determined to die with his troops, rather than surrender. He was upon the point of being borne down by numbers, when the consul arrived to his assistance with a strong detachment of horse and light-armed foot; the legions were ordered to follow him. The sight of the consul gave Pompeius and his troops new courage, who were 800 men, all Ro-

<sup>d</sup> Liv. l. xlii. n. 64—67.

mans. Perseus immediately sent for his phalanx ; but the consul did not wait its coming up, and came directly to blows. The Macedonians, after having made a very vigorous resistance for some time, were at last broken and put to the rout. Three hundred foot were left upon the field, with twenty-four of the best horse, of the troop called the *Sacred Squadron*, of which the commander himself, Antimachus, was killed.

The success of this action re-animated the Romans, and very much alarmed Perseus. After having put a strong garrison into Gonnus, he marched back his army into Macedonia.

The consul having reduced Perrhoebia, and taken Larissa and some other cities, dismissed all the allies, except the Achæans ; dispersed his troops in Thessaly, where he left them in winter-quarters, and went into Bœotia at the request of the Thebans, upon whom the people of Coronæa had made incursions.

### SECT. III.

The senate pass a wise decree to put a stop to the avarice of the generals and magistrates, who oppressed the allies. The consul Marcius, after sustaining great fatigue, enters Macedonia. Perseus takes the alarm, and leaves the passes open : he resumes courage afterwards. Insolent embassy of the Rhodians to Rome.

Nothing memorable passed the following year.\*  
 A. M. 3834. Ant. J. C. 170. The consul Hostilius had sent Ap. Claudius into Illyria with 4000 foot, to defend such of the inhabitants of that country as were allies of the Romans ; and the latter had found means to add 8000 men, raised among the allies, to his first body of troops. He encamped at Lychnidus, a city of the Dassaretæ. Near that place was another city, called Uscana, which belonged to Perseus, and where he had a strong garrison. Claudius, upon the promise which had been made him of having the place put into his hands, in hopes of making great booty, approached it with almost all his troops, without any order, distrust, or precaution. Whilst he thought least of it, the garrison made a furious sally upon him, put his whole army to flight, and pursued them a great way with dreadful slaughter. Of 11,000 men, scarce 2000 escaped into the camp, which 1000 had been left to guard : Claudius returned to Lychnidus with the ruins of his army. The news of this loss very much afflicted the senate ; and the more, because it had been occasioned by the imprudence and avarice of Claudius.

This was the almost universal disease of the commanders at

\* Liv. l. xliii. n. 9, 10.

that time.<sup>f</sup> The senate received various complaints from many cities, as well of Greece as the other provinces, against the Roman officers, who treated them with unheard-of rapaciousness and cruelty. They punished some of them, redressed the wrongs they had done the cities, and dismissed the ambassadors, well satisfied with the manner in which the remonstrances had been received. Soon after, to prevent such disorders for the future, they passed a decree, which expressed, that the cities should not furnish the Roman magistrates with any thing more than what the senate expressly appointed; which ordinance was published in all the cities of Peloponnesus.

C. Popilius and Cn. Octavius, who were charged with this commission, went first to Thebes, where they very much praised the citizens, and exhorted them to continue firm in their alliance with the Roman people. Proceeding afterwards to the other cities of Peloponnesus, they boasted every where of the lenity and moderation of the senate, which they proved by their late decree in favour of the Greeks. They found great divisions in almost all the cities, especially among the Ætolians, occasioned by two factions which divided them, one for the Romans, and the other for the Macedonians. The assembly of Achaia was not exempt from these divisions; but the wisdom of the persons of greatest authority prevented their consequences. The advice of Archon, one of the principal persons of the league, was to act according to conjunctures, to leave no room for calumny to irritate either of the contending powers against the republic, and to avoid the misfortunes into which those were fallen, who had not been sufficiently aware of the power of the Romans. This advice prevailed; and it was resolved that Archon should be made chief magistrate, and Polybius captain-general of the horse.

About this time, Attalus having something to demand of the Achæan league, caused the new magistrate to be sounded; who being determined in favour of the Romans and their allies, promised that prince to support his suit with all his power. The affair in question was, to have a decree reversed, by which it was ordained, that all the statues of king Eumenes should be removed from the public places. At the first council that was held, the ambassadors of Attalus were introduced to the assembly, who demanded, that in consideration of the prince who sent them, Eumenes, his brother, should be restored to the honours which the republic had formerly decreed him. Archon supported this demand, but with great moderation. Polybius spoke with more force, enlarged upon the merit and services of Eume-

<sup>f</sup> Polyb. Legat. lxxiv. Liv. l. xliii. n. 17.



nes, demonstrated the injustice of the first decree, and concluded that it was proper to repeal it. The whole assembly applauded his discourse, and it was resolved that Eumenes should be restored to all his honours.

It was at this time<sup>g</sup> that Rome sent Popilius A. M. 3635. to Antiochus Epiphanes, to prevent his enter-  
Ant. J. C. 169. prises against Egypt, which we have mentioned before.

The Macedonian war gave the Romans great employment. Q. Marcius Philippus, one of the two consuls lately elected, was charged with it.

Before he set out, Perseus had conceived the design of taking the advantage of the winter to make an expedition against Illyria, which was the only province from whence Macedonia had reason to fear irruptions during the king's being employed against the Romans. This expedition succeeded very happily for him, and almost without any loss on his side. He began with the siege of Uscana, which had fallen into the hands of the Romans, (it is not known how,) and took it, after a defence of some duration. He afterwards made himself master of all the strong places in the country, the most part of which had Roman garrisons in them, and took a great number of prisoners.

Perseus at the same time sent ambassadors to Gentius, one of the kings of Illyria, to induce him to quit the party of the Romans, and to come over to him. Gentius was far from being averse to it; but he observed, that having neither ammunition for the war, nor money, he was in no condition to declare against the Romans; which was explaining himself sufficiently. Perseus, who was avaricious, did not understand, or rather affected not to understand, his demand, and sent a second embassy to him without mention of money, and received the same answer. Polybius observes, that this fear of expense, which denotes a little and mean soul, and entirely dishonours a prince, made many of his enterprises miscarry; and that if he would have sacrificed certain sums, and those far from considerable, he might have engaged several republics and princes in his party. Can such a blindness be conceived in a rational creature! Polybius considers it as a punishment from the gods.

Perseus, having led back his troops into Macedonia, made them march afterwards to Stratus, a very strong city of Ætolia above the gulf of Ambracia. The people had given him hopes that they would surrender it as soon as he appeared before the walls; but the Romans prevented them, and threw succours into the place.

<sup>g</sup> Liv. l. xliii. n. 11; and 18—23. Polyb. Legat. lxxvi. lxxvii.

Early in the spring the consul Marcius left Rome and went to Thessaly, from whence, without losing time, he advanced into Macedonia, fully assured that it was necessary to attack Perseus in the heart of his dominions.

Upon the report that the Roman army was ready to take the field,<sup>a</sup> Archon, chief magistrate of the Achæans, to justify his country from the suspicious and injurious reports that had been propagated against it, advised the Achæans to pass a decree, by which it should be ordained, that they should march an army into Thessaly, and share in all the dangers of the war with the Romans. That decree being confirmed, orders were given to Archon to raise troops, and to make all the necessary preparations. It was afterwards resolved, that ambassadors should be sent to the consul, to acquaint him with the resolution of the republic, and to know from him where and when the Achaean army should join him. Polybius, our historian, with some others, was charged with this embassy. They found the Romans had quitted Thessaly, and were encamped in Perrhœbia, between Azorus and Doliche, greatly perplexed about the route it was necessary to take. They followed them, in order to await a favourable opportunity of speaking to the consul, and shared with him in all the dangers he ran in entering Macedonia.

Perseus,<sup>b</sup> who did not know what route the consul would take, had posted considerable bodies of troops in two places, by which it was probable he would attempt to pass. For himself, he encamped with the rest of his army near Dium, marching and countermarching without any fixed object.

Marcus, after long deliberation, resolved to pass the forest that covered the heights of Octolophus. He had incredible difficulties to surmount, the ways were so steep and impracticable; but he had had the precaution to seize an eminence, which favoured his passage. From hence the enemy's camp, which was not distant above a thousand paces, and all the country about Dium and Phila, might be discovered; which very much animated the soldiers, who had before their eyes such opulent lands, where they hoped to enrich themselves. Hippias, whom the king had posted to defend this pass with a body of 12,000 men, seeing the eminence possessed by a detachment of the Romans, marched to meet the consul, who was advancing with his whole army, harassed his troops for two days, and distressed them very much by frequent attacks. Marcius was in great trouble, not being able either to advance with safety, or retreat without shame, or even danger. He had no other choice to make, than to pursue with vigour an undertaking, formed perhaps with too much boldness and temerity, but which could not

<sup>a</sup> Polyb. Legat. lxxviii.

<sup>b</sup> Liv. l. xlv. n. 1—10.

succeed without a determinate perseverance, which is often crowned in the end with success. It is certain, that if the consul had had to deal with an enemy like the ancient kings of Macedonia, in the narrow defile where his troops were pent up, he would infallibly have received a great blow. But Perseus, instead of sending fresh troops to support Hippias, the cries of whose soldiers in battle he could hear in his camp, and of going in person to attack the enemy, amused himself with making useless excursions with his cavalry into the country about Diium, and by that neglect gave the Romans an opportunity of extricating themselves from the dangerous situation into which they had brought themselves.

It was not without infinite pains that they effected this ; the horses laden with their baggage sinking under their burdens as they descended the mountain, and falling down at almost every step they took. The elephants, especially, gave them great trouble : it was necessary to find some new means for their descent in such extremely steep places. Having cleared a level on the snow on these declivities, they drove two beams into the earth at the lower part of the road, at the distance of something more than the breadth of an elephant from each other. Upon those beams they laid planks of thirty feet in length, and formed a kind of bridge, which they covered with earth. At the end of the first bridge, but at some little distance, they erected a second, then a third, and as many more of the same kind as were necessary. The elephant passed from the firm ground to the bridge ; and before he came to the end, they contrived to lower insensibly the beams that supported it, and let him gently down with the bridge : he went on in that manner to the second, and so to all the rest. It was not easy to express the fatigues they underwent in this pass ; the soldiers being often obliged to roll down with their arms, because it was impossible for them to keep their footing. It was agreed that with a handful of men the enemy might have defeated the Roman army. At length, after infinite difficulties and dangers, it arrived in a plain, and found itself in safety.

As the consul seemed then to have happily overcome the greatest difficulties of his enterprise,<sup>1</sup> Polybius thought this a proper time for presenting to Marcius the decree of the Achæans, and assuring him of their resolution to join him with all their forces, and to share with him in all the labours and dangers of this war. Marcius, after having thanked the Achæans for their good will in the kindest terms, told them, they might spare themselves the trouble and expense that war would give them ; that he would dispense with both ; and that, in the present posture of affairs, he had no occasion for the aid

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. Legat. lxxviii.

of the allies. After this discourse, Polybius's colleagues returned into Achaia.

Polybius alone continued in the Roman army, till the consul, having received advice that Appius, surnamed Cento, had demanded of the Achæans a body of 5000 men to be sent him into Epirus, despatched him home with advice, not to suffer his republic to furnish those troops, or engage in expenses entirely unnecessary, as Appius had no reason to demand that aid. It is difficult, says the historian, to discover the real motives that induced Marcius to talk in this manner. Did he wish to spare the Achæans, or was he laying a snare for them? or did he intend to put it out of Appius's power to undertake any thing?

Whilst the king was bathing, he was informed of the enemy's approach. That news alarmed him terribly. Uncertain what plan to pursue, and changing every moment his resolution, he cried out, and lamented his being conquered without fighting. He recalled the two officers, to whom he had confided the defence of the passes; sent the gilt statues<sup>k</sup> at Dium on board his fleet, lest they should fall into the hands of the Romans; gave orders that his treasures, which were laid up at the Pella, should be thrown into the sea, and all his galleys at Thessalonica burnt. For himself, he retired to Pydna.

The consul had brought the army to a place from whence it was impossible to disengage himself without the enemy's permission. The only passage for him was through two forests; by the one he might penetrate through the valleys of Tempe in Thessaly, and by the other, beyond Dium, enter farther into Macedonia; and both these important posts were possessed by strong garrisons whom the king had placed there. So that if Perseus had only staid ten days without taking fright, it had been impossible for the Romans to have entered Thessaly by Tempe, and the consul would have had no pass by which provisions could be conveyed to him. For the ways through Tempe are bordered by such vast precipices, that the eye could scarce look down from them without dizziness. The king's troops guarded this pass at four several places, of which the last was so narrow, that ten men, well armed, could alone have defended the entrance. The Romans, therefore, not being able either to receive provision by the narrow passes of Tempe, nor to get through them, must have been obliged to regain the mountains from whence they came down, which was become impracticable, the enemy having possessed themselves of the eminences. The only choice they had left was to open

<sup>k</sup> These were the statues of the horse-soldiers killed in passing the Granicus, which Alexander had caused to be made by Lysippus, and to be set up in Dium.

their way into Macedonia, through their enemies, to Dium; which would have been no less difficult,<sup>1</sup> if the gods, says Livy, had not deprived Perseus of prudence and counsel. For in making a fossé with intrenchments in a very narrow defile at the foot of mount Olympus, he would have absolutely shut them out, and stopped them short. But in the blindness into which his fear had thrown the king, he neither saw nor put in execution any of the various means in his power to save himself, but left all the passes of his kingdom open and unguarded, and took refuge at Pydna with precipitation.

The consul perceived aright, that he owed his safety to the king's timidity and imprudence. He ordered the prætor Lucretius, who was at Larissa, to seize the posts bordering upon Tempe, which Perseus had abandoned, in order to secure a retreat in case of accident; and sent Popilius to take a view of the passes in the way to Dium. When he was informed that the ways were open and unguarded, he marched thither in two days, and encamped his army near the temple of Jupiter, in the neighbourhood, to prevent its being plundered. Having entered the city, which was full of magnificent buildings, and well fortified, he was exceedingly surprised that the king had abandoned it so easily. He continued his march, and made himself master of several places, almost without any resistance. But the farther he advanced, the less provisions he found, and the more the dearth increased; which obliged him to return to Dium. He was also reduced to quit that city, and retire to Phila, where the prætor Lucretius had informed him he might find provisions in abundance. His quitting Dium suggested to Perseus, that it was now time to recover by his courage what he had lost by his fear. He repossessed himself therefore of that city, and soon repaired its ruins. Popilius, on his side, besieged and took Heraclea, which was only a quarter of a league distant from Phila.

Perseus, having recovered his fright and resumed his spirits, would have been very glad that his orders to throw his treasures at Pella into the sea, and burn all his ships at Thessalonica, had not been executed. Andronicus, to whom he had given the latter order, had delayed obeying it, to give time for the repentance which might soon follow that command, as indeed it happened. Nicias, with less precaution, had thrown all the money he found at Pella into the sea. But his fault was soon repaired by divers, who brought up almost the whole money from the bottom of the sea. To reward their services, the king caused them all to be put to death secretly, as well as Andronicus and Nicias: so much was he ashamed of the abject terror

<sup>1</sup> Quod, nisi dii mentem regi ademissent, ipsum ingentis difficultatis erat.  
Liv.

to which he had abandoned himself, that he could not bear to have any witnesses or traces of it in being.

Several expeditions passed on both sides by sea and land, which were neither of much consequence nor importance.

When Polybius returned from his embassy into Peloponnesus,<sup>m</sup> Appius's letter, in which he demanded 5000 men, had been received there. Some time after, the council which was assembled at Sicyon, to deliberate upon that affair, gave Polybius great perplexity. Not to execute the order he had received from Marcius, had been an inexcusable fault. On the other side, it was dangerous to refuse the Romans the troops they might have occasion for, and of which the Achæans were in no want. To extricate themselves in so delicate a conjuncture, they had recourse to the decree of the Roman senate, that prohibited their paying any regard to the letters of the generals, unless an order of the senate was annexed to them, which Appius had not sent with his. It was his opinion, therefore, that before any thing was sent to Appius, it was necessary to inform the consul of his demand, and to wait for his decision upon it. By that means, Polybius saved the Achæans an expense, which would have amounted to more than 120,000 crowns.

In the mean time arrived at Rome ambassadors from Prusias,<sup>1</sup> king of Bithynia, and also from the Rhodians, in favour of Perseus. The former expressed themselves very modestly, declaring that Prusias had constantly adhered to the Roman party, and should continue to do so during the war; but that, having promised Perseus to employ his good offices in his behalf with the Romans, in order to obtain a peace, he desired, if it were possible, that they would grant him that favour, and make use of his mediation as they should think convenient. The language of the Rhodians was very different. After having set forth, in a lofty style, the services they had done the Roman people, and ascribed to themselves the greatest share in the victories they had obtained, and especially in that over Antiochus, they added, that whilst the peace subsisted between the Macedonians and Romans, they had negotiated a treaty of alliance with Perseus; that they had suspended it against their will, and without any subject of complaint against the king, because it had pleased the Romans to engage them on their side; that during the three years which this war had continued, they had suffered many inconveniences from it; that their trade by sea being interrupted, the island found itself in great straits, from the reduction of its revenues and other advantages arising from commerce; that being no longer able to support such considerable losses, they had sent ambassadors into Macedonia, to king Per-

<sup>m</sup> Polyb. Legat. lxxviii.

<sup>1</sup> Liv. l. xliv. n. 14—16.

seus, to inform him that the Rhodians thought it necessary that he should make peace with the Romans, and that they were also sent to Rome to make the same declaration; that if either of the parties refused to accede to so reasonable a proposal, the Rhodians should know what they had to do.

It is easy to judge in what manner so vain and presumptuous a discourse was received. Some historian tells us, that all the answer that was given to it was, to order a decree of the senate, whereby the Carians and Lycians were declared free, to be read in their presence. This was touching them to the quick, and mortifying them in the most sensible part; for they pretended to an authority over both those nations. Others say, the senate answered in few words; that the disposition of the Rhodians, and their secret intrigues with Perseus, had been long known at Rome: that when the Roman people should have conquered him, of which they expected advice every day, they should know in their turn what they had to do, and should then treat their allies according to their respective merits. They made the ambassadors, however, the usual presents.

The consul Q. Marcius's letter\* was then read; in which he gave an account of the manner he had entered Macedonia, after having suffered incredible difficulties in passing a very narrow defile. He added, that by the wise precaution of the prætor, he had sufficient provisions for the whole winter; having received from the Epirots 20,000 measures of wheat and 10,000 of barley, for which it was necessary to pay their ambassadors then at Rome; that it was also necessary to send him clothes for the soldiers; that he wanted 200 horses, especially from Numidia, because there was none of that kind in the country where he was. All these articles were exactly and immediately executed.

After this they gave audience to Onesimus, a Macedonian nobleman. He had always advised the king to maintain peace; and putting him in mind that his father Philip, to the last day of his life, had caused his treaty with the Romans to be constantly read to him twice every day, he had admonished him to do as much, if not with the same regularity, at least from time to time. Not being able to dissuade him from the war, he had begun to withdraw himself from his councils, under different pretexts, that he might not be witness to the resolutions taken in them, which he could not approve. At length, seeing himself become suspected, and tacitly considered as a traitor, he had taken refuge amongst the Romans, and had been of great service to the consul. Having made this relation to the senate, they gave him a very favourable reception, and provided magnificently for his subsistence.

## SECT. IV.

Paulus Æmilius chosen consul. He sets out for Macedonia with the prætor Cn. Octavius, who commanded the fleet. Perseus solicits aid on all sides. His avarice is the cause of his losing considerable allies. The Prætor Anicius's victories in Illyria. Paulus Æmilius's celebrated victory over Perseus near the city of Pydna. Perseus taken with all his children. The command of Paulus Æmilius in Macedonia prolonged. Decree of the senate granting liberty to the Macedonians and Illyrians. Paulus Æmilius, during the winter quarters, visits the most celebrated cities of Greece. Upon his return to Amphipolis he gives a great feast. He marches for Rome. On his way he suffers his army to plunder all the cities of Epirus. He enters Rome in triumph. Death of Perseus. Cn. Octavius and L. Anicius have also the honour of a triumph decreed them.

A. M. 3836. The time for the comitia,<sup>m</sup> or assemblies for  
 Ant. J. C. 168. the election of consuls at Rome, approaching,  
 all the world were anxious to know upon whom  
 so important a choice would fall, and nothing else was talked  
 of in all conversations. They were not satisfied with the consuls who had been employed for three years against Perseus, and had very ill sustained the honour of the Roman name. They called to mind the famous victories obtained over his father Philip, who had been obliged to sue for peace; over Antiochus, who was driven beyond mount Taurus, and forced to pay a great tribute; and, what was still more considerable, over Hannibal, the greatest general that had ever appeared as their enemy, or perhaps in the world, whom they had reduced to quit Italy after a war of more than sixteen years' continuance, and conquered in his own country almost under the very walls of Carthage. The formidable preparations made by Perseus, and some advantages gained by him in the former campaigns, augmented the apprehension of the Romans. They plainly discerned that it was no time to confer the command of the armies by faction or favour, and that it was necessary to choose a general for his wisdom, valour, and experience; in a word, one capable of conducting so important a war as that now upon their hands.

All the world cast their eyes upon Paulus Æmilius. There are times when distinguished merit unites the voices of the public; and nothing is more grateful than such a judgment, founded upon the knowledge of a man's past services, the army's opinion of his capacity, and the state's pressing occasion for his valour and conduct. Paulus Æmilius was near sixty years old: but age, without impairing his faculties in the least, had rather improved them with maturity of wisdom and judgment; more necessary in a general than even valour and bravery. He had been consul thirteen years before, and had acquired general es-

<sup>m</sup> Liv. l. xliv. n. 17. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 259, 260.



teem during his administration. But the people repaid his services with ingratitude, having refused to raise him again to the same dignity, though he had solicited it with sufficient ardour. For several years he had led a private and retired life, solely employed in the education of his children, in which no father ever succeeded better, nor was more gloriously rewarded for his care. All his relations, all his friends, urged him to comply with the people's wishes in taking upon him the consulship: but believing himself no longer capable of commanding, he avoided appearing in public, kept himself at home, and shunned honours with as much solicitude as others generally pursue them. However, when he saw the people assemble every morning in crowds before his door, that they summoned him to the Forum, and exclaimed highly against his obstinate refusal to serve his country, he acceded at last to their remonstrances; and appearing amongst those who aspired to that dignity, he seemed less to receive the command of the army, than to give the people the assurance of an approaching and complete victory. The consulship was conferred upon him unanimously; and, according to Plutarch, the command of the army in Macedonia was assigned to him in preference to his colleague, though Livy says it fell to him by lot.

It is said, that on the very day that he was elected general in the war against Perseus, at his return home, attended by all the people, who followed to do him honour, he found his daughter Tertia, at that time a little infant, crying bitterly. He embraced her, and asked her the cause of her tears. Tertia hugging him with her little arms, *Do you not know then, father, said she, that our Perseus is dead?* She spoke of a little dog she had brought up, called *Perseus*. And at a very good time, my dear child, said Paulus Æmilius, struck with the word; *I accept this omen with joy.* The ancients carried their superstition with respect to this kind of fortuitous occurrences very high.

The manner in which Paulus Æmilius prepared for the war he was charged with<sup>a</sup> gave room to judge of the success to be expected from it. He demanded, first, that commissioners should be sent into Macedonia to inspect the army and fleet, and to make their report, after an exact inquiry, of the number of troops which were necessary to be added both by sea and land. They were also to inform themselves, as near as possible, of the number of the king's forces; where they and the Romans actually lay; if the latter were encamped in the forests, or had entirely passed them, and were arrived in the plain; upon which of the allies they might rely with certainty, which of them were dubious and wavering, and whom they might regard as declared

<sup>a</sup> Liv. l. xlv. n. 18—22. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 260.

enemies ; for how long time they had provisions, and from whence they might be supplied with them either by land or water ; what had passed during the last campaign, either in the army by land, or in the fleet. As an able and experienced general, he thought it necessary to enter fully into this detail ; convinced that the plan of the campaign upon which he was about to enter could not be formed, nor its operations concerted, without a perfect knowledge of all these particulars. The senate highly approved these wise measures, and appointed commissioners, with the approbation of Paulus Æmilius, who set out two days after.

During their absence, audience was given the ambassadors from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, who brought complaints to Rome of the unjust enterprises of Antiochus, king of Syria ; which have been before related.

The commissioners made extraordinary despatch. Upon their return, they reported that Marcius had forced the passes of Macedonia, to get entrance into the country, but with more danger than utility : that the king was advanced into Pieria, and in actual possession of it : that the two camps were very near each other, being separated only by the river Enipeus : that the king avoided a battle, and that the Roman army was neither in a condition to oblige him to fight, nor to force his lines ; that, in addition to the other inconveniences, a very severe winter had happened, from which they suffered exceedingly in their mountainous country, and were entirely prevented from acting ; and that they had only provisions for six days : that the army of the Macedonians was supposed to amount to 30,000 men : that if Appius Claudius had been sufficiently strong in the neighbourhood of Lychnidus, in Illyria, he might have acted with good effect against king Gentius ; but that Claudius and his troops were actually in great danger, unless a considerable reinforcement were immediately sent him, or he ordered directly to quit the post he then occupied : that after having visited the camp, they had repaired to the fleet : that they had been told, that part of the crews were dead of diseases ; that the rest of the allies, especially those of Sicily, were returned home ; and that the fleet was entirely in want of seamen and soldiers ; that those who remained had not received their pay, and had no clothes ; that Eumenes, and his fleet, after having just shown themselves, disappeared immediately, without any cause that could be assigned ; and that it seemed his inclinations neither could nor ought to be relied on ; but that as for his brother Attalus, his good will was not to be doubted.

Upon this report of the commissioners, after Paulus Æmilius had given his opinion, the senate decreed that he should set forward without loss of time for Macedonia, with the prætor

Cn. Octavius, who had the command of the fleet, and L. Anicius, another prætor, who was to succeed Ap. Claudius in his post near Lychnidus, in Illyria. The number of troops which each of them was to command, was regulated in the following manner :—

The troops of which the army of Paulus Æmilius consisted, amounted to 25,800 men ; that is, two Roman legions, each composed of 6000 foot and 300 horse ; as many of the infantry of the Italian allies, and twice the number of horse. He had, besides, 600 horse raised in Gallia Cisalpina, and some auxiliary troops from the allies of Greece and Asia. The whole, in all probability, did not amount to more than 30,000 men. The prætor Anicius was to have also two legions ; but they consisted of only 5000 foot and 300 horse each ; which, with 10,000 of the Italian allies and 800 horse, composed the army under him of 21,200 men. The troops that served on board the fleet were 5000 men. These three bodies together made 56,200 men.

As the war which they were preparing to make this year in Macedonia seemed of the utmost consequence, every precaution was taken that might conduce to the success of it. The consuls and people had the choice of the tribunes who were to serve in it, and each commanded in his turn an entire legion. It was decreed that none should be elected into this employment but such as had already served, and Paulus Æmilius was left at liberty to choose out of all the tribunes such as he approved for his army ; he had twelve for the two legions.

It must be allowed that the Romans acted with great wisdom upon this occasion. They had, as we have seen, unanimously chosen as consul and general, the person amongst them who was indisputably the greatest captain of his time. They had resolved that no officers should be raised to the post of tribune, but such as were distinguished by their merit, experience, and capacity, instanced in real service ; advantages that are not always the effect of birth or seniority, to which indeed the Romans paid little or no regard. They did more : by a particular exception, compatible with republican government, Paulus Æmilius was left at entire liberty to choose such of the tribunes as he thought fit ; well knowing the great importance of a perfect union between the general and the officers who serve under him, in order to ensure the exact and punctual execution of the commands of the former, who is in a manner the soul of the army, and ought to direct all its motions, which cannot be done without the best understanding between them, founded in a love for the public good, with which neither interest, jealousy, nor ambition, is capable of interfering.

After all these regulations were made, the consul Paulus Æmilius repaired from the senate to the assembly of the people, to whom he spoke in this manner. *You seem to me, Romans, to have expressed more joy when Macedonia fell to my lot, than when I was elected consul, or entered upon that office; and to me your joy seemed to be occasioned by the hopes you conceived that I should put an end, in a manner worthy of the grandeur and reputation of the Roman people, to a war, which, in your opinion, has already been of too long continuance. I have reason to believe, that the same gods,\* who have occasioned Macedonia to fall to my lot, will also assist me with their protection in conducting and terminating this war successfully: but of this I may venture to assure you, that I shall do my utmost not to fall short of your expectations. The senate has wisely regulated every thing necessary for the expedition with which I am charged; and, as I am ordered to set out immediately, in which I shall make no delay, I am convinced that my colleague, C. Licinius, out of his great zeal for the public service, will raise and march off the troops appointed for me, with as much ardour and expedition as if they were for himself. I shall take care to remit to you, as well as to the senate, an exact account of all that passes; and you may rely upon the certainty and truth of my letters: but I beg of you, as a great favour, that you will not give credit to, or attribute consequence by your credulity, to the vague and unauthenticated reports which are frequently spread abroad. I perceive well, in this war, more than any other, that with whatever resolution people may determine to disregard these rumours, they will not fail to make an impression, and inspire some degree of discouragement. There are those, who in company, and even at tables, command armies, regulate the disposition of the forces, and prescribe all the operations of the campaign. They know better than we where we should encamp, and what post it is necessary for us to seize; at what time, and by what defile, we ought to enter Macedonia; where it is proper to establish our magazines; from whence, either by sea or land, we are to bring provisions; when we are to fight the enemy, and when lie still. They not only prescribe what is best to be done, but for deviating ever so little from their plans, they make it a crime in their consul, and cite him before their tribunal. But know, Romans, this is a great impediment with your generals. All have not the resolution and constancy of Fabius, to despise impertinent reports. He could choose rather to suffer the people upon such rumours to invade his authority, than to ruin the business of the state in order to*

\* It was a received opinion in all ages and nations, that the Divinity presides over chance.

*secure to himself their good opinion, and an empty name. I am far from believing that generals stand in no need of advice: I think, on the contrary, that whoever would conduct every thing alone, upon his own opinion, and without consulting the judgment of others, shows more presumption than prudence. But some may ask, How then shall we act reasonably? By not suffering any persons to obtrude their advice upon your generals, but such as are, in the first place, versed in the art of war, and have learned from experience what it is to command; and in the second, who are upon the spot, who know the enemy, are witnesses in person to all that passes, and sharers with us in all dangers. If there be one who conceives himself capable of assisting me with his counsels in the war you have charged me with, let him not refuse to do the republic that service, but let him go with me into Macedonia; a ship, horses, tents, provisions, shall all be supplied at my charge. But if he will not take so much trouble, and prefers the tranquillity of the city to the dangers and fatigues of the field, let him not take upon him to hold the helm, and continue idle in port. The city of itself supplies sufficient matter of discourse on other subjects; but as for these, let it be silent, and know, that we shall pay no regard to any counsels, but such as shall be given us in the camp itself.*

This discourse of Paulus Æmilius, which abounds with reason and good sense, shows that men are the same in all ages of the world. People have an incredible itch for examining, criticising, and condemning, the conduct of generals, and do not observe, that by so doing they act in manifest contradiction to reason and justice: to reason; for what can be more absurd and ridiculous, than to see persons, without any knowledge or experience in war, set themselves up for censors of the most able generals, and pronounce with a magisterial air upon their actions?—to justice; for the most experienced can make no certain judgment without being upon the spot; the least circumstance of time, place, disposition of the troops, secret orders not divulged, being capable of making an absolute change in the general rules of conduct. But we must not expect to see a failing reformed, that has its source in the curiosity and vanity of human nature; and generals would do wisely, after the example of Paulus Æmilius, to despise these city reports, and crude opinions of idle people, who have nothing else to do, and have generally as little judgment as business.

Paulus Æmilius, after having discharged, according to custom, the duties of religion, set out for Macedonia, with the prætor Cn. Octavius, to whom the command of the fleet had been allotted.

Whilst they were employed at Rome in making preparations

for the war,<sup>p</sup> Perseus, on his side, had not been asleep. The fear of the approaching danger which threatened him, having at length got the better of his avarice, he agreed to give Gentius, king of Illyria, 300 talents of silver, (that is, 300,000 crowns,) and purchased his alliance at that price.

He sent ambassadors at the same time to Rhodes, convinced that if that island, very powerful at that time by sea, should embrace his party, Rome would be very much embarrassed. He sent deputies also to Eumenes and Antiochus, two very potent kings, and capable of giving him great aid. Perseus did wisely in having recourse to these measures, and in endeavouring to strengthen himself by such supports; but he entered upon them too late. He ought to have begun by taking those steps, and to have made them the first foundation of his enterprise. He did not think of putting those remote powers in motion, till he was reduced almost to extremity, and his affairs were almost absolutely desperate. It was rather calling in spectators and associates of his ruin, than aids and supports. The instructions which he gave his ambassadors were very solid and forcible, as we shall soon see; but he should have made use of them three years sooner, and have waited their effect, before he embarked, almost alone, in the war against so powerful a people, and one that had so many resources in case of misfortune.

The ambassadors had the same instructions for both those kings. They represented to them, that there was a natural enmity between republics and monarchies. That the Roman people attacked the kings one after another, and, what added extremely to the indignity, that they employed the forces of the kings themselves to ruin them in succession. That they had crushed his father by the assistance of Attalus; that by the aid of Eumenes, and, in some measure, by that of his father Philip, Antiochus had been subjected, and that at present they had armed Eumenes and Prusias against himself. That after the kingdom of Macedonia should be destroyed, Asia would be the next to experience the same fate; of which they had already usurped a part, under the specious pretext of re-establishing the cities in their ancient liberty; and that Syria's turn would soon follow. That they had already begun to prefer Prusias to Eumenes by particular distinctions of honour, and had deprived Antiochus of the fruits of his victories in Egypt. Perseus requested of them, either to induce the Romans to give Macedonia peace; or, if they persevered in the unjust design of continuing the war, to regard them as the common enemy of all

<sup>p</sup> Liv. l. xliv. n. 23—29. Polyb. Legat. lxxxv—lxxxvii. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 260, 261.

kings. The ambassadors treated with Antiochus openly, and without any reserve.

In regard to Eumenes, they covered their voyage with the pretext of ransoming prisoners, and treated only in secret upon the real cause of their mission. There had passed already several conferences, at different times and places, upon the same subject, which had begun to render that prince very much suspected by the Romans. It was not that Eumenes desired in reality, that Perseus should be victorious against the Romans; the enormous power he would then have had, would have given him umbrage, and highly alarmed his jealousy; neither was he more willing to declare openly against him, or to make war upon him. But, in hopes to see the two parties equally inclined to peace: Perseus, from his fear of the misfortunes which might befall him; the Romans, from being weary of a war spun out to too great a length; he desired to become the mediator of a peace between them, and to make Perseus purchase his mediation, or at least his inaction and neutrality, at a high price. That was already agreed upon, and was 1500 talents (1,500,000 crowns). The only difference that remained, was in settling the time for the payment of that sum. Perseus was for waiting till the service was performed, and in the mean time offered to deposit the money in Samothracia. Eumenes did not believe himself secure in that, because Samothracia depended on Perseus; and therefore he insisted upon immediate payment of part of the money. This broke up the treaty.

He failed likewise in another negociation, which might have been no less in his favour. He had caused a body of Gauls to come from the other side of the Danube, consisting of 10,000 horse, and as many foot, and had agreed to give ten pieces of gold to each horseman, five to the infantry, and 1000 to their captains. I have observed above, that these Gauls had taken the name of Bastarnæ. When he received advice that they were arrived upon the frontiers of his dominions, he went to meet them with half his troops, and gave orders, that in the towns and villages through which they were to pass, great quantities of corn, wine, and cattle, should be provided for them; he had presents for the principal officers, of horses, arms, and jackets; to these he added some money, which was to be distributed amongst a small number: he imagined he should gain the multitude by this bait. The king halted near the river Axius, where he encamped with his troops. He deputed Antigonus, one of the Macedonian lords, to the Gauls, who were about thirty leagues distant from him. Antigonus was astonished when he saw men of prodigious stature, skilful in all the exercises of the body, and in handling their

arms : and haughty and audacious in their language, which abounded with menaces and bravadoes. He set off, in the best terms, the orders his master had given for their good reception wherever they passed, and the presents he had prepared for them : after which he invited them to advance to a certain place he mentioned, and to send their principal officers to the king. The Gauls were not a people to be put off with words. Clondicus, the general and king of these strangers, came directly to the point ; and asked, whether he had brought the sum agreed on. As no answer was given to that question, *Go, said he, and let your prince know, that till he sends the hostages and sums agreed on, the Gauls will not stir from hence.* The king, upon the return of his deputy, assembled his council. He foresaw what they would advise ; but, as he was a much better guardian of his money than of his kingdom, to disguise his avarice, he expatiated upon the perfidy and ferocity of the Gauls ; adding, that it would be dangerous to give such numbers of them entrance into Macedonia, from which every thing was to be feared, and that 5000 horse would be sufficient for him. Every body perceived that his sole apprehension was for his money ; but nobody dared to contradict him. Antigonus returned to the Gauls, and told them his master had occasion for no more than 5000 horse. Upon which they raised a universal cry and murmur against Perseus, who had made them come so far merely to insult them. Clondicus having asked Antigonus again, whether he had brought the money for the 5000 horse ; as the deputy sought for an evasion, and gave no direct answers, the Gauls grew furious, and were just going to cut him in pieces, and he himself was under terrible apprehensions. However, they paid respect to his quality of deputy, and dismissed him without any ill treatment of his person. The Gauls marched away immediately, resumed their route to the Danube, and plundered Thrace in their way home.

Perseus, with so considerable a reinforcement, might have given the Romans great trouble. He could have detached those Gauls into Thessaly, where they might have plundered the country, and taken the strongest places. By that means, remaining quiet about the river Enipeus, he might have put it out of the power of the Romans either to have penetrated into Macedonia, of which he might have barred the entrance with his troops, or to have subsisted any longer in the country, because they could have drawn no provisions as before from Thessaly, which would have been entirely laid waste. The avarice by which he was governed, prevented his making any use of so great an advantage.

The same vice made him lose another of the same nature.



Urged by the condition of his affairs, and the extreme danger that threatened him, he had at length consented to give Gentius the 300 talents, which he had demanded for more than a year, for raising troops and fitting out a fleet. Pantauchus had negotiated this treaty for the king of Macedonia, and had begun by paying the king of Illyria ten talents (10,000 crowns) in part of the sum promised him. Gentius despatched his ambassadors, and with them persons in whom he could confide, to receive the money. He directed them also, when all should be concluded, to join Perseus's ambassadors, and to go with them to Rhodes, in order to induce that republic to form an alliance with them. Pantauchus had represented to him, that if the Rhodians came into it, Rome would not be able to make head against the three powers united. Perseus received those ambassadors with all possible marks of distinction. After the interchange of hostages, and the taking of oaths on both sides, it only remained to deliver the 300 talents. The ambassadors and agents of the Illyrian repaired to Pella, where the money was told down to them, and put into chests, under the seal of the ambassadors, to be conveyed into Illyria. Perseus had covertly given orders to the persons charged with this convey, to march slowly, and by short journeys, and when they arrived upon the frontiers of Macedonia to stop for his farther orders. During all this time, Pantauchus, who had remained at the court of Illyria, pressed the king with great earnestness to declare against the Romans by some act of hostility. In the mean while arrived ambassadors from the Romans, to negotiate an alliance with Gentius. He had already received 10 talents by way of earnest, and was informed that the whole sum was upon the road. Upon the repeated solicitations of Pantauchus, in violation of all rights human and divine, he caused the two ambassadors to be imprisoned, under the pretence that they were spies. As soon as Perseus had received this news, believing him sufficiently and irretrievably engaged against the Romans by so glaring an act, he recalled those who carried the 300 talents; congratulating himself in secret upon the good success of his perfidy, and his great dexterity in saving his money. But he did not see that he only kept it in reserve for the victor; whereas he ought to have employed it in defending himself against him, and to conquer him, according to the maxim of Philip and his son Alexander, the most illustrious of his predecessors, who used to say, *That victory should be purchased with money, and not money saved at the expense of victory.*

The ambassadors of Perseus and Gentius met with a favourable reception at Rhodes. A decree was imparted to them, by which the republic had resolved to employ all their credit

and power to oblige the two parties to make peace, and to declare against that which should refuse to accept proposals for an accommodation.

The Roman generals had each of them repaired to their posts in the beginning of the spring; the consul to Macedonia, Octavius to Oreum with the fleet, and Anicius into Illyria.

The success of the latter was as rapid as fortunate. He was to carry on the war against Gentius, and put an end to it before it was known at Rome that it was begun. Its duration was only thirty days. Having treated Scorda, the capital of the country, which had surrendered to him, with great moderation, the other cities soon followed its example. Gentius himself was reduced to come and throw himself at Anicius's feet to implore his mercy; confessing, with tears in his eyes, his fault, or rather folly, in having abandoned the party of the Romans. The prætor treated him with humanity. His first care was to take the two ambassadors out of prison. He sent one of them, named Perpenna, to Rome to carry the news of his victory, and some days after caused Gentius to be conducted thither, with his mother, wife, children, brother, and the principal lords of the country. The sight of such illustrious prisoners very much augmented the people's joy. Public thanksgivings were made to the gods, and the temples were crowded with a vast concourse of persons of all sexes and ages.

When Paulus Æmilius approached the enemy, he found Perseus encamped near the sea, at the foot of mount Olympus, in places which seemed inaccessible. He had the Enipeus in front, whose banks were very high; and on the side where he lay, he had thrown up strong intrenchments, with towers at proper distances, on which were placed balistæ, and other machines for discharging darts and stones upon the enemy, if they ventured to approach. Perseus had fortified himself in such a manner as made him believe himself entirely secure, and gave him hopes of weakening, and at last repulsing, Paulus Æmilius by length of time, and the difficulties he would find in subsisting his troops and maintaining his ground, in a country already eaten up by the enemy.

He did not know what kind of adversary he had to cope with. Paulus Æmilius employed his thoughts solely in preparing every thing for action, and was continually meditating expedients and measures for executing some enterprise with success. He began by establishing an exact and severe discipline in his army, which he found corrupted by the licentiousness in which it had been suffered to live. He reformed several things, as well with regard to the arms of the troops, as the duty of sentinels. It had been a custom amongst the soldiers to criticise their general, to examine all his actions amongst themselves, to

prescribe his duties, and to point out what he ought or ought not to do. He spoke to them with resolution and dignity. He gave them to understand that such discourses did not become a soldier; that he ought to make only three things his business; the care of his body, in order to render it robust and active; that of his arms, to keep them always clean, and in good condition; and that of his provisions,<sup>p</sup> that he might be always in readiness to march upon the first notice; that for the rest he ought to rely upon the goodness of the immortal gods, and the vigilance of his general. That for himself, he should omit nothing that might be necessary to give them occasion to evince their valour; and that they had only to take care to do their duty well when the signal was given them.

It is incredible how much they were animated by this discourse. The old soldiers declared that they had never known their duty till that day. A surprising change was immediately observed in the camp. Nobody was idle in it. The soldiers were seen sharpening their swords, polishing their helmets, cuirasses, and shields; practising an active motion under their arms; whirling their javelins, and brandishing their naked swords; in short, forming and inuring themselves to all military exercises: so that it was easy to foresee that, upon the first opportunity they should have of coming to blows with the enemy, they were determined to conquer or die.

The camp was situated very commodiously, but wanted water, which was a great inconvenience to the army. Paulus Æmilius, whose thoughts extended to every thing, seeing mount Olympus before him very high and covered all over with trees extremely green and flourishing, judged, from the quantity and quality of those trees, that there must be springs of water in the caverns of the mountain, and at the same time ordered openings to be made at the foot of it, and pits to be dug in the sand. The surface<sup>q</sup> was scarce broken up, when springs of water were seen to run, muddy at first, and in small quantities, but in a little while very clear, and in great abundance. This event, though natural, was looked upon by the soldiers as a singular favour of the gods, who had taken Paulus Æmilius under their protection; and made him more beloved and respected by them than before.

When Perseus saw what passed in the Roman camp,—the ardour of the soldiers, their active behaviour, and the various exercises by which they prepared themselves for combat,—he began to be truly disquieted, and perceived plainly that he had no longer

<sup>p</sup> The Roman soldiers sometimes carried provisions for ten or twelve days.

<sup>q</sup> Vix deducta summa arena erat, cum scaturigines turbidæ primò et tenues emicare, dein liquidam multamque fundere aquam, velut deùm dono, cœperunt. Aliquantum ea quoque res duci famæ et auctoritatis apud milites adjecit. *Liv.*

to deal with a Licinius, an Hostilius, or a Marcius ; and that the Roman army was entirely changed, together with the general. He redoubled his attention and application on his side, animated his soldiers, employed himself in forming them by different exercises, added new fortifications to the old, and used all means to secure his camp from danger or insult.

In the mean time came the news of the victory in Illyria, and of the taking of the king with all his family. This caused incredible joy in the Roman army, and excited amongst the soldiers an inexpressible ardour to signalize themselves also on their side. For it is common, when two armies act in different parts, for the one to be unwilling to give place to the other, either in valour or glory. Perseus endeavoured at first to suppress this news, but his care to stifle it only served to make it more public and certain. The alarm was general amongst his troops, and made them apprehensive of the same fate.

At this time arrived the Rhodian ambassadors, who came to make the same proposals to the army in regard to peace, that at Rome had so highly offended the senate. It is easy to judge in what manner they were received in the camp. Some in the height of their anger, were for having them dismissed with insult. The consul thought the best way to express his contempt for them, was to reply coldly, that he would give them an answer in fifteen days. To show how little he valued the pacific mediation of the Rhodians, he assembled his council to deliberate upon the means of entering upon action. It is probable that the Roman army, which the year before penetrated into Macedonia, had quitted it, and returned into Thessaly ; perhaps upon account of provisions ; for at present they consulted upon measures for opening a passage into Macedonia. Some, and those the oldest officers, were for attempting to force the enemy's intrenchments upon the banks of the Enipeus. They observed that the Macedonians, who the year before had been driven from higher and better fortified places, could not sustain the charge of the Roman legions. Others were of opinion that Octavius, with the fleet, should go to Thessalonica, and ravage the sea-coasts, in order to oblige the king, by that diversion, to detach part of his troops from the Enipeus for the defence of his country, and thereby leave the passage open. It is highly important for an able and experienced general to have it in his power to choose what measures he pleases. Paulus Æmilius had quite different views. He saw that the Enipeus, as well from its natural situation as from the fortifications which had been added to it, was inaccessible. He knew besides, without mentioning the machines disposed on all sides, that the enemy's troops were much more expert than his own, in discharging javelins and darts. To undertake the forcing of such impenetrable lines

as those were, had been to expose his troops to inevitable slaughter; and a good general spares the blood of his soldiers, because he looks upon himself as their father, and believes it his duty to preserve them as his children. He kept quiet, therefore, for some days, without making the least movement. Plutarch says, that it was believed there never was an example of two armies so numerous, that lay so long in the presence of each other, in such profound peace and so perfect a tranquillity. At any other time the soldiers would have murmured through ardour and impatience; but Paulus Æmilius had taught them to acquiesce in the conduct of their leader.

At length, after diligent inquiry, and using all means for information, he was told by two Perrhœbian merchants, whose prudence and fidelity he had experienced, that there was a way through Perrhœbia, which led to Pythium, a town situated upon the brow of mount Olympus:<sup>a</sup> that this way was not of difficult access, but was well guarded. Perseus had sent thither a detachment of 5000 men. He conceived that, in causing an attack to be made in the night, and at unawares, by good troops, the enemy might be beaten from this post, and he take possession of it. It was necessary therefore to amuse the enemy, and to conceal his real design. He sent for the prætor Octavius, and having imparted his plan to him, he ordered him to go with his fleet to Heraclea, and to take ten days' provisions with him for 1000 men; in order to make Perseus believe that he was going to ravage the sea-coasts. At the same time he made his son Fabius Maximus, then very young, with Scipio Nasica, the son-in-law of Scipio Africanus, set out: he gave them a detachment of 5000 chosen troops, and ordered them to march by the sea-side towards Heraclea, as if they were to embark there, according to what had been proposed in the council. When they arrived there, the prætor told them the consul's orders. As soon as it was night, quitting their route by the coast, they advanced without halting towards Pythium, over the mountains and rocks, conducted by the two Perrhœbian guides. It had been concluded that they should arrive there the third day, before it was light.

In the mean time Paulus Æmilius, to amuse the enemy, and prevent his having any other thoughts, the next day in the morning detached his light-armed troops, as if he intended to attack the Macedonians. They came to a slight engagement in the very channel of the river, which was then very low. The banks on each side, from the top to the bed of the river, had a declivity of 300 paces, and the stream was 100 paces broad. The action passed in the sight of the king and consul, who were each

<sup>a</sup> The perpendicular height of mount Olympus, where Pythium was situated, was upwards of ten stadia, or a mile and a quarter.

with his troops in the front of their camps. The consul caused the retreat to be sounded towards noon. The loss was almost equal on both sides. The next day the battle was renewed in the same manner, and almost at the same hour; but it was warmer, and continued longer. The Romans had not only those upon their hands with whom they fought; but the enemy, from the tops of the towers placed along the banks, poured volleys of darts and stones upon them. The consul lost many more of his people this day, and made them retire late. The third day Paulus Æmilius lay still, and seemed to design to attempt a passage near the sea. Perseus did not suspect in the least the danger that threatened him.

Scipio had arrived in the night of the third day near Pythium. His troops were very much fatigued, for which reason he made them rest themselves the remainder of the night. Perseus in the mean time was very quiet. But on a sudden a Cretan deserter, who had gone off from Scipio's troops, roused him from his security, by letting him know the compass the Romans had taken to surprise him. The king, terrified with the news, detached immediately 10,000 foreign soldiers, with 2000 Macedonians, under the command of Milo, and ordered them with all possible diligence to take possession of an eminence, which the Romans had still to pass before they arrived at Pythium. He accordingly got thither before them. A very severe engagement ensued upon this eminence, and the victory was for some time in suspense. But the king's detachment at length gave way on all sides, and were put to the rout. Scipio pursued them vigorously, and led his victorious troops into the plain.

When those who fled came to the camp of Perseus, they occasioned so great a terror in it, that he immediately decamped, and retired by his rear, overwhelmed with terror, and almost in despair. He held a great council, to deliberate upon the measures he was to pursue. The question was, whether it was best to halt under the walls of Pydna, to try the chance of a battle, or to divide his troops among his towns, supply them well with provisions, and expect the enemy there, who could not long subsist in a country, which he would take care to lay waste, and which could furnish neither forage for the horse, nor provisions for the men. The latter resolution was attended with great inconveniences, and betokened a prince reduced to the last extremity, and destitute of either hope or resource; not to mention the hatred he would draw upon himself by ruining the country, which was to be not only commanded but executed in person by the king himself. Whilst Perseus, uncertain what to resolve, fluctuated in doubt, the principal officers represented to him, that his army was much superior to that of the Romans;

that his troops were determined to behave well, having their wives and children to defend ; that being himself witness of all their actions, and fighting at their head, they would behave with double ardour, and give proofs of their valour in emulation of each other. These reasons re-animated the prince. He retired under the walls of Pydna, where he encamped, and prepared for a battle. He forgot nothing that might conduce to the advantage of his ground, assigned every one his post, and gave all his orders with great presence of mind ; resolved to attack the Romans as soon as they appeared.

The place where he encamped was a bare, level country, very fit for drawing up a great body of heavy-armed foot in battle. Upon the right and left there was a ridge of little hills, which, joining together, gave the light armed foot and the archers a secure retreat, and also afforded them the means of concealing their march to surround the enemy, and to charge them in flank. The whole front of the army was covered by two small rivers, which had not much water at that time, in consequence of the season, (for it was then about the end of summer,) but whose steep banks would give the Romans great trouble, and break their ranks.

Paulus Æmilius being arrived at Pythium, and having joined Scipio's detachment, marched down into the plain, and advanced in order of battle against the enemy ; keeping always on the sea-coast, for the convenience of having provisions brought in barks from the Roman fleet. But when he came in view of the Macedonians, and had considered the good disposition of their army, and the number of their troops, he halted, to deliberate upon what he had to do.

The young officers, full of ardour and impatience for the battle, advanced at the head of the troops, and came to him to entreat him to give battle without any delay. Scipio, whose boldness was increased by his late success upon mount Olympus, distinguished himself above all the rest by his earnestness, and the urgency of his request. He represented to him that the generals, his predecessors, had suffered the enemy to escape out of their hands by delays. That he was afraid Perseus would fly in the night, and they should be obliged to pursue him, with great danger and difficulty, to the remotest part of his kingdom, in making the army take great compasses through defiles and forests, as had happened in the preceding years. He advised him, therefore, whilst the enemy were in the open field, to attack him immediately, and not to let slip so fair an occasion of conquering him.

*Formerly, replied the consul to young Scipio, I thought as you do now, and one day you will think as I do. I shall give you the reasons of my conduct another time ; at present rely*

*upon the discretion of an old general.* The young officer was silent, well convinced that the consul had good reason for acting as he did.

After having spoken thus, he commanded the troops who were at the head of the army, in view of the enemy, to draw up in order of battle, and to present a front, as if they intended to engage. They were disposed, according to the custom of the Romans,<sup>b</sup> in three lines: at the same time the pioneers, covered by those lines, were employed in forming a camp. As they were a great number, the work was soon completed. The consul then made the battalions file off gradually, beginning with the rear, which was nearest the workmen, and drew off the whole army into the intrenchments, without confusion, disorder, or being perceived by the enemy. The king, on his side, seeing the Romans declined fighting, retired also into his camp.

It was an inviolable law amongst the Romans,<sup>c</sup> though they were to stay only one day or night in a place, to enclose themselves in a well-fortified camp: by that means they placed themselves out of the reach of insult, and avoided all surprise. The soldiers looked upon this military abode as their city; the intrenchments served instead of walls, and the tents, of houses. In case of a battle, if the army was overcome, the camp served for their retreat and refuge; and, if victorious, they found it a place of quiet and security.

The night being come, and the troops having taken their refreshment; whilst they had no other thoughts than of going to rest, on a sudden the moon, which was then at full, and already very high, began to grow dark; and the light failed by little and little, it changed its colour several times, and was at length totally eclipsed. A tribune, called C. Sulpitius Gallus, one of the principal officers of the army, having assembled the soldiers the day before, with the consul's permission, had apprised them of the eclipse, and pointed out to them the exact moment when it would begin and how long it would continue. The Roman soldiers therefore were not astonished at this accident; they only believed that Sulpitius had more than human knowledge. But the whole camp of the Macedonians were seized with horror and dread; and it was whispered throughout all the army, that this prodigy foretold the ruin of the king.

The next day Paulus Æmilius, who was a very religious observer of all the ceremonies prescribed for the sacrifices, or

<sup>b</sup> Hastati. Principes. Triarii.

<sup>c</sup> Majores vestri castra munita portum ad omnes casus exercitûs ducebant esse.—Patria altera est militaris hæc sedes, vallumque pro mœnibus, et tentorium suum cuique militi domus ac penates sunt.—Castra sunt victori roceptaculum, victo perburgium. *Liv. l. xlv. n. 39.*



rather very superstitious, employed himself in offering oxen to Hercules. He sacrificed twenty, one after another, without finding any favourable sign in the entrails of those victims. At length, at the one-and-twentieth, he imagined he saw such as promised him the victory, if he only defended himself, without attacking the enemy. At the same time he vowed a sacrifice to the same god of 100 oxen, with public games. Having made an end of all these religious ceremonies, about nine in the morning he assembled his council. He had heard complaints of his slowness in attacking the enemy. He was anxious therefore to give this assembly an account of his conduct, especially out of regard to Scipio, to whom he had promised it. The reasons for his not having given battle the day before, were, first, because the enemy's army was much superior in number to his own, which he had been obliged to weaken considerably by the great detachment requisite to guard the baggage. "In the second place, would it have been consistent with prudence to engage troops entirely fresh, with his, exhausted as they were by a long and painful march, by the excessive weight of their arms, by the heat of the sun, with which they had been almost broiled, and by thirst, which gave them almost insupportable pain? In the last place, he insisted strongly on the indispensable necessity a good general was under, not to fight till he had a well intrenched camp behind him, which might, in case of accident, serve the army for a retreat. He concluded his discourse with bidding them prepare for battle the same day.

We see here,<sup>d</sup> that there is a wide difference between the duty of soldiers and subaltern officers, and that of a general; the former have only to desire to engage, and behave well in battle; but the general's business is to foresee, weigh, and compare every thing, in order to choose his measures with mature deliberation; and frequently by a wise delay of some days, or even hours, he preserves an army, which an inconsiderate precipitation might have exposed to ruin.

Though the resolution for fighting had been taken on both sides, it was, however, rather a kind of chance that drew on the battle, than the order of the generals, who were not in great haste on either side. Some Thracian soldiers charged a party of Romans in their return from foraging. Seven hundred Ligurians ran to assist those foragers. The Macedonians caused troops to advance, to support the Thracians; and the reinforcements on both sides continually increasing, the battle at length became general.

It is a misfortune that we have lost the passage of Polybius,

<sup>d</sup> *Divisa inter exercitum ducesque munia. Militibus cupidinem pugnandi convenire; duces providendo, consultando, cunctatione sæpius quàm temeritate prodese. Tacit. Hist. l. iii. c. 20.*

and after him of Livy, which describes the order of this battle : this puts it out of my power to give a just idea of it ; what Plutarch says being quite different from the little which remains of it in Livy.

In the beginning of the charge, the Macedonian phalanx distinguished themselves from all the king's troops in a particular manner. Upon which Paulus Æmilius advanced to the front ranks, and found that the Macedonians, who formed the head of the phalanx, drove the points of their pikes into the shields of his soldiers in such a manner, that the latter, in spite of all their efforts, were unable to reach them with their swords ; and he saw, at the same time, that the whole front line of the enemies joined their bucklers, and presented their pikes. This rampart of brass and forest of pikes, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with astonishment and terror. He often spoke afterwards of the impression that dreadful sight made upon him, so strong as to make him doubt the success of the battle. But not to discourage his troops, he concealed from them his anxiety ; and appearing with a gay and serene countenance, rode through all the ranks without helmet or cuirass, animating them with his expressions, and much more by his example. The general, more than sixty years of age, was seen exposing himself to danger and fatigue like a young officer.

The Pelignians, a people of Italy, who had attacked the Macedonian phalanx, not being able to break it with their utmost endeavours, one of their officers took the standard of his company, and tossed it into the midst of the enemy. The rest threw themselves, in consequence, like desperate men, upon that battalion. Astonishing actions of valour ensued on both sides, with a most dreadful slaughter. The Pelignians endeavoured to cut the pikes of the Macedonians with their swords, or to push them back with their bucklers ; striving sometimes to pull them out of their hands, or to turn them aside, in order to open themselves an entrance between them. But the Macedonians always keeping close order, and holding their pikes in both hands, presented that iron rampart, and gave such violent strokes to those that rushed upon them, that, piercing shields and cuirasses, they laid the holdest of the Pelignians dead, who, without any caution, continued to throw themselves headlong, like wild beasts, upon the spears of their enemies, and to rush upon a death they saw before their eyes.

The whole front line being thus put into disorder, the second was discouraged, and began to fall back. They did not indeed fly ; but, instead of advancing, they retreated toward mount Olocris.<sup>c</sup> When Paulus Æmilius saw that, he tore his clothes, and was struck with extreme sorrow to see, upon the first

<sup>c</sup> That mountain was probably part of Olympos.

troops having given way, that the Romans were afraid to face the phalanx. It presented a front covered thick with pikes, and close as an impenetrable intrenchment ; and continuing invincible, it could neither be broken nor opened. But at length the inequality of the ground, and the great extent of the front of battle, not admitting the enemy to continue every where that line of bucklers and pikes, Paulus Æmilius observed the Macedonian phalanx was obliged to leave openings and intervals, and that it fell back on one side, whilst it advanced on the other ; as must necessarily happen in great armies, when the troops, not always acting with the same vigour, fight also with different success.

Paulus Æmilius, as an able general, who knew how to improve all advantages, dividing his troops into platoons, gave orders for them to fall into the void spaces of the enemy's line, and to attack them no longer in front by a general charge, but by small detachments, and in different places at the same time. This order, so critically given, occasioned the gaining of the battle. The Romans immediately fell into the void spaces, and thereby put it out of the enemy's power to use their long pikes, charging them in flank and rear, where they were uncovered. The phalanx was broken in an instant ; and all its force, which consisted solely in its union and the weight of the whole body together, vanished and disappeared. When they came to fight man to man, or platoon to platoon, the Macedonians with their short swords struck upon the Roman shields, which were very strong and solid, and covered them almost from head to foot ; and on the contrary, they opposed only small bucklers against the swords of the Romans, which were heavy and strong, and handled with such force and vigour, that they scarce discharged a blow which did not either cut deep, or make shields and armour fly in pieces, and draw blood. The phalanx having lost their advantage, and being taken on their weak side, stood their ground with great difficulty, and were at length overthrown.

The king of Macedonia, abandoning himself to his fear, rode off full speed in the beginning of the battle, and returned into the city of Pydna, under pretence of going to offer a sacrifice to Hercules ; as if, says Plutarch, Hercules were a god that would receive the sacrifices of abject cowards or give ear to unjust vows ; for it is not just, that he should be victorious, who durst not face his enemy : whereas the same god received the prayer of Paulus Æmilius, because he asked victory with sword in hand, and invoked his aid while he fought valiantly.

It was in the attack of the phalanx where the battle was warmest, and where the Romans found the greatest resistance. It was there also, that the son of Cato, Paulus Æmilius's son-

in-law, after having done prodigies of valour, unhappily lost his sword, which slipped out of his hand. Upon this accident, quite distracted and inconsolable, he ran through the ranks, and assembling a body of brave and resolute young soldiers, he rushed headlong and furious upon the Macedonians. After extraordinary efforts, and a most bloody slaughter, they made the latter give way; and remaining masters of the ground, they proceeded to search for the sword, which they found at last with great difficulty under heaps of arms and dead bodies. Transported with that good fortune, and raising shouts of victory, they fell with new ardour upon such of the enemy as yet stood firm; so that at length the 3000 Macedonians who remained, and were a distinct body from the phalanx, were entirely cut to pieces; not a man of them quitting his rank, or ceasing to fight to the last moment of his life.

After the defeat of this body, all the rest fled; and so great a number of them were killed, that the whole plain, to the foot of the mountain, was covered with the dead; and the next day, when the Romans passed the river Leucus, they found the waters still stained with blood. It is said that upwards of 25,000 men on the side of the Macedonians perished in this battle. The Romans lost only 100, and made 11 or 12,000 prisoners. The cavalry, which had no share in this battle, seeing the foot put to the rout, had retired; and the Romans, whose fury was principally directed against the phalanx, did not think at that time of pursuing them.

This great battle was decided so suddenly, that the charge, which began at three in the afternoon, was followed by the victory before four. The rest of the day was employed in the pursuit, which was carried very far; so that the troops did not return till late in the night. All the servants in the army went out to meet their masters with great shouts of joy, and conducted them with torches to the camp, where they had made illuminations, and covered the tents with wreaths of ivy and crowns of laurel.<sup>f</sup>

But in the midst of this great victory, the general was in extreme affliction. Of the two sons he had in the battle, the youngest, who was but seventeen years old, and whom he loved with most tenderness, because he had already given great hopes of himself, did not appear. The camp was in a universal alarm, and the cries of joy were changed into a mournful silence. They searched for him with torches amongst the dead, but to no purpose. At length, when the night was very far advanced,

<sup>f</sup> This was a custom among the Romans. Caesar writes in the third book of the civil war, that he found in Pompey's camp the tents of Lentulus, and some others, covered with ivy. *L. etiam Lentuli et nonnullorum tabernacula protecta hederâ.*

and they despaired of ever seeing him more, he returned from the pursuit, attended by only two or three of his comrades, all covered with the blood of the enemy. Paulus Æmilius thought he had recovered him from the dead, and did not begin to taste the joy of his victory till that moment. He was reserved for other tears, and losses no less to be deplored. The young Roman, of whom we speak, was the second Scipio, who was afterwards called Africanus, and Numantinus, from having destroyed Carthage and Numantia. He was adopted by the son of Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal. The consul immediately despatched three couriers of distinction (of whom his son Fabius was one) to carry the news of this victory to Rome.

In the mean time, Perseus, continuing his flight, had passed the city of Pydna, and endeavoured to gain Pella, with all his cavalry, which had escaped from the battle without striking a blow. The foot-soldiers that fled in disorder, meeting them upon the road, reproached them in the sharpest terms, calling them cowards and traitors; and, carrying their resentment farther, they pulled them off their horses, and wounded a great number of them. The king, who dreaded the consequence of that tumult, quitted the high road, and that he might not be known, folded up his royal mantle, put it behind him, took the diadem from his head, and carried it in his hand; and, in order to discourse with his friends with the more ease, he alighted, and led his horse in his hand. Several of those who attended him took different routes from his, under various pretexts; less to avoid the pursuit of the enemy, than to shun the fury of their prince, whose defeat had only served to irritate and inflame his natural ferocity. Of all his courtiers, three only remained with him, and those all foreigners. Evander of Crete, whom he had employed to assassinate king Eumenes, was one of them. He retained his fidelity for him to the last.

When he arrived about midnight in Pella, he stabbed two of his treasurers with his own hands, for being so bold as to represent to him the faults he had committed, and with ill-timed freedom to give him their advice upon what was necessary to be done for the retrieving his affairs. This cruel treatment of two of the principal officers of his court, who had failed only out of an imprudent and ill-timed zeal, entirely lost him the affection of every one. Alarmed by the almost universal desertion of his officers and courtiers, he did not think himself safe at Pella, and left it the same night to go to Amphipolis, carrying along with him the greatest part of his treasures. When he arrived there, he sent deputies to Paulus Æmilius, to implore his mercy. From Amphipolis he went into the island of Samothracia, and took refuge in the temple of Castor

and Pollux. All the cities of Macedonia opened their gates to the victor, and made their submission.

The consul having quitted Pydna, arrived the next day at Pella, the happy situation of which he admired. The king's treasures had been kept in this city; but only the 300 talents he had sent to Gentius, king of Thrace, and afterwards caused to be brought back, were found there. Paulus Æmilius having been informed that Perseus was in Samothracia, repaired to Amphipolis, in order to pass from thence into that island.

He was encamped at Siræ,<sup>s</sup> in the country of the Odomantes,<sup>h</sup> when he received a letter from Perseus, which was presented to him by three deputies of inconsiderable birth and condition. He could not forbear shedding tears when he reflected upon the uncertainty of human affairs, of which the present condition of Perseus was a sensible example. But when he saw this title and inscription upon the letter, *Perseus the king, to the consul Paulus Æmilius, greeting*; the stupid ignorance of his condition in which that prince seemed to be, extinguished in him all sense of compassion; and though the tenor of the letter was couched in an humble and suppliant style, and little consistent with the royal dignity, he dismissed the deputies without an answer. How haughty were these proud republicans, to degrade an unfortunate king immediately in this manner! Perseus perceived what name he was henceforth to forget. He wrote a second letter, to which he only put his name, without the addition of his quality. He demanded, that commissioners should be sent to treat with him, which was granted. This negotiation had no effect, because on the one side, Perseus would not renounce the royal dignity, and Paulus Æmilius, on the other, insisted, that he should submit his fate entirely to the determination of the Roman people.

During this time the prætor Octavius, who commanded the fleet, arrived at Samothracia. He did not take Perseus by force out of that asylum, through respect to the gods who presided in it; but he endeavoured by promises and threats to induce him to quit it, and surrender himself to the Romans. His endeavours were ineffectual.

A young Roman, (named Acilius,) either of his own accord, or in concert with the prætor, took another course to draw the king out of his sanctuary. Having entered the assembly of the Samothracians, which was then held, he said to them: *Is it a truth, or is it without any foundation, that your island is held a secret and inviolable asylum throughout all its extent?* Upon

<sup>s</sup> Liv. l. xlv. n. 3—9. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 269, 270.

<sup>h</sup> An obscure unknown city, upon the eastern frontier of Macedonia.

being answered by all present, that it was undoubtedly so. *How then* (continued he) *do you suffer its sanctity to be violated by a homicide, contaminated with the blood of king Eumenes? And as all religious ceremonies begin by the exclusion of those whose hands are impure, how can you suffer your temple to be profaned and defiled by the presence of an infamous murderer?* This accusation was directed against Perseus; but the Samothracians chose rather to apply it to Evander, whom all the world knew to have been the agent in the intended assassination of Eumenes. They sent therefore to tell the king, that Evander was accused of assassination, and that he must appear, according to the custom of their sanctuary, to justify himself before the judges; or, if he was afraid to do that, that he should take measures for his safety, and quit the temple. The king, having sent for Evander, advised him in the strongest terms not to submit to that trial. He had his reasons for giving this advice, apprehending he would declare, that the assassination had been undertaken by his order. He therefore gave him to understand, that the only method he could take was to kill himself. Evander seemed at first to consent to it, and professing that he had rather die by poison than the sword, he intended to make his escape by flight. The king was aware of that design, and fearing the Samothracians would let the weight of their resentment fall on him as having withdrawn the offender from the punishment he deserved, he ordered him to be killed. This was polluting the sanctuary with a new crime; but he corrupted the principal magistrate with presents of money, who declared in the assembly, that Evander had laid violent hands upon himself.

The prætor, not being able to persuade Perseus to quit his asylum, could do no more than deprive him of all means to embark and make his escape. However, notwithstanding his precautions, Perseus gained secretly a certain Cretan, called Oroandes, who had a merchant ship, and prevailed upon him to receive him on board, with all his treasures: they amounted to 2000 talents, that is, to about 300,000*l*. But, from his extreme suspicion, he did not dispossess himself of the whole; he sent only a part of it to the ship, and reserved the rest of it to be carried on board with himself. The Cretan, following the genius of his country upon this occasion, shipped all the gold and silver that had been sent him in the evening, and let Perseus know, that he had only to come to the port at midnight with his children, and such of his people as were absolutely necessary to attend his person.

The appointed time approaching, Perseus, with infinite difficulty, crept through a very narrow window, crossed a garden, and got out through a ruinous house, with his wife and son. The

remainder of his treasures followed him. His grief and despair were inexpressible, when he was informed that Oroandes, with his rich freight, was under sail. He was therefore compelled to return to his asylum with his wife and Philip his eldest son. He had intrusted his other children to Ion of Thessalonica, who had been his favourite, and who betrayed him in his misfortunes; for he delivered up his children to Octavius; which was the principal cause that induced Perseus to put himself into the power of those who had his children in their hands.

He accordingly surrendered himself and Philip his son to the prætor Octavius, who made him embark, in order to his being carried to the consul; having first apprized him of his coming. Paulus Æmilius sent his son-in-law Tubero to meet him. Perseus, in a mourning habit, entered the camp, attended only by his son. The consul, who waited for him with a sufficiently numerous train, seeing him approach, rose from his seat, and advancing some few steps, offered him his hand. Perseus threw himself at his feet; but he raised him immediately, and would not suffer him to embrace his knees. Having introduced him into his tent, he made him sit down, facing those who formed the assembly.

He began by asking him; *What cause of discontent had induced him to enter with so much animosity into a war with the Roman people, that exposed himself and his kingdom to the greatest dangers?* As, instead of the answer which every body expected, the king, fixing his eyes upon the ground, and shedding tears, kept silence; Paulus Æmilius continued to this effect; *Had you ascended the throne a youth, I should be less surprised at your being ignorant of what it was to have the Roman people for your friends or enemies. But having been present in the war made by your father against us, and certainly remembering the peace, which we have punctually observed on our side, how could you prefer war rather than peace, with a people, whose force in the former, and fidelity in the latter, you had so well experienced?* Perseus making no more answer to this reproach than he had done to the first question: *In whatever manner, notwithstanding, (resumed the consul,) these affairs have happened, whether they are the effects of error, to which all mankind are liable, or of chance, or of that fatal destiny which superintends all things, take courage. The clemency with which the Roman people have behaved towards many other kings and nations, ought to inspire you, I do not say with some hope only, but with almost entire confidence, that you will meet with the same treatment.* He spoke this in Greek to Perseus: then turning towards the Romans, *You<sup>b</sup> see (said he in his own language) a great example of the*

<sup>b</sup> *Exemplum insigne cernitis, inquit, mutationis rerum humanorum. Vobis*



*inconstancy of human affairs. It is to you principally, young Romans, I address this discourse. The uncertainty of what may happen to us every day, ought to teach us never to treat any one with insolence and cruelty in our prosperity, nor rely too much upon our present advantages. The proof of real merit and true valour is neither to be too elate in good, nor too dejected in bad fortune.* Paulus Æmilius, having dismissed the assembly, charged Tubero with the care of the king. He invited him that day to his table, and ordered him to be treated with all the honours his present conditions would admit.

The army went afterwards into winter-quarters. Amphipolis received the greatest part of the troops; the rest were distributed into the neighbouring cities. Thus ended the war between the Romans and Perseus, which had continued four years; and with it a kingdom so illustrious both in Europe and Asia. Perseus had reigned eleven years.<sup>i</sup> He was reckoned the fortieth king from Caranus,<sup>k</sup> who was the first that reigned in Macedonia. So important a conquest cost Paulus Æmilius only fifteen days.

The kingdom of Macedonia had been very obscure till the time of Philip, son of Amyntas. Under that prince, and by his great exploits, it made considerable acquisitions, which did not extend, however, beyond the bounds of Europe; he annexed to it a part of Thrace and Illyria, and acquired a kind of empire over all Greece. It afterwards extended into Asia; and in the thirteen years of the reign of Alexander subjected all the provinces, of which the vast empire of the Persians was composed, and carried its victorious arms to the extremities of the earth; I mean to Arabia on one side, and the Indies on the other. This empire of Macedonia, the greatest in the world, divided, or rather torn into different kingdoms after the death of Alexander, by his successors, who each took part to himself, subsisted during something more than 150 years: from the exalted height to which the victorious arms of that prince had raised it, to the entire ruin of Macedonia. Such was the period of the so-much-boasted exploits of that famous conqueror, the terror and admiration of the universe; or, to speak more justly, the example of the most vain and most frantic ambition the world ever knew.

The three deputies whom Paulus Æmilius had sent to Rome,

*hoc præcipuè dico, juvenes. Idèò in secundis rebus nihil in quemquam superbè ac violenter consulere decet, nec præsentì credere fortunæ, cum quid vesper ferat, incertum sit. Is demum vir erit, cujus animum nec prospera flatu suo efferet, nec adversa infringeret.*

<sup>i</sup> Liv. l. xlv. n. 4.

<sup>k</sup> Livy, such as we have him, says the *twentieth*. Justin the *thirtieth*. It is thought there is an error in the cipher, and that it should be corrected, the *fortieth*, as in Eusebius.

to carry thither the news of his victory over Perseus, used all possible diligence on their journey. But long before their arrival, and only the fourth day after the battle, whilst the games were celebrating in the Circus, it was whispered about, that a battle had been fought in Macedonia, and Perseus entirely defeated. This news was attended with clapping of hands and cries of victory throughout the whole Circus. But when the magistrates, after a strict inquiry, had discovered that it was a rumour without either author or foundation, that false and short-lived joy ceased, and left only a secret hope that it was perhaps the presage of a victory, which either was already or would soon be obtained.

The arrival of the deputies put Rome out of pain. They were informed, that Perseus had been entirely defeated; that he was flying, and could not escape falling into the hands of the victor. The people's joy, which had been suspended till then, broke out immoderately. The deputies read a circumstantial narrative of the battle, first in the senate, and afterwards in the assembly of the people. Public prayers and sacrifices were decreed, and all the temples filled in an instant with infinite crowds of people, of every age and sex, who went thither to return thanks to the gods for the signal protection which they had vouchsafed to the republic.

After the nomination of new consuls at Rome,<sup>1</sup> the command of the army in Macedonia was continued to Paulus Æmilius, and of that in Illyria to L. Anicius; ten commissioners were then appointed to regulate affairs in Macedonia, and five for Illyria. The senate, before they set out, regulated their commission in part. It was decreed in particular, that the Macedonians and Illyrians should be declared free, in order that all nations might know, that the end of the Roman arms was not to subject free people, but to deliver such as were enslaved; so that the one under the protection of the Roman name, might always retain their liberty, and the other who were under the rule of kings, might be treated with more lenity and justice by them through consideration for the Romans, or that, whenever war should arise between those kings and the Roman people, the nations might know that the issue of those wars would be victory for the Romans and liberty for them. The senate also abolished certain duties upon the mines and landed estates, because those duties could not be collected but by the intervention of farmers of the taxes, commonly called publicans; and that wherever such sort of farmers are suffered,<sup>m</sup> the laws are of no force, and the people

<sup>1</sup> Liv. l. xlv. n. 17, 18.

<sup>m</sup> Et ubi publicanus est, ibi aut jus publicum vanum aut libertatem sociis nullam esse. Liv.

are always oppressed. They established a general council for the nation, lest the populace should cause the liberty granted them by the senate to degenerate into a destructive licentiousness. Macedonia was divided into four regions, each of which was to have a distinct council, and to pay the Romans one moiety of the tributes which they had been accustomed to pay their kings. These were in part the orders with which the commissioners of Macedonia were charged. Those for Illyria had almost the same instructions, and arrived there first. After having communicated their commission to the proprætor Anicius, who came to Scodra to meet them, they summoned an assembly of the principal persons of the nation. Anicius having ascended his tribunal, declared to them, that the senate and people of Rome granted liberty to the Illyrians, and that the garrison should be withdrawn from all the cities and forts of the country as soon as possible. As to some nations, who either before or during the war had declared for the Romans, an exemption from all taxes was added to their liberty; and all the rest were exonerated from one half of the imposts formerly paid to the king. Illyria was divided into three regions or parts, which had each of them their public council and magistrates.

Before the deputies for Macedonia arrived there,<sup>a</sup> Paulus Æmilius, who was at leisure, visited, during the autumn, the most celebrated cities of Greece, to see those things with his own eyes which all the world talked of without knowing them. Having left the command of the camp to Sulpicius Gallus, he set out with a small train, accompanied by young Scipio his son, and Athenæus, king Eumenes's brother.

He passed through Thessaly in his way to Delphi, the most celebrated oracle in the universe. The multitude and value of the presents, statues, vases, and tripods, with which that temple was filled, surprised him extremely. He there offered a sacrifice to Apollo. Having seen a great square pillar of white marble, on which a golden statue of Perseus was to have been placed, he caused his own to be set upon it, saying, *That the vanquished ought to give place to the victors.*

He saw at Lebabia the temple of Jupiter, surnamed Trophonius, and the entrance of the cavern, into which those who consulted the oracle descended.<sup>o</sup> He offered a sacrifice to Jupiter, and the goddess Hercynna, who was believed to be the daughter of Trophonius.

At Chalcis he gratified his curiosity in seeing the Euripus, and the ebb and flow of the sea, which is very frequent and extraordinary.

<sup>a</sup> Liv. l. xlv. n. 27, 28. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 270.

<sup>o</sup> For an account of this oracle, see Book x. Chap. iii. Sect. ii.

From thence he went to the city of Aulis, from which port the famous fleet of Agamemnon formerly set sail for Troy. He made a visit to the temple of Diana in that place, upon whose altar that king of kings sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia, to obtain a prosperous voyage from the goddess.

After having passed through Oropus in Attica, where the soothsayer Amphilochus was honoured as a god, he came to Athens, a city celebrated for its ancient renown, where abundance of objects presented themselves to his view, well capable of inspiring and gratifying his curiosity: the citadel, the ports, the walls which joined the Piræus to the city, the arsenals for the navy, erected by illustrious generals, the statues of gods and men, in which it was hard to know whether the materials or art were most worthy of admiration. He did not forget to offer a sacrifice to Minerva, the tutelary goddess of the citadel.

Whilst Paulus Æmilius was in that city, he demanded of the Athenians an excellent philosopher to finish the education of his children, and a skilful painter to design the ornaments of his triumph. They immediately cast their eyes upon Metrodorus, who excelled both in philosophy and painting; a very singular and extraordinary praise, which was confirmed by experience, and the approbation of Paulus Æmilius. We here see the attention paid by the great men of antiquity to the education of their children. The sons of that Roman general were then of some age, the youngest of the two, who made the campaign in Macedonia with his father, being at that time seventeen years old. He thought it necessary, however, to have a philosopher with them, capable of forming both their minds by the study of the sciences, and their manners by that of moral virtue, which of all studies is the most important, and yet the most neglected. If we are anxious to know the effects of such an education, we have only to call to mind the demeanour of the youngest of the two sons of this consul, who inherited the name and merit of Scipio Africanus, his grandfather by adoption, and of Paulus Æmilius, his natural father: who ruined Carthage and Numantia; who distinguished himself as much by his acquaintance with polite learning and the sciences, as by his military valour; who reckoned it an honour to have Polybius the historian, Panætius the philosopher, and Terence the poet, for his friends and companions; who, in a word, to use the terms of a very judicious writer,<sup>p</sup> never said, did, or thought, any thing unworthy of a Roman. Paulus Æmilius having found the precious treasure he sought, in the person of Metrodorus, left Athens well satisfied.

He arrived in two days at Corinth. The citadel and isthmus were an agreeable sight to him: the first, which was situated

<sup>p</sup> P. Scipio Æmilianus, vir avitis P. Africani paternisque L. Pauli virtuti-  
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upon the top of a mountain, abounded with streams and fountains of exceedingly pure water; and the isthmus, which separated by a very narrow neck of land two neighbouring seas, the one on the east, and the other on the west of it.

Sicyon and Argos, two very illustrious cities, were the next in his way; and afterwards Epidaurus, less opulent than the two others, but well known from the famous temple of Æsculapius, where at that time were to be seen an infinite multitude of rich presents, the offerings of sick persons out of gratitude for the cures they imagined they had received from that god.

Sparta was not distinguished by the magnificence of its buildings, but by the wisdom of its laws, customs, and discipline.

Having taken Megalopolis in his way, he arrived at Olympia, where he saw abundance of things worthy of admiration; but when he cast his eyes upon the statue of Jupiter, Phidias's masterpiece, he was as much struck, says Livy, as if he had seen the god himself, and cried out, that *This Jupiter of Phidias was the exact Jupiter of Homer*.<sup>q</sup> Imagining himself in the Capitol, he offered a more solemn sacrifice than he had done any where else.

Having made the tour of Greece in this manner, without giving himself any trouble to know people's thoughts in regard to Perseus, that he might avoid giving the allies any cause of discontent, he returned to Demetrias. He had met on his way a number of Ætolians, who came to inform him of an unhappy accident which had befallen their city. He ordered them to attend him at Amphipolis. Having received advice that the ten commissioners had already passed the sea, he quitted all other affairs, and went to meet them at Apollonia, which was only one day's journey from Amphipolis. He was very much surprised to meet Perseus there, whom his guards suffered to go about with abundance of liberty, for which he afterwards warmly reproved Sulpicius, to whose care he had confided that important prisoner. He put him, with Philip his son, into the hands of Posthumius, with orders to guard him better. As for his daughter and youngest son, he caused them to be brought from Samothracia to Amphipolis, where he ordered such care to be taken of them as their birth and condition required.

The commissioners being come hither,<sup>r</sup> as had been agreed on by them, and having entered the chamber of the assembly, where a great number of Macedonians were present, he took

bus simillimus; omnibus belli ac togæ dotibus, ingenii ac studiorum eminentissimus seculi sui, qui nihil in vitâ nisi laudandum aut fecit, aut dixit, aut sensit. *Patere*. l. i. c. 12.

<sup>q</sup> To have so well expressed the idea of Homer, is highly to the praise of Phidias; but the having so well conceived all the majesty of the god, is much more to that of Homer.

<sup>r</sup> Liv. l. xiv. n. 29, 30.

his seat on his tribunal, and after having caused silence to be proclaimed by the crier, Paulus Æmilius repeated in Latin the regulations made by the senate and by himself, in conjunction with the commissioners, relating to Macedonia. The principal articles were, That Macedonia was declared free: that it should pay the Romans one half the tribute paid the king, which was fixed at the sum of 100 talents, or 100,000 crowns: that it should have a public council composed of a certain number of senators, wherein all affairs should be discussed and adjudged: that it should be divided for the future into four regions or districts, that each should have their council, in which their particular affairs should be examined: and that no person should contract marriage, or purchase lands or houses, out of their own district. Several other articles of less importance were annexed to these. The prætor Octavius, who was present in this assembly, explained the several articles in Greek, as Paulus Æmilius pronounced them in Latin. The article of liberty, and that of the diminution of tribute, gave the Macedonians exceeding pleasure, who little expected them: but they looked upon the division of Macedonia into different regions, that were not to have their usual intercourse with each other, like the rending a body in pieces, by separating its members, which have no life, nor subsist, but in their mutual support of each other.

The consul afterwards gave audience to the Ætolians.\* I shall relate elsewhere the subject of it.

After those foreign affairs were settled,† Paulus Æmilius recalled the Macedonians into the assembly, in order to put the last hand to his regulations. He spoke at first on the subject of the senators who were to compose the public council, wherein the national affairs were to be transacted, and the choice of them was left to the people. A list was then read of the principal persons of the country, who were to be sent into Italy with such of their children as had attained the age of fifteen. This article seemed very hard at first; but it was soon perceived, that it had been resolved upon only for the better security of the people's liberty. For this list included the great lords, generals of the army, commanders of the fleet, all such as had any offices at the court, or had been employed in embassies, with many other officers accustomed to pay their court to the king in the abject manner of slaves, and to command others with insolence. These were all rich persons, who lived at a great expence, had magnificent equipages, and would not easily be reduced to a quite different kind of life, in which liberty makes the whole people equal, and subjects all to the laws. They were therefore all ordered to quit Macedonia, and

\* Liv. l. xlv. n. 31.

† Ibid. n. 32.

transport themselves into Italy, upon pain of death for such as disobeyed. The regulations made for Macedonia by Paulus Æmilius were so reasonable, that they did not seem calculated for conquered enemies, but for faithful allies, with whom there was every reason to be satisfied; and the execution of them, from which the nature of laws is best known, proved that there was nothing to be amended in the institutions of that wise magistrate.

To these serious affairs <sup>a</sup> succeeded a celebration of games, for which preparations had long been making, and to which care had been taken to invite all the most considerable persons in the cities of Asia and Greece. The Roman general offered magnificent sacrifices to the gods, and gave superb feasts, the king's treasures supplying him abundantly with the means of defraying such great expenses; but for the good order and fine taste observable in them, he was indebted solely to himself. For although he had so many thousands to receive, he displayed so nice a discernment, and so exact a knowledge of the quality of all the guests, that every one was lodged, placed, and treated, according to his rank and merit; and there was nobody who had not reason to praise his politeness and affability. The Greeks could not sufficiently express their admiration, that even in games, till then unknown to the Romans, he should evince so accurate a judgment and attention; and that a man, employed in the greatest, should not neglect the least propriety in small affairs.

He had caused all the spoils that he did not think fit to carry to Rome to be piled up in one great heap: bows, quivers, arrows, javelins; in a word, arms of all sorts; and caused them to be arranged in the form of trophies. With a torch in his hand, he set fire to them first himself, as his principal officers did after him.

He afterwards exposed to the view of the spectators, upon a place raised expressly for the occasion, all that was richest and most magnificent in the spoils he had taken in Macedonia, and which were to be carried to Rome; rich furniture, statues, and paintings by the greatest masters, vessels of gold, silver, copper, and ivory. Never had Alexandria, in the time of its greatest opulence, beheld any thing like what was now exhibited.

But the highest satisfaction Paulus Æmilius received from his magnificence, and that which was most grateful to self-love, was to see, that in the midst of so many extraordinary objects and curious sights, nothing was thought so wonderful, or so worthy of attention and admiration, as himself. And as people were surprised at the fine order of his table, he said, with an

<sup>a</sup> Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 270. I. iv. l. xlv. n. 32.

air of pleasantry, that the same genius which was necessary in disposing a battle, would serve also in regulating a feast: in the first, it rendered an army formidable to enemies; in the latter, an entertainment agreeable to guests.

His disinterestedness and magnanimity were no less praised than his magnificence and politeness; for he never so much as saw the gold and silver found amongst the king's treasures, which amounted to very great sums, but ordered it all to be delivered to treasurers, in order to be applied to the use of the public. He only permitted his sons, who were fond of study, to keep the books of Perseus's library for their own use. The young noblemen of those times, and such as were designed one day for the command of armies, did not profess a contempt for learning, nor believe it either unworthy of their birth, or unnecessary to the profession of arms.

When Paulus Æmilius had regulated all the affairs of Macedonia, he took leave of the Greeks,<sup>x</sup> and after having exhorted the Macedonians not to make a bad use of the liberty granted them by the Romans, and to preserve it by good government and union, he set out for Epirus with a decree of the senate, which enjoined him to abandon all the cities that had revolted to the king's party, to be plundered by his troops. He had sent also Scipio Nasica, and Fabius his son, with part of the army, to ravage the country of the Illyrians, who had given aid to that prince.

The Roman general being arrived in Epirus, thought it proper to proceed with caution in the execution of his commission, in order that his design should not be foreseen. He therefore sent officers into all the cities, under pretence of withdrawing the garrisons, in order that the Epirots should enjoy the same liberty as the Macedonians. So disgraceful a stratagem was called prudence. He then signified to ten of the principal persons of each city, that they were to bring all the gold and silver in their houses and temples, upon a certain day, into the market-place, to be laid up in the public treasury, and distributed his troops into all the cities. Upon the day prefixed, all the gold and silver was brought early in the morning into the public square, and at ten of the clock, in all the cities, the soldiers fell furiously upon the houses, which were abandoned to them to be plundered at their mercy. A hundred and fifty thousand men were made slaves, and after the cities were pillaged, their walls were demolished, the number of which amounted nearly to seventy. The whole booty was sold, and of the sum raised by it, each of the horse had for his share about 10*l.* sterling, (400 denarii,) and each of the foot about 5*l.* (200 denarii.)

<sup>x</sup> Liv. l. xlv. n. 33. 34.



After Paulus Æmilius, contrary to his natural disposition, which was gentle and humane, had caused this decree to be put in execution, he advanced to the sea at the city of Oricum. Some days after, Anicius, having assembled the remainder of the Epirots and Acarnanians, ordered the principal persons among them, whose cause had been reserved for the judgment of the senate, to follow him into Italy.

Paulus Æmilius being arrived at the mouth of the Tiber,<sup>y</sup> went up that river in king Perseus's galley, which had sixteen benches of oars, and wherein were displayed, not only the arms which had been taken, but all the richest stuffs, and finest carpets of purple found amongst the booty. All the Romans, who came out to meet that galley, accompanied it in crowds along the banks of the river, and seemed to give the proconsul by anticipation the honours of that triumph which he had so well deserved. But the soldiery, who had looked with a greedy eye upon the immense treasures of the king, and had not had all the share of them which they had promised themselves, retained a warm resentment upon that account, and were very ill satisfied with Paulus Æmilius. They openly reproached him with having treated them with too much rigour and authority, and seemed determined to refuse him the honour of a triumph by their suffrages. The soldiers called that general's exactitude, in causing discipline to be observed, rigour; and their discontent, occasioned by avarice, threw a veil over the excellent qualities of Paulus Æmilius; to whom, however, they were obliged to do justice in their hearts by acknowledging the superiority of his merit in every respect.

After some debates, a triumph was granted him. Never had any thing been so magnificent. It continued three days successively. I do not enter here into a particular account of it; as that seems foreign to the Grecian history. The money in specie carried in it, without reckoning an infinite number of gold and silver vessels, amounted to more than 1,250,000*l.* sterling. One single cup of massy gold, which Paulus Æmilius had caused to be made, and weighed ten talents,<sup>z</sup> was valued for the gold only, at 100,000 crowns. It was adorned with jewels, and consecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus.

After these rich spoils and treasures, which were carried in procession, was seen the chariot of Perseus with his arms, and upon his arms, his royal diadem. At some distance followed his children, with their governors, preceptors, and all the officers of their household, who, shedding tears, held out their hands to the people, and taught those little captives to do the same, and to endeavour, by their supplications and prayers, to

<sup>y</sup> Liv. l. xlv. n. 35—40. Plut. in. Paul. Æmil. p. 271.

<sup>z</sup> The talent weighed sixty pounds.

move them in their favour. They were two sons and a daughter, who from the tenderness of their years were little sensible of the greatness of their calamity; a circumstance which still more excited compassion. All eyes were fixed upon them, whilst their father was scarce regarded, and in the midst of the public joy, the people could not refrain from tears at so mournful a sight.

King Perseus walked after his children, and all their train, wrapped in a mourning cloak. His air and behaviour seemed to argue, that the excess of his misfortunes had turned his brain. He was followed by a troop of his friends and courtiers, who hanging down their heads, and weeping, with their eyes always fixed upon him, sufficiently explained to the spectators, that, little affected with their own misfortunes, they were sensible solely to those of their king.

It is said, that Perseus sent to desire Paulus Æmilius not to exhibit him as a spectacle to the Romans, and to spare him the indignity of being led in triumph. Paulus Æmilius replied coldly, *The favour he asks of me is in his own power; he can procure it for himself.* He reproached him, in those few words, with his cowardice and excessive love of life, which the Pagans thought incumbent on them to sacrifice generously in such conjunctures. They did not know, that it is never lawful to make an attempt upon one's own life. But Perseus was not prevented by that consideration.

Paulus Æmilius, seated in a superb car, and magnificently adorned, closed the march. He had his two sons on each side of him.

Whatever compassion he had for the misfortunes of Perseus, and however inclined he might be to serve him, all he could do for him, was to have him removed from the public prison to a more commodious place. Himself and his son Alexander were carried, by the order of the senate, to Alba, where he was guarded, and supplied with money, furniture, and people to serve him. Most authors agree, that he occasioned his own death by abstaining from food. He had reigned eleven years. Macedonia was not reduced into a province till some years afterwards.

Cn. Octavius and L. Anicius were also granted the honour of a triumph; the first for his naval victories, and the other for that he had gained in Illyria.

Cotys, king of Thrace, sent to demand his son, who had been confined in prison, after having been led in triumph. He excused himself for his attachment to the party of Perseus, and offered a great ransom for the prisoner. The senate, without receiving his excuses, replied, that having more regard to his former services than late fault, they would send back his

son, but without accepting any ransom : that the favours conferred by the Roman people were free and voluntary, and that they chose rather to leave the price of them to the gratitude and affection of those they obliged, than to be paid immediately for them.

## ARTICLE II.

THIS second article includes the space of something more than twenty years, from the defeat of Perseus, to the taking and destruction of Corinth by Mummius, at which time Greece was reduced into a Roman province.

## SECT. I.

Attalus comes to Rome to congratulate the Romans upon their success in Macedonia. The deputies of the Rhodians present themselves before the senate, and endeavour to appease their wrath. After long and warm solicitations, they succeed in being admitted into the alliance of the Roman people. Severity exercised against the Ætolians. All of them, in general, who had favoured Perseus, are cited to Rome, to answer for their conduct. A thousand Achæans carried thither; Polybius one of the number. The senate banishes them into several towns of Italy. After seventeen years of banishment, they are sent back into their own country : when only three hundred of them remained.

Amongst the different embassies from kings and states, which came to Rome after the victory over Perseus, Attalus, Eumenes's brother, drew upon him more than all others the eyes and attention of the Romans.\* The ravages committed by the Asiatic Gauls in the kingdom of Pergamus, had laid Attalus under the necessity of going to Rome, to implore the aid of the republic against those barbarians. Another still more specious reason had obliged him to make the voyage. It is necessary to congratulate the Romans upon their late victory, and to receive the applauses he deserved for the part he had taken in the war against Perseus, and for having shared with them in all the dangers of it. He was received at Rome with all the marks of honour and amity that a prince could expect, who had proved, in the army in Macedonia, a constant and determinate attachment for the Romans. He had a most favourable reception, and made his entrance into the city attended by a very numerous train.

All these honours, the real cause of which he did not penetrate, made him conceive thoughts and hopes which perhaps had never entered into his mind, if they had not been suggested to him. The greatest part of the Romans had no longer any esteem or affection for Eumenes. His secret negotiations with Perseus, of which they had been apprized, made them believe

\* Polyb. Legat. xciii. Liv. l. xlv. n. 19, 20.

that prince had never been heartily on their side, and that he only waited an occasion to declare against them. Full of this prejudice, some of the most distinguished Romans, in their private conversations with Attalus, advised him not to mention the business on which his brother had sent him to treat; but to speak solely of what related to himself. They gave him to understand that the senate, to whom Eumenes was become suspected, and even odious, from his having appeared to waver between Perseus and the Romans, had thoughts of depriving him of part of his kingdom, and to give it to himself, upon whom they could rely as an assured friend incapable of changing. We here recognize the maxims of the Roman policy; and these detached features may serve to unveil it upon other occasions, when more attentive to conceal itself.

The temptation was delicate to a prince, who, without doubt, did not want ambition, and who was not of a temper to reject such pleasing hopes when they presented themselves to him without being solicited. He listened therefore to these discourses and this proposal; and the rather, because they came from some of the principal persons at Rome, whose wisdom he esteemed, and whose probity he respected. The affair went so far, that he promised them to demand in the senate, that part of his brother's kingdom should be given to him.

Attalus had a physician in his train, called Stratius, whom Eumenes, suspecting his brother, had sent with him to Rome, to have an eye upon his conduct, and to recall him to his duty by good counsel, if he should happen to depart from it. Stratius had wit and penetration, and his manners were very insinuating, and well adapted to persuasion. Having either discovered, or learned from Attalus himself, the design that had been instilled into him, he took advantage of some favourable moments to open himself to him. He represented, that the kingdom of Pergamus, weak of itself, and but very lately established, had subsisted, and been augmented, solely by the union and good understanding of the brothers who possessed it. That only one of them, indeed, enjoyed the name of king, and wore the diadem; but that they all reigned in reality. That Eumenes, having no male issue, (for the son he had afterwards, and who succeeded him, was not then in being,) he could leave his throne only to his next brother. That his right to the succession of the kingdom was therefore incontestable; and that, considering the age and infirmities of Eumenes, the time for such succession could not be very remote. And wherefore then should he anticipate and hasten, by a violent and criminal undertaking, what would soon happen in a just and natural manner? Did he desire to divide the kingdom with his brother, or to deprive him of it entirely? If he had only a part of it, both of them, weakened

by such a division, and exposed to the enterprises of their neighbours, might be equally deprived of their share. That if he proposed to reign alone, what would become of his elder brother? Would he reduce him to live as a private person, or send him, at his years, into banishment? or, in a word, would he cause him to be put to death? That he did not doubt, but such thoughts must give him horror. That not to speak of the accounts related in fabulous history of the tragical effects of fraternal discord, the recent example of Perseus ought to remind him of them. That that unfortunate prince, who had torn the sceptre from his brother, by shedding his blood, pursued by the divine vengeance, had lately laid down the same sceptre at the feet of his conqueror in the temple of Samothracia, and in a manner before the eyes, and by the order of the gods who preside there, the witnesses and avengers of his guilt. That he was assured that the very persons, who, less out of friendship for him, than ill-will for Eumenes, gave him at present such pernicious counsels, would be the first to praise his tender and constant affection for his brother, if he continued faithfully attached to him to the last. Stratius added the extreme danger to which Attalus would expose the kingdom of Pergamus in the present conjuncture, when the Gauls were preparing to invade it.

How unworthy was it of the Romans to kindle and blow up the fire of discord in this manner, between brothers! Of what value must a sincere, prudent, and disinterested friend appear at such a time! What an advantage is it for a prince to give those who approach him the liberty of speaking freely, and without reserve to him; and of being known by them in that light! The wise remonstrances of Stratius produced their intended effect upon the mind of Attalus. That prince, having been introduced into the senate, without speaking against his brother, or demanding a division of the kingdom of Pergamus, contented himself with congratulating the senate in the name of Eumenes and his brothers, upon the victory gained in Macedonia. He modestly dwelt upon the zeal and affection with which he had served in the war against Perseus. He desired, that they would send ambassadors to check the insolence of the Gauls, to reduce them to their former state; and concluded with requesting, that the investiture of Ænus and Maronæa, cities of Thrace, might be given to him, which places had been conquered by Philip, father of Perseus, and the possession disputed with him by Eumenes.

The senate, imagining that Attalus would demand another audience, in order to speak in particular of his pretensions to part of his brother's dominions, promised beforehand to send ambassadors according to his request, and made the prince the

usual presents. They promised besides to put him into possession of the two cities, as he desired. But when it was known that he had left Rome, the senate, offended to find that he had done nothing of what they had expected from him, and not being able to be revenged upon him in any other manner, revoked the promise they had made him ; and, before the prince was out of Italy, declared Ænus and Maronea free and independent cities. They sent, however, an embassy to the Gauls, at the head of which was P. Licinius ; but with very different instructions to those demanded by Attalus. The Roman policy threw off the mask entirely at this time, and showed an aspect very unlike the frankness and probity of their ancestors.

The senate some days after gave audience to the Rhodians,<sup>c</sup> which made a great noise. They were at first refused to be heard, as having rendered themselves unworthy of that honour by their conduct, and even a declaration of war against them was talked of. Rhodes, alarmed at it, sent two new deputies. Having obtained admittance to the senate with great difficulty, they appeared there as suppliants, dressed in mourning habits, and with their faces bathed in tears. Astymedes spoke, and with a voice interrupted with sobs, took upon him the defence of his unfortunate country. He took great care not to show at first his desire to justify it. He avowed, that it had justly incurred the anger of the Roman people ; he confessed its faults, he called to mind the indiscreet embassy, which the insolent pride of the orator who spoke had rendered still more criminal : but he begged the senate to make some difference between the entire body of the nation, and a few private persons disavowed by them, whom they were ready to deliver up. He represented that there was no republic nor city that did not include some bad members ; that, after all, there were no other crimes objected to them but words ; foolish indeed, rash, extravagant, (which he confessed to be the characteristics and failings of his nation,) but such as wise persons seldom lay much stress upon, or punish with exceeding rigour, no more than Jupiter aims his thunders at all that speak with little respect of his divinity. *But, said he, the neutrality observed by us in the late war is looked upon as a certain proof of our enmity towards you. Is there a tribunal in the world,<sup>a</sup> wherein the intention, when without effect, is punished as the action itself? But allowing your severity be carried to that excess, at most the punishment can only fall on those who have had this intention, and then the majority of us are innocent. Admitting even that this neutrality and inaction make us all criminal, ought the real services we have ren-*

<sup>c</sup> Polyb. l. c. xlii—xcix. c. et civ. Liv. xlv. n. 20—25.

<sup>a</sup> Neque moribus neque legibus ullius civitatis ita comparatum esse, ut, si quis vellet inimicum perire, si nihil fecerit, quo id fiat, capitis damnetur. Liv.

dered you in the two preceding wars to be deemed as nothing, and will they not cover the omission imputed to us in the last? Let Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus, bear witness now in our cause. The voices of the two first will certainly be for us, and absolve us; and, for the third, at most, and in the severest sense, the sentence must appear doubtful and uncertain. Can you then, according to this state of the question, pass sentence of death against Rhodes; for you are now upon the point of deciding, whether it shall subsist any longer, or be entirely destroyed? You may declare war against us; but not a single Rhodian will take up arms against you. If you persist in your resentment, we demand time to go and report the result of our deputation at Rhodes, and at that moment our whole city, men, women, and free persons, will embark with all our estates and effects: we will abandon our household gods, as well public as private, and come to Rome, where, after we have thrown our gold and silver, and all we have, at your feet, we will deliver up ourselves, our wives, and our children to your discretion. We will suffer here, before your eyes, whatever you shall think fit to inflict upon us. If Rhodes is condemned to be plundered and set on fire, at least we shall spare ourselves the sight of that calamity. You may, by your resolves, declare us to be your enemies; but there is a secret sentiment in the bottom of our hearts, that declares quite the contrary, and assures us that, whatever hostilities you may exercise against us, you will never find us otherwise than friends and servants.

After this discourse, the deputies prostrated themselves upon the earth, and held out their hands towards the senators, with olive branches in them, to demand peace. When they were withdrawn, by order of the senate, they proceeded to vote upon the affair. All who had served in Macedonia, in quality of consuls, prætors, or lieutenants, and who had most experienced their foolish pride and enmity to the Romans, were very much against them. M. Portius Cato, the celebrated censor, known by the severity of his character, which often rose to hardness of heart, was softened at this time in favour of the Rhodians, and spoke for them with great warmth and eloquence. Livy does not repeat his discourse, because it was then extant in a work of Cato's own, entitled *De Originibus*, wherein he had inserted his own orations.

The world has reason to regret the loss of so valuable a collection. Aulus Gellius<sup>b</sup> has preserved some fragments of this discourse of Cato's; by which it appears he made use of almost the same reasons with the ambassadors from Rhodes. I shall cite some passages of it at the bottom of the page, to assist the reader in knowing and distinguishing the manly and energetical

<sup>b</sup> Lib. vii. c. 5.

style which characterized the Roman eloquence in those ancient times, when more attention was paid to the force of the sentiments than to the elegance of the words.

Cato<sup>c</sup> begins his discourse by representing to the Romans that they ought not, in consequence of their victory over the king of Macedon, to abandon themselves to the extravagance of excessive joy. That prosperity generally excites pride and insolence. That he apprehends, in the present case, they may form resolutions which may draw some misfortune upon Rome, and cause the frivolous joy, to which they give themselves up, to vanish like a dream. *Adversity*, says he, *in humbling the spirit, restores us to our reason, and teaches us what is necessary to be done. Prosperity, on the contrary, hurries us in a manner out of our way, by the joy it occasions, and makes us lose sight of the measures which a calm temper of mind would enable us to discern and execute. It is therefore, fathers, I am absolutely of opinion, that we should for a few days defer the decision of this affair, till, having recovered from the violent emotions of our joy, we are again masters of ourselves, and capable of deliberating with more maturity.* He adds, *That he indeed believes the Rhodians were far from desiring that the Romans should have conquered Perseus; but that they had such sentiments in common with all other states; sentiments, which did not proceed from their enmity to the Romans, but from the love of their own liberty; for which they had just cause to fear, when there should be none in a condition to dispute empire with us, and we should become absolute masters of all nations. For the rest, the Rhodians did not aid Perseus. Their whole crime,*<sup>d</sup> *by the consent of their most violent accusers, is, that they intended to declare war against us. But how long has the will, the intention only, been a crime? Is there any one amongst us that would be willing to subject himself to this rule? For my part, I am sure I would not. The Rhodians,*<sup>e</sup> *it is said, are proud: I should be very sorry that my children could justly make me that reproach. But pray,*

<sup>c</sup> Scio solere plerisque hominibus rebus secundis atque prolixis atque prosperis animum excellere, superbiam atque ferociam augescere atque crescere: quod mihi nunc magnæ curæ est, quia hæc res tam secundè processit, ne quid in consulendo adversi eveniat, quod nostras secundas res confutet; neve hæc lætitia nimis luxuriose eveniat. Adversæ res se domant, et docent quid opus sit facto: secundæ res lætitiâ transversum trudere solent à rectè consulendo. Quo majore opere edico suadeoque, uti hæc res aliquot dies proferatur, dum ex tanto gaudio in potestatem nostram redeamus.

<sup>d</sup> Qui acerrimè adversus eos dicit, ita dicit; hostes voluisse fieri. Et quis tandem est nostrum, qui, quod ad sese attinet, æquum censeat quempiam pœnas dare ob eam rem, quòd arguatur malè facere voluisse? nemo opinor: nam ego, quod ad me attinet, nolim.

<sup>e</sup> Rhodienses superbos esse aiunt; id objectantes quod mihi à liberis meis minimè dici velim. Sint sanè superbi. Quid id ad nos attinet? Idne irascimini, si quis superbior est quàm nos?



*in what does their pride affect us? Would it become us to impute it to them as a crime that they are prouder than we are?*

The opinion of so grave and venerable a senator as Cato prevented a war against the Rhodians. The answer given them did not declare them enemies, nor treat them as allies; but left matters still in suspense. They were ordered to remove their governors from the cities of Lycia and Caria. Those provinces were given up to them after the defeat of Antiochus, and now taken from them by way of punishment. They were ordered also to evacuate Caunus and Stratonice. They had bought the first for 200 talents, (about 25,000*l.*) of Ptolemy's generals, and the second had been given them by Antiochus and Seleucus; they drew from those two cities an annual revenue of 120 talents (or 15,000*l.*). At the same time the senate granted the island of Delos an exemption from customs, which considerably diminished the revenues of the Rhodians. For, instead of 1,000,000 of drachmas, (about 25,000*l.* sterling,) to which the revenue from those customs amounted before, it paid afterwards only 150,000 (about 3750*l.* sterling).

The senate's answer having dispelled at Rhodes the fear that the Romans would take arms against the republic, made all other evils appear light, as it is common for the expectation of great misfortunes to deaden the sensation of small ones. How hard soever those orders were, they submitted to them, and put them in immediate execution. They decreed at the same time a crown of gold to the Romans, of the value of 10,000 pieces of gold,<sup>1</sup> and chose their admiral Theodotus to present it. He had orders to solicit the alliance of the Romans. The Rhodians had not demanded it till then, though for almost 140 years they had shared in the most glorious expeditions of that republic; which was a feature of their politics. They were unwilling to hamper their liberty with the chains of oaths and treaties; in order that, continuing free, and their own masters, they might either aid the kings in distress, or be supported by them upon occasion. In the present conjuncture they earnestly demanded to be admitted as allies, not to secure themselves against other powers, for they were in no apprehensions of any besides the Romans, but to remove, by that change of conduct, all suspicions that might have been conceived to the prejudice of their republic. The alliance was not, however, granted them at this time. They did not obtain it till the following year; nor then without long and warm solicitations. Tiberius Gracchus, on his return from Asia, whither he had been sent in quality of commissioner, to examine into its condition, was of great service to them upon this occasion. He declared that the Rhodians

<sup>1</sup> This might amount to about 6000*l.* reckoning the piece of gold (χρυσούς) at twelve shillings, or thereabouts.

had punctually obeyed the senate's orders, and had condemned the partisans of Perseus to death. After so favourable a report, the Rhodians were admitted into the alliance of the Roman republic.

I have before observed,<sup>§</sup> that the *Ætoli*ans had presented themselves before *Paulus Æmilius* in mourning habits, at his return from his expedition into Greece, and that he had given them audience at *Amphipolis*. The subject of their complaints was, that *Lyciscus* and *Tisippus*, whom the influence of the Romans, to whose interests they were devoted, rendered very powerful in *Ætolia*, had surrounded the senate with soldiers, lent them by *Bæbius*, who commanded in the province for the Romans; that they had put to death 550 of the principal persons of the nation, whose sole crime was their having seemed to favour *Perseus*; that a great number of others had been sent into banishment; and that the estates, both of the one and the other, had been abandoned to their accusers. *Paulus Æmilius* listened to their complaints. The investigation was confined to inquiring, not on which side the injustice and violence had been committed, but whether the parties concerned had been for *Perseus* or the Romans. The murderers were acquitted. The deceased were declared to have been justly put to death, and the exiles to have been justly banished. *Bæbius* only was condemned for having lent his aid in this bloody execution; but why condemned if it was just? or if not, why were those acquitted who had been the principal authors of it?

This sentence gave great terror to all who had expressed any favourable inclination for *Perseus*, and exceedingly increased the pride and insolence of the partisans of Rome. The principal persons of each city were divided into three factions. The one were entirely devoted to the Romans; others adhered to the party of the kings; both making their court to their protectors by abject flatteries, and thereby rendering themselves powerful in their cities, which they held in an oppressive subjection. A third kind of citizens, in opposition to the other two, observed a kind of medium, neither taking part with the Romans nor the kings; but publicly asserting the defence of their laws and liberty. The latter, at bottom, were much esteemed and beloved in their several cities; but had no authority. All offices, embassies, honours, and rewards, were conferred solely upon those who espoused the Roman interest, after the defeat of *Perseus*; and they employed their credit in utterly destroying all those who differed from themselves in opinion.

In this view they repaired in great numbers, from all parts of Greece, to the ten commissioners, appointed by the senate to regulate affairs. They gave them to understand that besides

<sup>§</sup> Liv. l. xlv. n. 28—32.

those who had declared publicly for Perseus, there were abundance of others secretly the enemies of Rome, who, under the pretence of defending their liberty, influenced the whole people against them ; and that those cities would never continue quiet, and perfectly subject to the Romans, unless, after the contrary party were entirely reduced, the authority of those who had only the interest of the Roman commonwealth at heart was fully established. The ten commissioners perfectly relished those reasons, and made them the rule of their conduct. What justice could be expected from an assembly that was determined to consider and treat all as criminals who were not of the Roman party ; and to reward all who should declare themselves their accusers and enemies, with the highest graces and favours ! We see here to what lengths ambition and the lust of empire carry mankind. They make men blind to all sense of duty and decency, induce them to sacrifice justice, as well as every thing else, when it opposes their views. The virtue of the Pagans was but a weak and very fluctuating principle.

That appeared evidently upon this occasion. The Roman general to whom a list had been given of all those who were suspected, ordered them to attend him, from Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Boeotia, and to follow him to Rome, there to make their defence. Commissioners were sent also into Asia, in order to take informations against such as, in public or private, had favoured Perseus.

A. M. 3837. Of all the small states of Greece,<sup>h</sup> none gave the Ant. J. C. 167. Roman republic so much umbrage as the Achæan league, which till then had continued formidable by the number and valour of their troops, by the ability of their generals, and, above all, by the union that reigned between all the cities of which it was composed. The Romans, jealous of a power that might prove an obstacle to their ambitious designs, especially if they should join the king of Macedonia, or the king of Syria, spared no pains to weaken it by introducing divisions, and gaining creatures, whom they raised by their credit to all employments, and by whose means they influenced the decisions in all the assemblies of the league. We have seen what passed in the affair of the Spartan exiles. But it was in the conjuncture we now speak of, that the Romans gave the last stroke to their liberty.

After the defeat of Perseus, Callicrates, to complete with the Romans, to whom he had sold himself, the ruin of the partisans of liberty, whom he looked upon as his enemies, had the boldness to accuse by name all those to the ten commissioners, whom he suspected to have had any inclination to support Perseus. They did not think it would be sufficient to write to the Achæans, as they had done to other states, commanding them to send such

<sup>h</sup> Liv. xlv. n. 31. Pausan. in Achaic. p. 416, 417.

of their citizens to Rome, as were accused of having favoured Perseus : but they sent two deputies to declare in person that order to the league. Two reasons induced them to act in this manner. The first was, their fear that the Achæans, who were very jealous of their liberty, and full of valour, should refuse obedience to mere letters that should be written them ; and that Callicrates, and the other informers, would run the risk of their lives in the assembly : the second, because in the letters which had been found amongst Perseus's papers, nothing appeared to convict the accused Achæans.

The two commissioners sent into Achaia were C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. One of them, more abandoned to injustice than the other, (Pausanias does not say which,) complained in the assembly, that many of the most powerful persons of the league had assisted Perseus against the Romans, and demanded that they should be condemned as deserving death, after which he would name them. The whole assembly was shocked at this proposal, and cried out on all sides, that it was an unheard-of thing to condemn persons before it was known who they were, and pressed him to make known the guilty. Being urged repeatedly to explain himself, he replied, at the suggestion of Callicrates, that all who had been in office, and commanded the armies, had rendered themselves guilty of that crime. Xenon, upon that, who was a person of great credit, and very much respected by the league, spoke to this effect ; *I have commanded the armies, and have had the honour to be the chief magistrate of the league ; I protest that I have never acted in any thing contrary to the interests of the Romans, which I am ready to prove either in the assembly of the Achæans, or at Rome before the senate.* The Romans took hold of this expression as favourable to his designs, and decreed, that all those who had been charged by Callicrates should be sent to Rome, in order to justify themselves there. The whole assembly was in the highest affliction upon this sentence. Nothing like it had ever been known, even under Philip, or his son Alexander. Those princes, though irresistibly powerful, never conceived the thought of causing such as opposed them to be brought into Macedonia, but referred the trying of them to the council of the Amphictyons, their natural judges. The Romans did not imitate their moderation ; but, by a conduct which may justly be called tyrannical, caused above 1000 of the most considerable citizens of the Achæan league to be seized and conveyed to Rome. Callicrates became more than ever the object of horror and detestation to all the Achæans. All people avoided meeting him, and shunned him as an infamous traitor ; and no one would bathe in the public baths after him, till all the water had been first emptied out of them.

Polybius, the celebrated historian, was of the number of these exiles. We have seen Lycortas, his father, distinguish himself by the fortitude and constancy with which he supported the interests of the Achæan league during his government of it. He had taken particular care of the education of his son. In politics, Polybius had Lycortas, his father, a great statesman, for his master; and in war, Philopœmen, one of the most able and intrepid generals of antiquity. It was under these tutors that he imbibed those learned lessons in the art of government and war which he practised himself, and has transmitted to posterity in his writings.

As soon as he arrived at Rome, whither his reputation had reached before him, his merit made the greatest men of the republic cultivate his friendship. He was particularly intimate with the two sons of Paulus Æmilius, the eldest of whom had been adopted into the family of the Fabii, and the youngest into that of the Scipios. The latter had been adopted by P. Cornelius Scipio, son of Scipio Africanus, who conquered Hannibal. I have enlarged sufficiently, in the conclusion of the history of the Carthaginians, upon the intimate friendship of Polybius with this second son of Paulus Æmilius, who afterwards conquered Carthage and Numantia. That young Roman perceived the value of such a friend, and knew how to apply his lessons and advice to the best advantage. It is very probable that Polybius composed the greatest part of his history, or at least collected his materials for it, at Rome.

When the Achæans arrived at Rome, the senate, without hearing or examining their cause, supposing, without any foundation, and contrary to the most known truth, that they had been tried and sentenced in the assembly of the Achæans, banished them into different towns of Italy. Polybius was excepted from that number.

The Achæans,<sup>1</sup> surprised and afflicted with the fate of their countrymen, sent deputies to Rome, to demand that the senate would vouchsafe to take cognizance of their cause. They were answered that it had been done, and that they had adjudged it themselves. Upon that reply the Achæans sent deputies to Rome (with Euræas at their head) to protest again before the senate, that the Achæans had never been heard by their country, and that their affair had never been brought to a trial. Euræas, in consequence, entered the senate with the other deputies who accompanied him, and declared the orders he had received, praying, that they would take cognizance of the accusation, and not suffer the accused to perish without passing sentence upon the crime they were charged with. That it were to be wished the senate would examine the affair themselves, and

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. Legat. cv.

make known the guilty ; but in case their other great affairs should not afford them leisure for such an inquiry, they had only to refer it to the Achæans, who would do them justice in such a manner as should evince the greatness of their aversion for the guilty. Nothing was more equitable than this demand, and the senate was very much at a loss how to answer it. On the one side, they did not think it proper to try the cause, for the accusation was groundless : on the other, to dismiss the exiles without passing judgment upon them, was to lose irrecoverably all their friends in Achaia. The senate, in order to leave the Greeks no hopes of retrieving their exiles, and to render them thereby more submissive to their orders, wrote into Achaia to Callicrates, and into the other states to the partisans of the Romans, that it did not appear to them that the return of the exiles was consistent with their interest, or with that of their country. This answer not only threw the exiles, but all the people of Greece, into a consternation. A universal mourning succeeded it. They were convinced that there was nothing further to hope for the accused Achæans, and that their banishment was perpetual.

However, they sent new deputies,<sup>k</sup> with instructions to demand the return of the exiles : but as suppliants, and as a favour ; lest in taking upon them their defence, they should seem in the slightest degree to oppose the will of the senate. There did not escape any thing in their harangue that was not very well weighed, and sufficiently reserved. Notwithstanding which, the senate continued inflexible, and declared that they would persist in the regulations already made.

The Achæans,<sup>l</sup> without being disheartened, appointed several deputations at different times, but with no better success ; they were particularly ordered to demand the return of Polybius. They were in the right to persevere thus in their applications to the senate in favour of their country. Though their repeated solicitations had no other effect than to place the injustice of the Romans in full light, they could not be considered as unnecessary. Many of the senators were moved with them, and were of opinion that it was proper to send home the exiles.

The Achæans,<sup>m</sup> having received advice of this favourable disposition, in order to improve it to their advantage, appointed a last deputation. The exiles had been already banished seventeen years, and a great number of them were dead. There were very warm debates upon the subject in the senate ; some being for their return into their own country, and restored to the possession of their estates ; and others opposing it. Scipio,

<sup>k</sup> Polyb. Legat. cxxii.

<sup>l</sup> Id. Legat. cxxix. cxxx.

<sup>m</sup> Plut. in Cato Cens. p. 341.

at the request of Polybius, had solicited Cato in favour of the exiles. That grave senator, rising up to speak in his turn; *To see us, said he, dispute a whole day, whether some poor old men of Greece shall be interred by our grave-diggers, or those of their own country, would not one believe that we had nothing at all to do?* That pleasantry was all that was wanting to make the senate ashamed of their obstinate perseverance, and to induce them to send back the exiles into Peloponnesus. Polybius was anxious that they might be reinstated in all the honours and dignities they possessed before their banishment; but before he presented that request to the senate, he thought proper to sound Cato upon it, who told him, smiling, *Polybius, you do not imitate the wisdom of Ulysses. You are for returning into the cave of the Cyclops for some miserable tatters you have left there.* The exiles accordingly returned into their country; but of the thousand that left it, only about three hundred remained. Polybius made no use of this permission; or if he did, he soon rejoined Scipio, since, three years after, he was with him at the siege of Carthage.

A. M. 3854.  
Ant. J. C. 150.

## SECT. II.

Mean flattery of Prusias, king of Bithynia, in the senate. Eumenes, become suspected by the Romans, is not suffered to enter Rome. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, dies, and is succeeded by a son of the same name. Death of Eumenes. Attalus, his brother, succeeds him, as guardian to his son, then very young. War between Attalus and Prusias. The latter, having formed the design of putting his son Nicomedes to death, is killed by him. Embassy of three celebrated Athenian philosophers to Rome. Another from the people of Marseilles. Digression upon the city of Marseilles.

After the defeat of Perseus, new embassies came every day to Rome, either to congratulate the Romans upon their victory or to justify or excuse themselves for the attachment they had seemed to have to that prince; and some came to lay complaints before the senate in regard to some allies. We have seen hitherto what relates to the Rhodians and Achæans. In this section I shall collect what concerns Eumenes king of Pergamus, Prusias king of Bithynia, and some other particular affairs.

Prusias being come to Rome," to pay to the senate and Roman people his compliments of congratulation upon the good success of the war against Perseus, dishonoured the royal dignity by his abject flattery. At his reception by the deputies appointed by the senate for that purpose, he appeared with his head shaved, and with the cap, habit, and shoes and stockings of a slave made

A. M. 3838.  
Ant. J. C. 166.

" Polyb. in Legat. xcvi. Liv. lib. xlv. n. 44.

free; and, saluting the deputies, *You see*, said he, *one of your freed-men ready to fulfil whatsoever you shall please to command, and to conform entirely to all your customs.* When he entered the senate, he stood at the door facing the senators, who were seated, and prostrating himself, kissed the threshold. Afterwards, addressing himself to the assembly, *I salute you, ye gods, preservers*, cried he; and went on with a discourse suitable to that preamble. Polybius says, that he should be ashamed to repeat it. He concluded with demanding, that the Roman people would renew the alliance with him, and grant him certain lands taken from Antiochus, of which the Gauls had possessed themselves without any right or pretension. He then recommended his son Nicomedes to them. All he asked was granted him; only commissioners were appointed to examine into the condition of the lands in question. Livy, in his account of this audience, omits the abject submissions of Prusias; of which he pretends the Roman historians say nothing: he contents himself with mentioning, in the conclusion, part of what Polybius had said before; and not without good reason. For that base deportment at least dishonoured the senate as much who suffered, as the prince who acted it.

Prusias had scarce left Rome,<sup>o</sup> when advice came that Eumenes was upon the point of entering it. That news gave the senate great perplexity. Eumenes, in the war against Perseus, had behaved in such a manner that they could neither consider him as a friend nor an enemy. There was ground for violent suspicions, but no certain proofs against him. To admit him to an audience was to declare him innocent: to condemn him as guilty was to lay them under the necessity of a war with him, and to proclaim to all the world that they had been deficient in prudence, by loading a prince with favours and honours, with whose character they were little acquainted. To avoid these inconveniences, the senate made a decree, by which, under the pretext that the reception of kings was too great an expense to the republic, they forbade all kings in general to enter that city, and caused that ordinance to be signified to the king of Pergamus, who was at no loss to comprehend its meaning. He returned, therefore, into his own dominions.

This affront encouraged his enemies and cooled the affection of his allies.<sup>p</sup> Prusias sent ambassadors to Rome, to complain against him for the irruptions he made into Bithynia. He added, that Eumenes held secret intelligence with Antiochus; that he treated all those injuriously who seemed to favour the Romans, and particularly

A. M. 3839.

Ant. J. C. 165.

<sup>o</sup> Polyb. Legat. xcvii.

<sup>p</sup> Polyb. Legat. xcvii. cii. civ—cvi. cxix. cxxi.



the Gallo-Grecians, his neighbours, in contradiction to the senate's decrees in their behalf. That people had also sent deputies to Rome with their complaints; which they afterwards repeated several times, as well as Prusias. The senate did not yet declare themselves. They contented themselves with covertly aiding and supporting the Gallo-Grecians to the utmost of their power, without doing any manifest injustice to Eumenes.

The king of Pergamus, who had been forbidden entrance into Rome, sent his brothers, Attalus and Athenæus, thither, to answer the accusations with which he was charged. The apology they made seemed fully to confute all the complaints that had been alleged against the king, and the senate were so well satisfied with it, that they sent them back into Asia laden with honours and presents. They did not, however, entirely efface the prejudices conceived against their brother. The senate despatched Sulpicius Gallus and Manius Sergius, with orders to inform themselves secretly whether Antiochus and Eumenes were not concerting some design against the Romans.

Sulpicius<sup>a</sup> acted in this commission with very great imprudence. He was a vain man, and aimed at appearing important, by declaring against Eumenes. When he arrived in Asia, he caused all the cities to be informed, that such as had any complaints to make, in regard to that prince, might repair to him at Sardis. And there for ten days he hearkened quietly to all the accusations people thought fit to form against Eumenes; a liberty that set all malcontents at work, and opened a door for all manner of calumnies.

Tiberius Gracchus, whom the senate sent the following year into Asia upon the same account, was received by Eumenes and Antiochus in a manner which convinced him there was nothing to fear from those two kings, and induced him to make his report to the senate accordingly. He gave an equally favourable account of the conduct of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, whose sister Eumenes had married. That prince died some time after.

A. M. 3842.  
Ant. J. C. 162. His son Ariarathes, surnamed Philopator,<sup>r</sup> succeeded him. He had him by Antiochis, the daughter of Antiochus the Great, and intended, when he came of age, to resign his kingdom to him, to which his son would never consent; from whence he was called *Philopator*, that is, *lover of his father*: an action highly laudable, in an age wherein it was no uncommon thing to acquire kingdoms by parricide.

As soon as the young king ascended the throne he sent de-

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145.

<sup>r</sup> Diod. Eclog. p. 895.

puties to Rome,\* to demand that the treaty, which his father had made with the Romans, should be renewed, which was granted him, with praises.

Some time after,<sup>t</sup> notwithstanding Eumenes aided him with all his forces, he was dethroned by Demetrius, king of Syria, and one of his elder brothers set in his place, who was a supposititious child, named Holofernes. Ariarathes took refuge at Rome. The usurper

and Demetrius sent their ambassadors also thither. The senate decreed, that the two brothers should reign jointly. It was a policy sufficiently frequent with the Romans to divide kingdoms between brothers, in order to weaken them by that partition, and sow the seeds of an eternal division between them. Attalus, in the first year of his reign, re-established him in the solid possession of the throne, having conquered and expelled his competitor.

Eumenes was always suspected by the Romans, and almost continually at war with Prusias, or the Gallo-Grecians. He died at length, after having reigned thirty-eight years." He left for his successors in the kingdom his son Attalus<sup>x</sup> surnamed Philometor, then an infant, whom he had by Stratonice, sister to Ariarathes, and appointed as guardian of his son, and regent of his kingdom, his brother Attalus Philadelphus, who governed the kingdom one-and-twenty years.

Polybius bestows great praises on Eumenes. The body of that prince, says he, was weak and delicate, but his soul great, and abounding with the most noble sentiments. He was inferior to none of the kings<sup>y</sup> who were his contemporaries in many other qualities, and excelled them all in the nobleness of his inclinations. The kingdom of Pergamus, when he received it from his father, consisted only of a very small number of cities, which scarce deserved that name. He rendered it so powerful, that it might have disputed pre-eminence with almost all the greatest kingdoms. He owed nothing to either chance or fortune;—I still use the words of Polybius. Every thing was the result of his prudence, assiduity, and activity. From his fondness for true glory, he did more good to Greece, and enriched more private persons, than any prince of his time. To finish his character, he possessed so fully the art of engaging the respect of his three brothers, and of keeping them within bounds by his authority, without letting them perceive it, that though they

\* Polyb. Legat. cxxi.

<sup>t</sup> Id. Legat. cxxxvi.

" Strabo says, he reigned forty-three years, but that is presumed to be an error.

<sup>x</sup> Strabo, l. xiii. p. 634.

Polyb. in Exempl. Virt. et Vit. p. 166.

were all of age and capacity to act for themselves, and shared with him in the functions of the sovereignty, they never failed in point of submission, but continued always in perfect union, and, with equal zeal for his service, assisted him in defending and aggrandizing the kingdom. It would be difficult to find such an example of authority over brothers, joined with unalterable concord and union.

I ought not, in this place, to omit one thing, which does great honour to the memory of Eumenes; that is, his having founded the famous library of Pergamus, or at least considerably augmented it.

A. M. 3848.  
Ant. J. C. 156.

The division which had almost perpetually subsisted between Prusias and Eumenes,<sup>2</sup> continued under Attalus, who succeeded the latter.

A. M. 3849.  
Ant. J. C. 155.

Prusias, having been victorious in a battle, entered Pergamus, and, violently enraged and afflicted that he had failed of seizing Attalus, let fall the weight of his revenge upon the statues and temples of the gods; burning and destroying all before him in his march. Attalus sent his brother Athenæus to Rome, to implore aid of the senate, who sent several embassies at different times to forbid Prusias to continue the war against Attalus; but he eluded those orders either by delays, or even by treachery, having once attempted, under pretence of an interview, to seize the Roman ambassador and Attalus. His design was discovered, and the execution of it prevented: but his crime was not the less upon that account. Rome at other times would have punished it with the destruction of his kingdom. She was at present contented with sending ten commissioners, with instructions to put an end to this war, and to oblige Prusias to make Attalus satisfaction for the damages he had done him. Attalus, however, with the aid of his allies, had assembled numerous forces both by sea and land. All things were prepared for opening the campaign, when news came that the commissioners were arrived. Attalus joined them. After some conferences upon the present affair, they set out for Bithynia, where they declared to Prusias the orders they were charged with from the senate. That prince was willing to accept part of the conditions prescribed him; but refused to comply with most of the rest. The commissioners, exasperated at his rejecting them, broke the alliance and amity with him, and resuming immediately their route to Pergamus, left Prusias in terrible apprehensions. They advised Attalus to keep with his army upon the frontiers of his kingdom, without being the first to commit hostilities; and some of them returned to Rome, to inform the senate of the rebellion of

<sup>2</sup> Polyb. Legat. cxxviii. cxxix. cxxxiii. cxxxv. cxxxvi.

**Prusias.** At length he opened his eyes, and new commissioners from Rome obliged him to lay down his arms, and sign a treaty of peace which they presented to him. This treaty imported, that Prusias should give immediately twenty decked ships to Attalus; that he should pay him 500 talents (500,000 crowns) within twenty years; that the two kings should keep within the bounds of their own dominions, as they stood before the war: that Prusias, in reparation of the damage he had done upon the lands of some neighbouring cities, which were named, should pay them 100 talents (100,000 crowns). When he had accepted and signed these conditions, Attalus drew off his troops both by sea and land into his own kingdom. In this manner ended the war, occasioned by the differences between Attalus and Prusias.

Attalus the younger,<sup>a</sup> the son of Eumenes, when the peace was concluded between the two states, made a voyage to Rome, in order to make himself known to the senate, to demand the continuance of their amity, and, without doubt, to thank them also for the protection they had granted his uncle, who reigned in his name. He received from the senate all the marks of favour he could expect, and all the honours suitable to his years; after which he set out for his own dominions.

Prusias also sent afterwards his son Nicomedes to Rome;<sup>b</sup> and knowing that he was highly respected there, he gave him instructions to demand, that the senate would remit him the remainder of the sum he was to pay Attalus. He joined Menas with him in this embassy, to whom he had given secret orders to despatch the young prince, in order to advance his children by a second wife. The favour demanded by Prusias was refused, Attalus's ambassadors demonstrating that the whole sum was far from being equal to the losses their master had sustained.

Menas, instead of executing the horrid commission he was charged with, discovered the whole to Nicomedes. The young prince having quitted Rome to return into Bithynia, thought it incumbent on him to prevent the murderous designs of his father. Supported by the assistance of Attalus, he revolted against him, and drew over the greatest part of the people to his side; for Prusias was universally hated for his oppressions and cruelties. That unfortunate prince, abandoned by all his subjects, took refuge in a temple, where he was slain by soldiers sent by Nicomedes, or, according to some, by Nicomedes himself. What horrors on each side! Prusias was called *the hunter*, and had reigned at least six-and-thirty years. It was with him Hannibal had taken refuge.

<sup>a</sup> Polyb. Legat. cxl.    <sup>b</sup> Appian. in Mithridat. p. 175. Justin. l. lxxxiv. c. 4.

The king of Bithynia's person had nothing in it to prejudice people in his favour; nor was his mind more to his advantage. He was in size but half a man,<sup>c</sup> and a mere woman as to valour and bravery. He was not only timorous, but delicate, and incapable of fatigue; in a word, equally effeminate in body and mind; defects by no means amiable in a king, and least of all amongst the Bithynians. Polite learning, philosophy, and all other liberal sciences connected with them, were entirely foreign to him. In short, he had no manner of idea of moral rectitude or beauty. Night and day he lived a true Sardanapalus. So that his subjects, upon the first dawn of hope, joined with the utmost ardour in measures against him, and to punish him in the same manner in which he had governed them.

I have deferred speaking of two embassies, which arrived at Rome very near the same time.

The one came from the Athenians, who having been condemned by a sentence passed on them by the Sicyonians,<sup>d</sup> but under the authority of the Roman senate, in a fine of 500 talents, for having laid waste the lands of the city of Oropus, sent to demand the remission of that fine. The ambassadors were three celebrated philosophers; Carneades, of the sect of the Academics; Diogenes, of the Stoics; and Critolaus, of the Peripatetics. The taste for eloquence and philosophy had not yet made its way so far as Rome; it was about the time of which we are speaking that it began to spread there, and the reputation of these three philosophers did not a little contribute to it. The young people of Rome, who had any taste for the sciences, made it an honour and amusement to visit them, and were struck with admiration in hearing them, especially Carneades, whose lively and graceful eloquence, in which solidity and elegance were conjoined, transported and enchanted them. It was the general topic of conversation, that a Greek of extraordinary merit was arrived, who, from his great knowledge, was more than man, and who, in calming and softening the most violent passions by his eloquence, inspired youth with a kind of love, which made them renounce all other pleasures and employments, to devote themselves wholly to philosophy. He had for his auditors all the most considerable persons of Rome. His discourses, translated into Latin by one of the senators, were in all hands. All Rome saw, with great joy, their children apply themselves to the Grecian learning, and attach themselves to those wonderful men. Cato alone seemed sorry for it; apprehending that this taste for polite learning would extinguish that for military knowledge; and that they would prefer the glory of speaking to that of acting

<sup>c</sup> Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 173, 174.

<sup>d</sup> Cic. l. ii. de Orat. n. 155. Aul. Gel. l. vii. c. 14.

well. The example of the second Scipio Africanus, educated at the same time under the care of Polybius, in a taste for the sciences, demonstrates how ill founded that prejudice of Cato's was. Be this as it may, he warily reproached the senators for keeping the ambassadors so long in the city ; and having caused the affair that brought them thither to be despatched, he hastened their departure. By a decree of the senate, the fine, in which the Athenians had been condemned, was mitigated, and the 500 talents reduced to 100.

The other embassy was sent by the people of Marseilles.\* They had already been often harassed by the Ligurians : but at the time of which we now speak, they were reduced to the last extremities, and sent ambassadors to Rome to implore aid of the senate. They came to a resolution to send deputies to the Ligurians, to incline them to sentiments of peace and equity by mild measures and negotiation. Such conduct made them only the more haughty, and they carried their insolence so far as to offer indignities to the deputies, and to violate the law of nations in their persons. The senate being informed of this unhappy affair, made the consul Quintus Opimius march immediately against them with an army. He laid siege to the city<sup>f</sup> where the insult had been offered to the Roman ambassadors, took it by storm, made slaves of the inhabitants, and sent the principal authors of the affront bound and fettered to Rome, to be punished there according to their deserts. The Ligurians were beaten in several battles, and cut to pieces. The victor distributed all the conquered lands amongst the people of Marseilles. He ordered the Ligurians to send hostages to Marseilles, which were to be exchanged for others from time to time ; in order to lay a curb upon them, and prevent them from molesting the people of Marseilles, as they had done till then.

Rome had always held the people of Marseilles in extreme consideration, founded upon their extraordinary merit, and the inviolable fidelity with which they had constantly adhered to the party of the Romans. They came originally from Phocæa,<sup>g</sup> a city of Ionia. When Cyrus sent Harpagus to besiege it, the inhabitants, rather than submit to the yoke of the Barbarians, as so many others had done, embarked with their wives and children, and all their effects ; and after various adventures, having cast a mass of red-hot iron into the sea, they all engaged themselves by oath never to return to Phocæa, till that iron should swim upon the water. Afterwards having landed upon the coast of Gaul, near the mouth of the Rhone, they settled there by the

\* Polyb. Legat. cxxxi. et cxxxiv.

<sup>f</sup> Egitna.

<sup>g</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 164. Justin. l. xliii. c. 3.

consent of the king of the country, and built a city since called Marseilles. Some authors suppose that this city was already in existence, and had been founded by an ancient colony of these same Phocæans in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, about the second year of the 45th Olympiad, and 600 years before the birth of Jesus Christ; and that those who fled from Harpagus, and came to settle here, were called the founders, because they greatly increased the extent and power of this city. This second foundation took place in the 60th Olympiad, about 540 years before the birth of Jesus Christ, when Servius Tullius reigned at Rome.

The king, who had received them into his dominions with great kindness, being dead, his son<sup>b</sup> did not show them equal favour. The growing power of their city gave him umbrage. He was made to understand, that those strangers, whom he had received into his country as guests and suppliants, might one day make themselves masters of it by right of conquest. The fable of the bitch was made use of upon this occasion, that asked her companion to lend her her kennel only for eight days, till she had brought forth her whelps; then, by urgent entreaties, obtained a second term, that she might have time to bring them up; and at last, when they were grown large and strong, made herself absolute mistress and proprietor of the place, from whence she could never afterwards be expelled. The Marseillaise had, in consequence, at first a severe war upon their hands; but having been victorious, they continued in quiet possession of the lands that had been granted them, within the bounds of which they were not long confined.

In process of time they settled several colonies,<sup>i</sup> and built several cities; Agde, Nice Antibes, Olbia; which much extended their territory, and augmented their power. They had ports, arsenals, and fleets, which rendered them formidable to their enemies.

So many new settlements contributed to the spreading of the Greeks in Gaul,<sup>k</sup> and occasioned a wonderful change in that country. The Gauls, quitting their ancient rusticity by degrees, began to be civilized, and to assume more gentle manners. Instead of breathing nothing but war, they accustomed themselves to the observance of the laws of a wise government. They learned to improve their lands, to cultivate vines, and to plant olives. Hence so surprising an alteration ensued,<sup>l</sup> as well in the provinces as in the people who inhabited them, that it might have been said, Greece was not come to Gaul, but Gaul had been transferred into Greece.

<sup>b</sup> Justin. l. xliii. c. 4.

<sup>i</sup> Strab. p. 180.

<sup>k</sup> Justin. l. xliii. c. 4.

<sup>l</sup> *Adeo magnus et hominibus et rebus impositus est nitor, ut non Græcia in Galliam emigrâsse, sed Gallia in Græciam translata videretur.* Justin.

The inhabitants<sup>m</sup> of the new city made very wise laws for its polity and government, which was aristocratical; that is to say, in the hands of the elders. The council of the city was composed of 600 senators, who continued in that function during life. Of that number fifteen were elected to take care of the current affairs, and three to preside in the assemblies, in quality of principal magistrates.

The right of hospitality was in singular estimation among the Marseillaise,<sup>n</sup> and practised by them with the most exalted humanity. To maintain the security of the asylum which they gave to strangers, no person was suffered to enter the city with arms. Certain persons were placed at the gates, whose business it was to take care of the arms of all who came in, and to return them when they went out.

All entrance was barred to such as might be inclined to introduce sloth and a voluptuous life; and particular care was taken to banish all double-dealing, falsehood, and fraud.

They piqued themselves especially upon sobriety, and modesty, and frugality.<sup>o</sup> The most considerable portion amongst them did not exceed 100 pieces of gold; that is to say, very near 100 pistoles. They were not allowed to lay out more than five in dress, and as many in jewels. Valerius Maximus,<sup>p</sup> who lived in the reign of Tiberius, admires the regulations of government observed at Marseilles in his time. *That city, says he, stedfastly retaining the ancient severity of manners,<sup>q</sup> excludes from their theatre those comedians whose pieces generally touch upon the subject of unlawful love.* The reason given for this maxim is still finer and more remarkable than the maxim itself: *Lest, adds the author, a familiarity with such sort of shows should make the people the more apt to imitate them.*

They would not admit in funeral ceremonies those indecent tears and lamentations with which they are generally attended, and ordered the obsequies to be terminated the same day by a domestic sacrifice, and an entertainment for the friends and relations of the deceased. *For is it consistent to abandon ourselves to immoderate affliction,<sup>r</sup> or to be offended at the Divinity for not having thought fit to share his immortality with us?*

Tacitus makes mention of the city of Marseilles highly to its praise; the passage occurs in his *Life of Julius Agricola*, his father-in-law. After having spoken of the excellent education

<sup>m</sup> Strab. l. iv. p. 197.

<sup>o</sup> Strab. l. iv. p. 181.

<sup>n</sup> Val. Max. l. ii. c. 6.

<sup>p</sup> Val. Max. l. ii. c. 6.

<sup>q</sup> Eadem civitas severitatis custos acerrima est: nullum aditum in scenam mimis dando, quorum argumenta majore ex parte stuprorum continent actus, ne talia spectandi consuetudo etiam imitandi licentiam sumat.

<sup>r</sup> Etenim quid attinet, aut humano dolori indulgeri, aut divino numini invidiam fieri, quod immortalitatem suam nobiscum partiri noluerit?



he had received from the care and tender affection of Julia Procilla,<sup>a</sup> his mother, a lady of extraordinary virtue, who made him pass the early years of his youth in the study of those arts and sciences that suited his birth and age; he adds—"What had preserved him from the dangers and disorders to which youth is generally exposed, was, besides his own excellent disposition, the good fortune of having from his infancy the city of Marseilles for his school, in the manners of whose inhabitants, the politeness of the Greeks, and the simplicity and reserve of the provinces, were happily united."—*Arcebat eum ab illecebris precantium, præter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam habuerit, locum Græcæ comitate et provinciali parsimoniâ mistum ac bene compositum.*

From what I have said, it may be seen, that Marseilles was become a celebrated school for politeness, wisdom, and virtue, and at the same time for all arts and sciences. Eloquence, philosophy, physic, mathematics, law, fabulous theology, and all kinds of literature, were publicly professed there. This city produced the most ancient of the learned men of the West. I mean Pytheas, an excellent geographer and astronomer, who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, or indeed of Alexander the Great.

They persevered constantly in cultivating the arts and sciences with equal ardour and success. Strabo relates, that in his time (he lived in the reign of Augustus) the young nobility of Rome went to Marseilles for education; and he prefers that place to the city of Athens itself; which is saying a great deal. We have already seen that it still retained that privilege in the time of Tacitus the historian.

The Marseillaise distinguished themselves no less by the wisdom of their government, than by their capacity and taste for learning. Cicero, in one of his orations, praises highly their manner of governing their republic.<sup>u</sup> *I am assured*, says he, *that not only in Greece, but almost in all other nations, there is nothing comparable to the wise polity established at Marseilles. That city, so remote from the country, manners, and language, of all other Greeks, situate in Gaul, in the midst of barbarous nations which surround it on all sides, is so prudent-*

<sup>a</sup> Mater Julia Procilla fuit, raræ castitatis. In hujus sinu indulgentiâque educatus, per omnem honestarum artium cultum, pueritiam adolescentiamque transegit. *Tacitus in Agricol. c. iv.* <sup>†</sup> Voss. in *Histor. Græc.*

<sup>u</sup> Cujus ego civitatis disciplinam atque gravitatem, non solum Græciæ, sed haud scio an cunctis gentibus, anteponendam jure dicam: quæ tam procul à Græcorum omnium regionibus, disciplinis, linguâque divisa, cum in ultimis terris cincta Gallorum gentibus, barbariæ fluctibus alluatur, sic optimum consilio gubernatur, ut omnes ejus instituta laudare facilius possint quam æmulari. *Orat. pro Flacco, n. lxiii.*

*ly directed by the counsels of its elders, that it is more easy to praise than imitate the wisdom of its government.*

They laid it down as a fundamental rule of their politics, \* from which they never departed, to adhere inviolably to the Romans, to whose manners their own were more conformable, than to those of the barbarians around them. Besides which, their neighbourhood to the Ligurians, to whom each state were equally enemies, could not but contribute to unite them by their common interests; that union enabling each party to make powerful diversions on both sides of the Alps. They accordingly rendered the Romans great services at all times, and also received considerable aids from them upon many occasions.

Justin relates a fact, † which would be very much to the honour of the Marseillaise, if it were well authenticated. Having received advice that the Gauls had taken and burnt Rome, they deplored that disaster which had befallen their allies, as much as if it had happened to their own city. Nor did they confine themselves to fruitless tears. Out of the gold and silver, either belonging to the public or private persons, they raised the sum in which the Gauls had taxed the conquered as the price of peace, and sent it to Rome. The Romans, infinitely affected with so noble an act of generosity, granted Marseilles the privilege of immunity, and the right of sitting amongst the senators at the public shows. It is certain that, ‡ during the war with Hannibal, Marseilles aided the Romans with all manner of good offices; without permitting the ill successes which they experienced in the first years of the war, and which had deprived them of almost all their allies, to shake their fidelity in the least.

In a civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, that city observed a conduct which well denotes the wisdom of its government. Cæsar, § against whom they had shut their gates, caused the fifteen senators who were in supreme authority to come to his camp, and represented to them that he was sorry the war should begin by attacking their city; that they ought rather to submit to the authority of all Italy, than to abandon themselves blindly to the desires of one man; and he added all the motives most capable of persuading them. After having made their report to the senate, they returned into the camp, and gave Cæsar this answer: ¶ That they knew the Roman people were

\* Strab. l. iv. p. 180.

† Justin. l. xliii. c. 5.

‡ Liv. l. xxi. n. 20, 26. Lib. xxvi. n. 19. Lib. xxvii. n. 36.

§ Cæs. in Bel. Civ. l. i.

¶ Intelligere se divisum esse populum in partes duas: neque sui judicii, neque suarum virium decernere, utra pars justiore habeat causam: principes vero earum esse partium Cn. Pompeium et C. Cæsarem patronos civitatis.—Paribus eorum beneficiis parem se quoque voluntatem tribuere debere, et neutrum eorum, contra alterum juvare, aut urbe aut portubus recipere.

divided into two parties: that it did not belong to them to determine which had the right on their side: that the two heads of those parties were equally the protectors of their city; and at the same time its friends and benefactors. That for this reason, obliged to express their gratitude alike for both, it was incumbent upon them neither to assist nor receive the one into their city or ports to the prejudice of the other. They suffered a long siege,<sup>c</sup> in which they showed all possible valour: but at length, the extreme necessity to which they were reduced, by the want of every thing, obliged them to surrender. However enraged Cæsar was at so obstinate a resistance, he could not refuse to the ancient reputation of the city the favour of saving it from being plundered, and of preserving its citizens.

I should have considered myself as in some measure detracting from the glory of the French nation, and from that of a city which holds one of the highest ranks in the kingdom, if I had not collected in this place part of those favourable reports which antiquity makes of it. I hope the reader will pardon this digression; which, besides, comes within my plan, and forms part of the Grecian history.

The affairs of Greece, Bithynia, Pergamus, and some other countries, which I thought it necessary to treat in a series, and without interruption, have made me suspend those of Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt; to which it is now time to return. I shall begin with Macedonia.

### SECT. III.

Andriscus, who gave himself out for the son of Perseus, makes himself master of Macedonia, and causes himself to be proclaimed king. The prætor Juventius attacks him, and is killed in battle with part of his army. Metellus, who succeeds him, retrieves that loss. The usurper is overthrown, taken, and sent to Rome. A second and third usurper are also defeated.

Fifteen or sixteen years after the defeat and death of Perseus,<sup>d</sup> Andriscus of Adramyttium, a city of Troas, in Asia Minor, a person of the meanest birth, giving himself out for the son of Perseus, took upon him the name of Philip, and entered Macedonia, in hopes of making the inhabitants of the country acknowledge him for their king. He had invented a story in regard to his birth, which he reported wherever he passed, pretending that he was the son of Perseus by a concubine, and that the prince his father had caused him to be secretly brought up at Adramyttium, that, in case of ill-fortune in the war against the Romans, some shoot of the royal line might remain. That after the death of

<sup>c</sup> Cæs. in Bel. Civ. l. ii.

<sup>d</sup> Epitom. Liv. l. xlviii.—l. Zonar. ex Dione. Pat. l. i. c. 11. Florus, l. ii. c. 14.

Perseus, he had been nurtured and brought up at Adramyttium, till he was twelve years of age, and that the person who passed for his father, finding himself at the point of death, had revealed the secret to his wife, and intrusted her with a writing, signed by Perseus with his own hand, which attested all that has been said ; which writing she was to deliver to him (Philip) as soon as he should attain to years of discretion. He added, that her husband having conjured her absolutely to conceal the affair till then, she had been most faithful in keeping the secret, and had delivered that important writing to him at the appointed time ; pressing him to quit the country before the report should reach the ears of Eumenes, the declared enemy of Perseus, lest he should cause him to be put to death. He was in hopes that he should be believed on his own word, and make Macedonia rise in his favour. When he saw every thing continued quiet he retired into Syria, to the court of Demetrius Soter, whose sister Perseus had espoused. That prince, who immediately perceived the fraud, caused him to be seized and sent to Rome.

As he did not produce any proof of his pretended nobility, and had nothing in his mien or manners that expressed the prince, no great notice was taken of him at Rome, and he was treated with great contempt, without much trouble to keep a strict guard upon him, or to confine him close. He took advantage of the negligence of his guards, and made his escape from Rome.

Having found means to raise a considerable army amongst the Thracians, who entered into his views for the sake of delivering themselves by his means from the Roman yoke, he made himself master of Macedonia, either by consent or force, and assumed the marks of royal dignity. Not content with this first conquest, which had cost him little, he attacked Thessaly, and subjected a part of it to his obedience.

The affair then began to seem more important to the Romans. They elected Scipio Nasica to go thither and appease this tumult in its birth, deeming him well qualified for that commission. He had, indeed, the art of managing men's minds, and of bringing them into his measures by persuasion ; and if he should find it necessary to decide this affair by arms, he was very capable of forming a project with wisdom, and executing it with valour. As soon as he arrived in Greece, and had been fully informed of the state of affairs in Macedonia and Thessaly, he gave the senate advice of them ; and, without loss of time, visited the cities of the allies, in order to the immediate raising of troops for the defence of Thessaly. The Achæans, who continued at that time the most powerful people of Greece,

supplied him with the greatest number, forgetting past subjects of discontent. He presently took from the false Philip all the places he had possessed himself of in Thessaly, and drove him back into Macedonia.

However, it was plainly seen at Rome, from A. M. 3855. Scipio's letters, that Macedonia had occasion for Ant. J. C. 149. a speedy support. The prætor, P. Juventius Thalna, had orders to repair thither as soon as possible with an army, which he did without loss of time. But looking upon Andriscus as only a pageant king, he did not think it incumbent upon him to take any great precautions against him, and engaged precipitately in a battle, wherein he lost his life, with part of his army; the rest saving themselves only by favour of the night. The victor, elate with this success, and believing his authority sufficiently established, abandoned himself to his vicious inclinations without any moderation or reserve; as if the truly being a king consisted in knowing no law nor rule of conduct but his passions. He was covetous, proud, insolent, and cruel. Nothing was seen every where but violence, confiscation of estates, and murders. Taking advantage of the terror occasioned by the defeat of the Roman army, he soon recovered all he had lost in Thessaly. An embassy sent to him from the Carthaginians, who were at that time actually at war with the Romans, promising him speedy supplies, very much augmented his courage.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus, lately elected prætor, A. M. 3856. had succeeded Juventius. Andriscus had re- Ant. J. C. 148. solved to advance to meet him, but did not think it proper to remove far from the sea, and halted at Pydna, where he fortified his camp. The Roman prætor soon followed him. The two armies were in view of each other, and skirmished every day. Andriscus gained an advantage of some consequence in a small combat of the cavalry. Success generally blinds and proves fatal to people of little experience. Andriscus believing himself superior to the Romans, sent off a great detachment to defend his conquests in Thessaly. This was a gross error; and Metellus, whose vigilance nothing escaped, did not fail to take advantage of it. The army that remained in Macedonia was beaten, and Andriscus obliged to fly. He retired amongst the Thracians, from whom he returned soon after with another army. He was so rash as to hazard another battle, which was still less successful than the former. He had above 25,000 men killed in these two battles; and nothing was wanting to the Roman glory, but to seize Andriscus, who had taken refuge with a petty king of Thrace, to whose fidelity he had abandoned himself. But the Thracians did not stand much upon breach of faith, and made that conducive to their interest.

That prince delivered up his guest and suppliant into the hands of Metellus, to avoid drawing upon himself the wrath and arms of the Romans : Andriscus was sent to Rome.

Another adventurer, who also called himself the son of Perseus, and took upon him the name of Alexander, had the same fate with the first, except being seized by Metellus ; he retired into Dardania, where he effectually concealed himself.

It was at this time that Macedonia was entirely subjected to the Romans, and reduced into a province.

A third usurper, some years after, appeared again upon the stage, and set himself up as the son of Perseus, under the name of Philip. His pretended royalty was but of short duration. He was overcome and killed in Macedonia by Tremellius, afterwards surnamed *Scrofa*, from having said that he would disperse the enemy, *ut Scrofa porcos*.

#### SECT. IV.

Troubles in Achaia, which declares war against the Lacedæmonians. Metellus sends deputies to Corinth to appease those troubles ; they are ill used and insulted. Thebes and Chalcis join the Achæans. Metellus, after having ineffectually exhorted them to peace, gives them battle, and defeats them. The consul Mummius succeeds him, and after having gained a battle, takes Corinth, sets it on fire, and entirely demolishes it. Greece is reduced into a Roman province. Various actions and death of Polybius. Triumphs of Metellus and Mummius.

Metellus after having pacified Macedonia,\* continued there some time. Great commotions had arisen amongst the Achæan league, occasioned by the temerity and avarice of those who held the first offices in it. The resolutions of their assemblies were no longer guided by reason, prudence, and equity, but by the interest and passions of the magistrates, and the blind caprice of an untractable multitude. The Achæan league and Sparta had sent ambassadors to Rome, upon an affair about which they were divided. Damocritus, notwithstanding, who was the supreme magistrate of the Achæans, had caused war to be declared against Sparta. Metellus had sent to desire that hostilities might be suspended till the arrival of the commissioners from Rome, who had been appointed for terminating their differences. But neither he, nor Diæus, who succeeded him, paid any regard to that request. Both of them entered Laconia with their troops, and laid waste the country.

The commissioners being arrived, the assembly was summoned to Corinth. (Aurelius Orestes was at the head of the commission.) The senate had given them orders to weaken the

\* Pausan. in Achaic. p. 421—428. Polyb. Legat. cxliii. cxliv. Id. in Excerpt. de Virt. et Vit. p. 181—189. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 1. Flor. l. ii. c. 16.

body of the league ; and, for that end, to separate as many cities as they could from it. Orestes notified to the assembly the decree of the senate ; whereby Sparta,\* Corinth, Argos, Heraclæa near mount Oeta, and Orchomenus of Arcadia, were secluded from the league, under pretence that those cities did not originally compose a part of the body of the Achæans. When the deputies quitted the assembly, and reported this decree to the multitude, they grew furious, and fell upon all the Lacedæmonians they found in Corinth ; tore those out of the house of the commissioners who had taken refuge there ; and would have treated themselves no better, had they not escaped their violence by flight.

Orestes and his colleagues, on their return to Rome, gave an account of what had passed. The senate was highly incensed at it, and immediately deputed Julius, with some other commissioners, into Achaia ; but instructed them to complain in moderation, and only to exhort the Achæans not to give ear to bad counsels, lest by their imprudence they should incur disgrace with the Romans, a misfortune it was in their power to avoid, by punishing those who had exposed them to it. Carthage was not yet taken, so that it was necessary to act with caution in regard to allies so powerful as the Achæans. The commissioners met on the way a deputy sent by the seditious to Rome : they carried him back with them to Egium, where the diet of the nation had been summoned to assemble. They spoke in it with great moderation and mildness. They did not let slip a single word in their discourse concerning the ill treatment of the commissioners, or else made a better excuse for it than the Achæans themselves would have done ; neither did they make any mention of the cities they had been desirous of separating from the league. They confined themselves to exhorting the assembly not to aggravate their first fault, nor to irritate the Romans any farther ; and to leave Lacedæmonia in peace. Such moderate remonstrances were extremely agreeable to all the persons of sense in the assembly. But Diæus, Critolaus, and their faction, all chosen out of the vilest, most impious, and most pernicious persons in each city, blew up the flames of discord ; insinuating that the lenity of the Romans proceeded only from the bad condition of their affairs in Africa, where they had been worsted in several engagements, and from the fear they were in lest the Achæan league should declare against them.

The commissioners, however, were treated with sufficient deference. They were told that Thearidas should be sent to Rome ; that they had only to repair to Tegæa,<sup>1</sup> to treat there with the Lacedæmonians, and to incline them to peace. They went thither accordingly, and persuaded the Lacedæmonians to an ac-

<sup>1</sup> A city on the banks of the Eurotas.

commodation with the Achæans, and to suspend all hostilities till new commissioners should arrive from Rome to pacify all differences. But Critolaus's cabal took their measures in such a manner, that nobody, except that magistrate, went to the congress, and he did not arrive there till he was almost no longer expected. Conferences were held with the Lacedæmonians; but Critolaus would not accede to any measures. He said that he was not empowered to decide any thing without the consent of the nation, and that he would report the affair in the general diet, which could not be summoned in less than six months. That mean artifice, or rather breach of faith, exceedingly offended Julius. After having dismissed the Lacedæmonians, he set out for Rome, where he described Critolaus as a violent and extravagant man.

The commissioners were no sooner out of Peloponnesus, than Critolaus ran from city to city during the whole winter, and summoned assemblies, under colour of communicating what had been said to the Lacedæmonians, in the conferences held at Tegæa, but, in fact, to vent invectives against the Romans, and to put an odious construction upon all they had said, in order to inspire the same spirit of animosity and aversion which he himself had against them: and he succeeded but too well. He, besides, prohibited all judges from prosecuting and imprisoning any Achæan for debt till the conclusion of the affair between the diet and Lacedæmon. By that means, whatever he said had all the effect he desired, and disposed the multitude to receive such orders as he thought fit to give them. Incapable of forming a right judgment of future consequences, they suffered themselves to be caught with the bait of the first advantage he proposed to them.

Metellus having received advice in Macedonia of the troubles in Peloponnesus, deputed thither four Romans of distinction, who arrived at Corinth at the time the council was assembled there. They spoke in it with abundance of moderation; exhorting the Achæans not to draw upon themselves, by imprudent rashness and levity, the resentment of the Romans. They were treated with contempt, and ignominiously turned out of the assembly. An innumerable crowd of workmen and artificers gathered about them, and insulted them. All the cities of Achaia were at that time in a kind of delirium; but Corinth was far more frantic than the rest, and abandoned to a kind of madness. They had been persuaded that Rome intended to enslave them all, and absolutely to destroy the Achæan league.

Critolaus seeing with pleasure that every thing succeeded to his wishes, harangued the multitude, inflamed them against the magistrates, who did not enter into his views; inveighed against the ambassadors themselves, animated them against the Romans;



and gave them to understand, that it was not without having previously well concerted his measures that he had undertaken to make head against the Romans; that he had kings in his party, and that republics were also ready to join it. By these seditious discourses he prevailed to have war declared against the Lacedæmonians, and, in consequence, indirectly against the Romans. The ambassadors then separated. One of them repaired to Lacedæmon, to observe the motions of the enemy, another set out for Naupactus; and two waited the arrival of Metellus at Athens.

The magistrate of the Bœotians, whose name was Pytheas, equally rash and violent with Critolaus, entered into his measures, and engaged the Bœotians to join their arms with those of the Achæans: they were discontented with a sentence Rome had given against them. The city of Chalcis suffered itself also to be drawn into their party. The Achæans, with such feeble aids, believed themselves in a condition to support all the weight of the Roman power; so much were they blinded by their rage and fury.

The Romans had chosen Mummius for one of the consuls, and charged him with the Achæan war. Metellus, to deprive him of the glory of terminating this war, sent new ambassadors to the Achæans, and commissioned them to promise that the Roman people should forget all that had passed, and pardon their faults, if they would return to their duty, and consent that certain cities, which had been nominated before, should be dismembered from the league. This proposal was rejected with disdain. Upon which Metellus advanced with his troops against the rebels. He came up with them near the city of Scaphæa in Locris, and obtained a considerable victory over them, in which he took more than 100 prisoners. Critolaus disappeared in the battle, without its being known what became of him. It was supposed, that in the flight he had fallen into the marshes, and been drowned. Diæus took upon him the command in his stead, gave liberty to the slaves, and armed all the Achæans and Arcadians capable of bearing arms. That body of troops amounted to 14,000 foot and 600 horse. He gave orders, besides, for the raising of troops in every city. The exhausted cities were in the utmost desolation. Many private persons, reduced to despair, laid violent hands upon themselves; others abandoned an unhappy country, where they foresaw their destruction was inevitable. Notwithstanding the extremity of these misfortunes, they never thought of adopting the only expedient that could prevent them. They detested the rashness of their chiefs, and nevertheless came into their measures.

Metellus, after the battle before mentioned, fell in with 1000

Arcadians in Boeotia, near Chæronæa, who were endeavouring to return into their own country: these were all put to the sword. From thence he marched with his victorious army to Thebes, which he found almost entirely deserted. Moved with the deplorable condition of that city, he ordered that the temples and houses should be spared; and that none of the inhabitants, either in the city or country, should be made prisoners or put to death. He excepted from that number Pytheas, the author of all their miseries, who was brought to him, and put to death. From Thebes, after having taken Megara, the garrison of which had retired upon his approach, he made his troops march to Corinth, where Diæus had shut himself up. He sent thither three of the principal persons of the league, who had taken refuge with him, to exhort the Achæans to return to their duty, and accept the conditions of peace offered them. Metellus ardently desired to terminate the affair before the arrival of Mummius. The inhabitants, on their side, were equally desirous of seeing a period of their misfortunes; but that was not in their power, the faction of Diæus disposing of every thing. The deputies were thrown into prison, and would have been put to death, if Diæus had not seen the multitude extremely enraged at the punishment he had inflicted upon Sosicrates, who talked of surrendering to the Romans. The prisoners were therefore dismissed.

Things were in this condition when Mummius arrived. He had hastened his march, from the fear of finding every thing pacified at his arrival; and, lest another should have the glory of concluding this war. Metellus resigned the command to him, and returned into Macedonia. When Mummius had assembled all his troop, he advanced to the city, and encamped before it. A body of his advanced guard being negligent upon their post, the besieged made a sally, attacked them vigorously, killed many, and pursued the rest almost to the entrance of their camp. This small advantage very much encouraged the Achæans, and thereby proved fatal to them. Diæus offered the consul battle. The latter, to augment his rashness, kept his troops within the camp, as if fear prevented him from accepting it. The joy and presumption of the Achæans rose to an inexpressible height. They advanced furiously with all their troops, having placed their wives and children upon the neighbouring eminences, to be spectators of the battle, and caused a great number of carriages to follow them, for the purpose of loading them with the booty they should take from the enemy; so fully did they reckon upon the victory.

Never was confidence more rash or ill-founded. The faction had removed from the service and councils all such as were capable of commanding the troops, or conducting public busi-

ness, and had substituted others in their room, without either talents or ability ; in order that they might be more absolute masters of the government, and rule without opposition. The chiefs, without military knowledge, valour, or experience, had no other merit than a blind and frantic rage. They had already committed an excess of folly in unnecessarily hazarding a battle, which was to decide their fate, instead of thinking of a long and brave defence in so strong a place as Corinth, and of obtaining good conditions by a vigorous resistance. The battle was fought near Leucopetra,<sup>s</sup> and the defile of the isthmus. The consul had posted part of his horse in an ambuscade, which they quitted at a proper time for charging the Achæan cavalry in flank ; who, surprised by an unforeseen attack, gave way immediately. The infantry made a little more resistance ; but, as it was neither covered nor sustained by the horse, it was soon broken and put to flight. If Diæus had retired into the place, he might have held out there for some time, and obtained an honourable capitulation from Mummius, whose sole aim was to put an end to the war. But abandoning himself to despair, he rode full speed to Megalopolis, his native country ; and having entered his house, set fire to it, killed his wife to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy, drank poison, and thus ended his life in a manner worthy of the many crimes he had committed.

After this defeat, the inhabitants lost all hopes of defending themselves. As they found they were without counsel, leaders, courage, or fixed views, nobody had any thoughts of rallying the wreck of the army, in order to make any farther resistance, and oblige the victor to grant them some tolerable conditions. So that all the Achæans who had retired into Corinth, and most of the citizens, quitted it the following night, to save themselves where they could. The consul having entered the city, abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers. All the men who were left in it were put to the sword, and the women and children sold ; and after the statues, paintings, and richest furniture were removed, in order to their being carried to Rome, the houses were set on fire, and the whole city continued universally in flames for several days. It is pretended, though on no good ground, that the gold, silver, and brass, which were melted, and ran together in this conflagration, formed a new and precious metal. The walls were afterwards demolished, and razed to their very foundations. All this was executed by order of the senate, to punish the insolence of the Corinthians, who had violated the law of nations in their treatment of the ambassadors sent to them by Rome.

Thus was Corinth ruined, the same year that Carthage was

<sup>s</sup> This place is not known.

taken and destroyed by the Romans, 952 years after its foundation by Aletes the son of Hippotes, sixth in descent from Hercules. It does not appear that they had any thoughts of raising new troops for the defence of the country, or summoned any assembly to deliberate upon the measures it was necessary to take; nor that any one took upon him to propose any remedy for the public calamities, or endeavoured to appease the Romans, by sending deputies to implore their clemency. One would have thought from this general inactivity, that the Achæan league had been entirely buried in the ruins of Corinth; so much had the dreadful destruction of that city alarmed, and universally dismayed, the people.

The cities that had joined in the revolt of the Achæans, were also punished by the demolishing of their walls, and being disarmed. The ten commissioners sent by the senate to regulate the affairs of Greece, in conjunction with the consul, abolished the popular government in all the cities, and established magistrates in them, who were to have a certain revenue out of the public funds. In other respects, they were left in possession of their laws and liberty. They abolished also all the general assemblies held by the Achæans, Bœotians, Phocæans, and other people of Greece; but they were re-established soon after. Greece, from that time, was reduced into a Roman province, called the province of Achaia, because at the taking of Corinth, the Achæans were the most powerful people of Greece: the Roman people sent a prætor thither every year to govern it.

Rome, by destroying Corinth in this manner, thought proper to shew that example of severity, in order to strike terror into other nations, whom its too great clemency rendered bold, rash, and presuming, from the hope they had of obtaining from the Roman people pardon for their faults. Besides which, the advantageous situation of that city, where such as revolted might lodge themselves, and make it a place of arms against the Romans, determined them to ruin it entirely. Cicero, who did not disapprove of Carthage and Numantia being used in that manner, could have wished that Corinth had been spared.<sup>h</sup>

The booty taken at Corinth was sold, and considerable sums raised from it. Amongst the paintings, there was a piece drawn by the most celebrated hand<sup>i</sup> in Greece,<sup>k</sup> representing

<sup>h</sup> Majores nostri—Carthaginem et Numantiam funditus sustulerunt. Nollem Corinthum. Sed credo illos secutos opportunitatem loci maximè, ne posset aliquando ad bellum faciendum locus ipse adhortari. *Cic. de Offic.* l. i. n. 35.

<sup>i</sup> This painter was called Aristides. The picture mentioned here was in such estimation, that it was commonly said, All paintings are nothing in comparison to the Bacchus.

<sup>k</sup> Strab. l. viii. p. 381. Plin. l. vii. c. 38. et l. xxxv. c. 4. et 10.

Bacchus, the beauty of which was not known to the Romans, who were at that time entirely ignorant in the polite arts. Polybius, who was then in the country, as I shall soon observe, had the mortification to see that painting serve the soldiers for a table to play at dice upon. It was adjudged to Attalus, in the sale made of the booty, for 600,000 sesterces, that is, about 3625*l.* sterling. Pliny mentions another picture of the same painter's, which the same Attalus purchased for 100 talents, or 100,000 crowns. That prince's riches were immense, and were become a proverb: *Attalicis conditionibus*. Nevertheless, those sums seem repugnant to probability. Be this as it may, the consul, surprised that the price of the painting in question should rise so high, interposed his authority, and retained it, contrary to public faith, and notwithstanding the complaints of Attalus; because he imagined there was some hidden virtue in the piece, unknown to him. He did not act in that manner for his private interest, nor with the view of appropriating it to himself, since he sent it to Rome, to be applied in adorning the city. In doing which,<sup>1</sup> says Cicero, he adorned and embellished his house much more essentially than if he had placed that picture in it. The taking of the richest and most opulent city of Greece, did not enrich him one farthing. Such noble disinterestedness was at that time common in Rome, and seemed less the virtue of private persons, than of the age itself. To take the advantage of office and command for enriching a man's self, was not only shameful and infamous, but a criminal abuse. The painting we speak of was set up in the temple of Ceres, whither judges went to see it through curiosity, as a masterpiece of art; and remained there till it was burnt with that temple.

Mummius was a great warrior, and a worthy man, but had neither learning, knowledge of the arts, nor taste for painting or sculpture: the merit of which he did not discern; not believing there was any difference between picture and picture, or statue and statue, nor that the name of the great masters in those arts gave them their value. This he fully exemplified upon the present occasion. He had ordered persons to take the care of transporting many of the paintings and statues of the most excellent masters to Rome.<sup>m</sup> Never would loss have been so irrepar-

<sup>1</sup> Numquid Lucius Mummius copiosior, cum copiosissimam urbem funditus sustulisset? Italiam ornare, quam domum suam, maluit. Quanquam Italiâ ornata, domus ipsa mihi videtur ornatio. Laus abstinentiæ non hominis est solum, sed etiam temporum.—Habere quæstui temp. non modò turpe est, sed sceleratum etiam et nefarium. *Cic. de Offic. l. i. n. 76, 77.*

<sup>m</sup> Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut captâ Corintho, cum maximorum artificum perfectas manibus tabulas ac statuas in Italiam portandas locaret, juberet prædici conducentibus si eas perdidissent, novas eos reddituros. Non tamen puto dubites, Vinici, quin magis pro republicâ fuerit, manere adhuc rudem Corin-

able, as that of such a deposit, consisting of the masterpieces of those rare artists, who contributed almost as much as the great captains, to the rendering of their age glorious to posterity. Mummius, however, in recommending the care of that precious collection to those to whom he confided them, threatened them very seriously, that if the statues, paintings, and other things with which he intrusted them, should be either lost, or spoiled upon the way, he would oblige them to find others at their own cost and charges.

Were it not to be wished, says an historian, who has preserved to us this fact, that this happy ignorance still subsisted; and would not such grossness be infinitely preferable, in regard to the public good, to the extreme delicacy of taste of the present age for such sort of rarities; He spoke at a time when that taste for excellent paintings gave the magistrates an occasion for committing all manner of frauds and robberies in the provinces.

I have said that Polybius, in returning into Peloponnesus, had the affliction to see the destruction and burning of Corinth, and his country reduced into a province of the Roman empire. If any thing was capable of giving him consolation in so mournful a conjuncture,<sup>n</sup> it was the opportunity of defending the memory of Philopoemen, his master in the science of war. I have already observed, that a Roman, having taken it into his head to have the statues erected to that hero taken down, had the impudence to prosecute him criminally, as if he had been still alive, and to accuse him before Mummius, of having been an enemy to the Romans, and of having always opposed their designs to the utmost of his power. The accusation was extravagant, but had some colour in it, and was not entirely without foundation. Polybius boldly took upon him his defence. He represented Philopoemen as the greatest captain Greece had produced in the latter times: that he might, perhaps, have occasionally carried his zeal for the liberty of his country a little too far, but that he had rendered the Roman people considerable services upon several occasions; as in their wars against Antiochus and the Ætolians. The commissioners, before whom he pleaded so noble a cause, moved with his reasons, and still more with his gratitude for his master, decreed, that the statues of Philopoemen should continue as they were in every city where they had been erected. Polybius, taking the advantage of Mummius's good disposition, demanded also the statues of Aratus and Achæus; which were granted him, though they had already been carried out of Peloponnesus into

thiorum intellectum, quàm in tantum ea intelligi; et quin hâc prudentia illa imprudentia decori publico fuerit convenientior. *Vell. Patero.* l. i. n. 13.

<sup>n</sup> Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190—192.

**Acarnania.** The Achæans were so charmed with the zeal which Polybius had expressed upon this occasion for the honour of the great men of his country, that they erected a statue of marble to himself.

He gave at the same time a proof of his disinterestedness, which did him as much honour amongst his citizens, as his defence of the memory of Philopœmen. After the destruction of Corinth, it was thought proper to punish the authors of the insult offered to the Roman ambassadors, and their estates and effects were sold by auction. When those of Diæus were put up, who had been the principal in that affront, the ten commissioners ordered the quæstor who sold them, to let Polybius select whatever he thought fit out of them, without taking any thing from him upon that account. He refused the offer, advantageous as it appeared, and would have thought himself in some measure an accomplice of that wretch's crimes, had he accepted any part of his effects; besides which, he believed it infamous to enrich himself out of the spoils of his fellow-citizen. He would not only accept nothing for himself, but exhorted his friends not to desire any thing of what had appertained to Diæus; and all that followed his example were extremely applauded.

This action made the commissioners<sup>o</sup> conceive so high an esteem for Polybius, that upon their leaving Greece, they desired him to go through all the cities which had been lately conquered, and to accommodate their differences, till time had accustomed them to the change which had been made, and to the new laws prescribed them. Polybius discharged that honourable commission with so much mildness, justice, and prudence, that no farther contests arose in Achaia, either in regard to the government in general, or the affairs of private persons. In gratitude for so great a benefit, statues were erected to him in different places; upon the base of one of which was this inscription: *That Greece would have been guilty of no errors, if she had hearkened from the first to the counsels of Polybius; but, that after she had committed these errors, he alone had been her deliverer.*

Polybius, after having established order and tranquillity in his country, returned to join Scipio at Rome, from whence he accompanied him to Numantia, at the siege of which he was present. When Scipio was dead, he returned into Greece; and having enjoyed there the esteem,<sup>p</sup> gratitude, and affection of his beloved citizens, he died at the age of fourscore and two years, of a hurt he received by a fall from his horse.

Metellus upon his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph, as conqueror of Macedonia and Achaia, and sur-named Macedonicus. The false king, Andriscus, was led be-

<sup>o</sup> Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190, &c.

<sup>p</sup> Lucian. in Macrob. p. 142.

fore his chariot. Amongst the spoils, he caused what was called the *troop of Alexander the Great* to be carried in the procession. That prince, at the battle of the Granicus, having lost five-and-twenty of his friends, ordered Lysippus, the most excellent artist in that way, to make in honour of each of them an equestrian statue, to which he added his own. These statues were set up in Dium, a city of Macedonia. Metellus caused them to be transported to Rome, and adorned his triumph with them.

Mummius obtained also the honour of a triumph; and, in consequence of having conquered Achaia, was surnamed Achaicus. He exhibited a great number of statues and paintings in this triumph, which were afterwards the ornaments of the public buildings at Rome, and of several other cities of Italy; but not one of them entered the conqueror's own house.

## SECT. V.

Reflections upon the causes of the grandeur, declension, and ruin of Greece.

After having seen the final ruin of Greece, which has supplied us through a series of so many ages with such fine examples of heroic virtues and memorable events, we may be permitted to retrace our steps, and to consider succinctly, and at one view, its rise, progress, and declension. The whole time of its duration may be divided into four ages.

### *The first and second ages of Greece.*

I shall not dwell upon the ancient origin of the Greeks, nor the fabulous times before the Trojan war; which makes the first age, and constitute, if I may so say, the infancy of Greece.

The second age, which extends from the taking of Troy to the reign of Darius I. king of Persia, was in a manner its youth, in which it formed, fortified, and prepared itself for, those great things which it was afterwards to perform; and laid the foundations of that power and glory, which at length rose so high, and became the admiration of all future ages.

The Greeks, as Monsieur Bossuet observes,<sup>a</sup> whose mental faculties were naturally vigorous, had been cultivated by kings and colonies which came from Egypt, who, settling in several parts of the country, spread, wherever they came, the excellent polity of the Egyptians. It was from them they learned the exercises of the body; wrestling, the horse, foot, and chariot races, and the other combats, which they carried to their highest perfection, by means of the glorious crowns given to the

<sup>a</sup> Universal History.



victors in the Olympic games. But the best thing taught them by the Egyptians, was to be docile and obedient, and to suffer themselves to be guided by laws for the good of the public. They were not private persons, who regard nothing but their own interests and concerns, and have no sense of the calamities of the state, but as they suffer themselves, or as the repose of their own family is involved in them: the Greeks were taught to consider themselves and their families as part of a greater body, which was that of the state. The fathers brought up their children in this opinion; and the children were taught from their cradle to look upon their country as their common mother, to whom they more strictly appertained than to their parents.

The Greeks, disciplined thus by degrees, believed they were capable of governing for themselves; and most of the cities formed themselves into republics, under different forms of government, which had all of them liberty for their vital principle: but that liberty was wise, reasonable, and subservient to the laws. The advantage of this government was, that the citizens loved their country the better from transacting their affairs in common, and from being all equally capable of attaining to its honours and dignities. Besides this, the condition of private persons, to which all returned when they quitted their office, prevented them from abusing an authority, of which they might soon be deprived: whereas, power often becomes haughty, unjust, and oppressive, when under no restraints, and when it is to have a long or continual duration.

The love of labour removed the vices and passions which generally occasion the ruin of states. They led a laborious and busy life, intent upon the cultivation of their lands and of the arts, and not excluding the husbandman nor the artificer from the first dignities of the state; preserving between all the citizens and members of the state a great equality, void of pomp, luxury, or ostentation. He who had commanded the army for one year, fought the next in the rank of a private officer, and was not ashamed of the most common functions in the armies either by land or sea.

The reigning characteristic in all the cities of Greece, was a particular affection for poverty, a mediocrity of fortune, simplicity in buildings, furniture, dress, equipage, domestics, and table. It is surprising to consider the small recompence with which they were satisfied for their application in public employments, and for the services which they had rendered the state.

What might not be expected from a people formed in this manner, educated and nurtured in these principles, and imbued from their earliest infancy with maxims so proper to exalt the

soul, and to inspire it with great and noble sentiments? The effects exceeded every idea and every hope that could possibly have been conceived of them.

*The third age of Greece.*

We now come to the glorious times of Greece, which have been, and will for ever be, the admiration of all ages. The merit and virtue of the Greeks, shut up within the compass of their cities, had hitherto but faintly dawned, and shone with but a feeble ray. To produce and place them in their full light, some great and important occasion was necessary, wherein Greece, attacked by a formidable enemy, and exposed to extreme dangers, was compelled in some measure to quit her home, and to show herself abroad in her true character in open day. And this was supplied by the Persians in their invasions of Greece, first under Darius, and afterwards under Xerxes. All Asia, armed with the whole force of the East, overflowed on a sudden, like an impetuous torrent, and came pouring with innumerable troops, both by sea and land, against a little spot of Greece, which seemed under the necessity of being entirely swallowed up and overwhelmed at the first shock. Two small cities, however, Sparta and Athens, not only resist those formidable armies, but attack, defeat, pursue, and destroy the greatest part of them. Let the reader call to mind (for the recollection of them is all I have here in view) the prodigies of valour and fortitude which shone forth at that time, and continued to do so long after on like occasions.

To what were the Greeks indebted for such astonishing successes, so much above all probability, unless to the principles I have mentioned, which were profoundly engraven in their hearts by education, example, and practice; and were become by long habit a second nature in them?

Those principles, we cannot repeat it too often, were the love of poverty, contempt of riches, disregard of self-interest, attachment to the public good, desire of glory, love of their country; but, above all, such a zeal for liberty, as no danger was capable of intimidating; and such an irreconcilable abhorrence for every one who in the slightest degree attempted to encroach upon it, as united their counsels, and put an end to all dissension and discord in a moment.

There was some difference between the republics as to authority and power, but none in regard to liberty; on that side they were perfectly equal. The states of ancient Greece were exempt from that ambition which occasions so many wars in monarchies; and had no thoughts of aggrandizing themselves or making conquests, at the expense of each other. They con-

fined themselves to the cultivation, improvement, and defence, of their own territories, but did not endeavour to usurp any thing from their neighbours. The weaker cities, in the peaceable possession of their domain, did not apprehend invasion from the more powerful. This occasioned such a multitude of cities, republics, and states of Greece, which subsisted to the latest times in a perfect independence, retaining their own forms of government, with the laws, customs, and usages, derived from their forefathers.

When we examine with some attention the conduct of these people, either at home or abroad, their assemblies, deliberations, and motives for the resolutions they take, we cannot sufficiently admire the wisdom of their government; and we are tempted to ask ourselves, From whence could arise this greatness of soul in the burghers of Sparta and Athens; whence these noble sentiments, this consummate wisdom in politics, this profound and universal knowledge in the art of war; whether as relating to the invention and construction of machines for the attack and defence of places, or to the drawing up of an army in battle, and disposing all its movements; and lastly, that supreme ability in maritime affairs, which always rendered their fleets victorious, which so gloriously acquired them the empire of the sea, and obliged the Persians to renounce it for ever by a solemn treaty?

We see here a remarkable difference between the Greeks and Romans. The latter, immediately after their conquests, suffered themselves to be corrupted by pride and luxury. After Antiochus had submitted to the Roman yoke, Asia, subdued by their victorious arms, conquered in turn its conquerors by its riches and voluptuousness; and that change of manners were very sudden and rapid, especially after Carthage, the haughty rival of Rome, was destroyed. It was not so with the Greeks. Nothing was more brilliant than the victories they had gained over the Persians; nothing more soothing than the glory they had acquired by their great and illustrious exploits. After that so glorious era, the Greeks still persevered for a long time in the same love of simplicity, frugality, and poverty; the same aversion to pomp and luxury; the same zeal and ardour for the defence of their liberty, and the preservation of their ancient manners. It is well known how much the islands and provinces of Asia Minor, over which the Greeks so often triumphed, were abandoned to effeminate pleasures and luxury: they, however, never suffered themselves to be affected by that contagious softness, and constantly preserved themselves from the vices of the conquered people. It is true, they did not make those countries provinces; but mere intercourse and example alone might have proved very dangerous to them.

The introduction of gold and silver into Sparta, from whence they had till that time been banished under severe penalties, did not happen till about fourscore years after the battle of Salamis, and the ancient simplicity of manners subsisted very long afterwards, notwithstanding that violation of the laws of Lycurgus. As much may be said of the rest of Greece; which did not grow weak and degenerate but slowly and by degrees. This is what remains for us to show.

*The fourth age of Greece.*

The principal cause of the weakening and declension of the Greeks was the disunion which rose up among themselves. The Persians, who had found them invincible on the side of arms, as long as their union subsisted, applied their whole attention and policy in sowing the seeds of discord amongst them. For that purpose they employed their gold and silver, which succeeded much better than their steel and arms had done before. The Greeks, covertly attacked in this manner by bribes, secretly conveyed into the hands of those who had the greatest share in their government, were divided by domestic jealousies, and turned against themselves those victorious arms which had rendered them superior to their enemies.

Their decline of power from these causes enabled Philip and Alexander to subject them. Those princes, to accustom them to servitude by gentle degrees, assumed as a pretext the design of avenging them upon their ancient enemies. The Greeks fell blindly into that gross snare, which gave the mortal blow to their liberty. Their avengers became more fatal to them than their enemies. The yoke imposed on them by the hands which had conquered the universe could never be removed; those little states were no longer in a condition to shake it off. Greece, from time to time, animated by the remembrance of its ancient glory, roused from its lethargy, and made some attempts to reinstate itself in its ancient condition: but those were the efforts of expiring liberty, ill concerted, and ill sustained, and tended only to augment its slavery; because the protectors, whom it called in to its aid, soon made themselves its masters. So that all it did was to change its fetters, and to make them the heavier.

The Romans at length totally subjected it; but it was by degrees, and with abundance of artifice. As they continually pushed on their conquests from province to province, they perceived that they should find a barrier to their ambitious projects in Macedonia, formidable by its neighbourhood, advantageous situation, reputation in arms, and very powerful in itself and by its allies. The Romans artfully applied to the small states

of Greece, from whom they had less to fear, and endeavoured to gain them by the attractive charms of liberty, which was their darling passion, and of which they knew how to awaken in them their ancient ideas. After having, with great address, made use of the Greeks to reduce and destroy the Macedonian power, they subjected all those states one after another, under various pretexts. Greece was thus swallowed up at last in the Roman empire, and became a province of it under the name of Achaia.

It did not lose with its power that ardent passion for liberty which was its peculiar characteristic.<sup>a</sup> The Romans, when they reduced it into a province, reserved to the people almost all their privileges; and Scylla,<sup>b</sup> who punished them so cruelly sixty years after, for having favoured the arms of Mithridates, did not abridge those of their liberty who escaped his vengeance. In the civil wars of Italy, the Athenians were seen to espouse with warmth the party of Pompey,<sup>c</sup> who fought for the republic. Julius Cæsar revenged himself upon them no otherwise than by declaring, that he pardoned them out of consideration for their ancestors. But, after Cæsar was killed, their inclination for liberty made them forget his clemency. They erected statues to Brutus and Cassius near those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, the ancient deliverers of Athens, and did not take them down till solicited by Antony, when become their friend, benefactor, and magistrate.

After having been deprived of their ancient power, they still retained another sovereignty, which the Romans could not take from them, and to which themselves were obliged to pay homage. Athens continued always the metropolis of the sciences, the school of polite arts, and the centre and standard of refined taste in all the productions of the mind. Several cities, as Byzantium, Cæsarea, Alexandria, Ephesus, and Rhodes, shared that glory with Athens, and after her example opened schools which became very famous. Rome, haughty as she was, acknowledged this glorious empire. She sent her most illustrious citizens to be finished and refined in Greece. They were instructed there in all the parts of sound philosophy, the knowledge of mathematics, the science of natural philosophy, the rules of moral duties, the art of reasoning with justice and method: all the treasures of eloquence were imbibed there, and the method taught of treating the greatest subjects with propriety, force, elegance, and perspicuity.

A Cicero, always the admiration of the bar, conceived he wanted something, and did not blush to become the disciple of the great masters whom Greece then produced. Pompey,

<sup>a</sup> Strab. l. ix.

<sup>b</sup> Plut. in Sylla.

<sup>c</sup> Dio. l. xliii. p. 191. et l. xlvii. p. 339.

in the midst of his glorious conquests, did not think it a dishonour to him, in passing through Rhodes, to hear the celebrated philosophers who taught there with great reputation, and to make himself in some measure their disciple.

Nothing shows better the respect retained for the ancient reputation of Greece, than a letter of Pliny the younger.<sup>d</sup> He writes in this manner to Maximus, who was appointed governor of that province by Trajan ; *Call to mind, my dear Maximus, that you are going into Achaia, the true Greece ; the same Greece where learning and the polite arts had their birth ; where even agriculture was invented, according to the common opinion. Remember, that you are sent to govern free cities and free men, if ever any such there were : who by their virtues, actions, alliances, treaties, and religion, have known how to preserve the liberty they received from nature. Revere the gods, their founders : respect their heroes, the ancient glory of their nation, and the sacred antiquity of their cities ; the dignity, great exploits, and even fables and vanity, of that people. Remember, it is from those sources that we have derived our code of equity : that we did not impose our laws upon them, after we had conquered them, but that they gave us theirs at our request, before they were acquainted with the power of our arms. In a word, it is to Athens you are going ; it is at Lacedæmon you are to command. It would be inhuman and barbarous to deprive them of that faint image, that shadow, which they retain of their ancient liberty.*

Whilst the Roman empire was declining, that empire of genius, of the mind, always supported itself, without participating in the revolutions of the other. Greece was resorted to for education and improvement from all parts of the world. In the fourth and fifth centuries, those great lights of the church, St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. John Chrysostom, went to Athens, to imbibe, as at their source, all the profane sciences. The emperors themselves, who could not go to Greece,<sup>e</sup> brought Greece in a manner home to them, by receiving the more celebrated philosophers into their palaces, in order to intrust them with the education of their children, and to improve themselves by their instructions. Marcus Aurelius, even whilst he was emperor, went to hear the philosophers Apollonius and Sextus, and to take lessons from them as a common disciple.

By a new kind of victory, unknown before, Greece had imposed its laws on Egypt and the whole East, from whence she had expelled barbarism, and introduced a taste for the arts and sciences in its room ; obliging, by a kind of right of conquest,

<sup>b</sup> Lib. viii. ep. 24.    <sup>e</sup> Titus, Antoninus, M. Aurelius, Lucius Verus. &c.

all those nations to receive her language and adopt her customs: a testimonial highly for the glory of a people, and which argues a much more illustrious superiority than that which is not founded on merit, but solely upon the force of arms. Plutarch observes somewhere, that no Greek ever thought of learning Latin, and that a Roman who did not understand Greek was in no great estimation.

### ARTICLE III.

IT might be expected, that after the subjection of Macedonia and Greece to the Romans, our history, confined for the future to two principal kingdoms, those of Egypt and Syria, should become more clear and intelligible than ever. I am, however, obliged to own, that it will be more obscure and perplexed than it has been hitherto, especially in regard to the kingdom of Syria, in which several kings not only succeed one another in a short space, but sometimes reign jointly, and at the same time, to the number of three or four, which occasions a confusion difficult to unravel, and from which I find it hard to extricate myself. This induces me to prefix in this place the names, succession, and duration, of the reigns of the kings of Egypt and Syria. This short chronological abridgment may contribute to cast some light upon facts which are exceedingly complex, and serve as a clue to guide the reader in a kind of labyrinth, where the most clear-sighted will have occasion for assistance. It enlarges the work a little, but it may be passed over, or be referred to only when it is necessary to be set right: I insert it here only with that view.

This third article contains the space of 100 years for the kingdom of Egypt, from the twentieth year of Ptolemy Philometor, to the expulsion of Ptolemy Auletes from the throne; that is, from the year of the world 3845 to the year 3946.

As to the kingdom of Syria, the same article contains also almost the space of 100 years from Antiochus Eupator to Antiochus Asiaticus, under whom Syria became a province of the Roman empire; that is, from the year of the world 3840 to the year 3939.





## SECT. I

A Chronological Abridgment of the History in the third Article.

A. M.                      KINGS OF EGYPT.

**3824.**      **PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR.** He reigned something more than thirty-four years. This article contains only the fourteen latter years of his reign.

Differences between Philometor and his younger brother **Euergetes**, or **Physcon**.

**3859.**      **PTOLEMY EUERGETES**, otherwise called **Physcon**, brother of **Philometor**, ascends the throne, and marries **Cleopatra**, **Philometor's** wife.

*Of the kings of Egypt and Syria who are mentioned.*

## KINGS OF SYRIA.

A. M.

**ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR**, aged nine years, succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes. He reigns only two years. 3840.

**DEMETRIUS SOTER**, son of Seleucus Philopator, having escaped from Rome, ascends the throne. 3842.

Bala, under the name of Alexander, giving himself out for the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, seizes the throne of Syria. He is supported by the Romans. 3851.

Demetrius is killed in a battle. He had reigned twelve years.

**ALEXANDER BALA**. He reigns almost five years. Ptolemy Philometor declares against him in favour of Demetrius Nicator, son of Demetrius Soter. 3854.

**DEMETRIUS NICATOR**.

3859

**ANTIOCHUS THEOS**, son of Bala, supported by Tryphon, seizes part of the kingdom. 3860.

**DIODOTUS TRYPHON**, after having got rid of his pupil Antiochus, ascends the throne. 3861.

Demetrius marches against the Parthians, who take him prisoner, and confine him. He had reigned seven years. 3863.

**ANTIOCHUS SIDETES**, brother of Demetrius, after having overthrown Tryphon, and put him to death, is declared king. Cleopatra, Demetrius's wife, marries him. 3864.

Antiochus Sidetes marches against the Parthians. 3873.

3874.      Physcon expels Cleopatra his wife, and marries her daughter, named also Cleopatra. He is compelled to fly. The Alexandrians restore the government to Cleopatra, his first wife.
3877.      Physcon re-ascends the throne.

3882.      Physcon gives his daughter Tryphena to Grypus.

3887.      Death of Physcon. He had reigned twenty-nine years.

PTOLEMY LATHYRUS, or SOTER, succeeds Physcon.

Cleopatra, his mother, obliges him to repudiate Cleopatra his eldest sister, and marry Selene his youngest sister.

Cleopatra gives the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander her youngest son.

## KINGS OF SYRIA.

A. M.

Demetrius Nicator reigns. The Parthians send 3874.  
again in Syria. back Demetrius into  
Syria. Antiochus is  
slain.

Demetrius is killed by ALEXANDER ZE- 3877.  
Zebina. BINA, supported by

Cleopatra, wife of Deme- Physcon, expels Deme-  
trius, retains part of the king- trius from the throne,  
dom after his death. who is killed soon after.

SELEUCUS V. eldest son of 3880.  
Demetrius, is declared king,  
and soon after killed by Cleo-  
patra.

ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS, his 3881.  
younger brother, is placed on  
the throne by Cleopatra.

Zebina is overcome 3882.  
by Grypus, and dies  
soon after.

Cleopatra designs to poison 3884.  
Grypus, and is poisoned her-  
self.

ANTIOCHUS THE 3890.  
CYZICENIAN, son of  
Cleopatra and Antio-  
chus Sidetes, takes  
arms against Grypus.

Cleopatra, whom La- 3891.  
thyruus had been obliged  
to repudiate, marries  
the Cyzicenean. She is  
killed by the order of  
Tryphena, wife of Gry-  
pus.

The Cyzicenean gains 3892.  
a victory over Grypus,  
and drives him out of  
Syria.

3897. Cleopatra expels Lathyrus from Egypt; he had reigned ten years. She sets his younger brother Alexander upon the throne.
3903. She gives her daughter Selene, whom she had taken from Lathyrus, in marriage to Antiochus Grypus.

3915. Alexander kills his mother Cleopatra.

3916. Alexander is expelled himself: he had reigned nineteen years. He dies soon after. LATHYRUS is recalled.

## KINGS OF SYRIA.

A. M.

Grypus is reconciled with his brother the Cyzicenean. The two brothers are reconciled, and divide the empire of Syria. 3893.

Cleopatra gives her daughter Selene to Antiochus Grypus. 3903.

Death of Grypus. He had reigned twenty-seven years. 3907.

SELEUCUS, his son, succeeds him.

Antiochus the Cyzicenean is overthrown, and put to death. 3910.

Seleucus is overthrown by Eusebes, and burnt in Mopsuestia. ANTIOCHUS EUSEBES, son of the Cyzicenean, causes himself to be declared king. 3911.

Eusebes marries Selene, widow of Grypus.

ANTIOCHUS XI. brother of Seleucus, and second son of Grypus, assumes the diadem, and is killed by Eusebes. 3912.

PHILIP, his brother, third son of Grypus, succeeds him. 3913.

DEMETRIUS EUCHERES, fourth son of Grypus, is established upon the throne at Damascus, by the assistance of Lathyrus. 3914.

Eusebes, overthrown by Philip and Demetrius, takes refuge amongst the Parthians. 3916.

He is re-established upon the throne by their means. 3918.

Demetrius having been taken by the Parthians, ANTIOCHUS DIONYSIUS, fifth son of Grypus, is placed upon the throne

3923.      Death of Lathyrus.

ALEXANDER II. son of Alexander I. under Syl-  
la's protection, is chosen king. He marries Cleopatra,  
otherwise called Berenice, and kills her seventeen days  
after. He reigned fifteen years.

The Alexandrians expel Alexander.

3939.      PTOLEMY AULETES, bastard son of Lathyrus, is  
placed upon the throne.

## KINGS OF SYRIA.

A. M.

at Damascus, and is killed the following year.

3921.

The Syrians, weary of so many divisions and revolutions, elect as king, **TIGRANES KING OF ARMENIA**. He reigns by a viceroy fourteen years.

Eusebes takes refuge in Cilicia, where he remains concealed. 3923.

Selene, his wife, retains part of Phoenicia and Coele-syria, and gives her two sons a good education.

Tigranes recalls Megadates Syria, being unpro- 3935.  
his viceroy from Syria, who vided with troops, AN-  
commanded there fourteen TIOCHUS ASIATICUS,  
years in his name. son of Antiochus Eu-

sebes, takes possession of some part of the country, and reigns there during four years.

Pompey deprives 3939.  
Antiochus Asiaticus of his dominions, and reduces Syria into a province of the Roman empire. The family of the Seleucidæ is extinct with him.



## SECT. II.

Antiochus Eupator, at the age of nine years, succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes in the kingdom of Syria. Demetrius, who had been long a hostage at Rome, demands in vain permission to return to Syria. Celebrated victories of Judas Maccabæus against the generals of the king of Syria, and the king himself in person. Long differences between the two brothers (the Ptolemies, kings of Egypt) terminated at length by a happy peace.

We have long lost sight of the history of the kings of Syria, and that of the kings of Egypt,<sup>f</sup> which are, for the most part, pretty closely connected with each other. I am now going to resume it, and it will not be interrupted any more.

Antiochus, surnamed Eupator, aged only nine years,<sup>g</sup> succeeded his father, Antiochus Epiphanes, in the kingdom of Syria. The latter at his death sent for Philip, his favourite, who had been brought up with him. He gave him the regency of the kingdom during his son's minority, and put his crown, signet, and all other marks of the royal dignity, into his hands; recommending to him, above all things, to employ his whole care in educating his son in such a manner as was most proper to instruct him in the art of reigning.

Philip, on his arrival at Antioch, found that another had already usurped the employment which the late king had confided to him. Lysias, upon the first advice of the death of Epiphanes, placed his son Antiochus upon the throne, whose governor he was, and had taken upon himself, with the guardianship of the young prince, the reins of government, without any regard to the king's regulation at his death. Philip knew well that he was not at that time in a condition to dispute it with him, and retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding at that court the assistance he wanted to instate him in his right, and to expel the usurper.

Much about the same time Ptolemy Macron, governor of Coele-syria and Palestine, from an enemy, which till then he had been to the Jews, became on a sudden their friend; moved, as the Scripture says, with the flagrant injustice which had been committed towards them. He put a stop to the rigour of the persecution against them, and employed his whole influence to obtain a peace for them. By this conduct he gave his enemies occasion to injure him. They prejudiced the king against him, by representing him perpetually as a traitor; because he had

<sup>f</sup> The last mention made of it is towards the end of Book XVIII. Article II. Sect. ii. and iii.

<sup>g</sup> Appian. in Syr. p. 117. 1 Maccab. vi. 17. 2 Maccab. ix. 29. et x. 10—13 Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 14.

in reality betrayed the interests of his first master, Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt, who had intrusted him with the government of the island of Cyprus, and had given up that island to Antiochus Epiphanes, upon entering into his service. For how advantageous soever the treason might be, the traitor, as is usual, was hated. At length they so far succeeded by their clamours and cabals, that he was deprived of his government, which was given to Lysias ; no other post or pension being conferred on him to support his dignity. He had not strength of mind enough to bear his downfall, and poisoned himself ; an end he well deserved for his treason, and the share which he had taken in the cruel persecution of the Jews.

Judas Maccabæus<sup>i</sup> in the mean time was signalizing his valour, by several considerable victories over the enemies of the people of God, who continually waged an implacable war against him. The little time that Antiochus Epiphanes survived the favourable inclinations he had expressed for the Jews, would not admit him to revoke in form his decree for obliging them to change their religion. The court of Syria, which always considered the Jews as rebels desirous of throwing off its yoke, and was greatly interested in making a nation so powerful, and so near a neighbour, submit to it, had no regard to some transient demonstrations of the dying prince's favour to them. They always persisted in the same principles of policy, and continued to look upon that nation as an enemy, whose sole view was to shake off their chains, and to support themselves in liberty of conscience with regard to religion. Such were the dispositions of Syria towards the Jews.

Demetrius,<sup>k</sup> son of Seleucus Philopator, who, A. M. 3341. since the year in which his father died, had remained a hostage at Rome, was in his twenty-third year when he was informed of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the accession of his son Eupator to the crown, which he pretended to be his right, as the son of Epiphanes's eldest brother. He proposed to the senate his re-establishment upon his father's throne : and to engage them in it, he represented that having been bred up at Rome, he should always regard it as his native country, the senators as his fathers, and their sons as his brothers. The senate had more regard for the interests of the republic than the right of Demetrius, and thought it more advantageous for the Romans that there should be a king in his minority upon the throne of Syria, than a prince like Demetrius, who might at length become formidable to them. They therefore made a decree to confirm Eupator, and sent Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, with the character of ambassadors, into Syria,

<sup>i</sup> 1 Maccab. v. 1—67. 2 Maccab. x. 14—38.

<sup>k</sup> Polyb. *Legat.* cvii. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3. Appian. in *Syr.* p. 117.

to regulate all things conformably to the treaty made with Antiochus the Great. Their design was to weaken the power of that kingdom by every possible method. The same ambassadors had instructions to accommodate, if possible, the differences between the two kings of Egypt.

Lysias,<sup>1</sup> terrified by the victories of Judas Maccabæus, formed an army of 80,000 foot, and took with him all the cavalry of the kingdom, with eighty elephants : at the head of all these forces he marched into Judæa, with the resolution to settle in Jerusalem, as inhabitants, foreigners that worshipped idols. He opened the campaign with the siege of Bethsura, a fortress between Idumæa and Jerusalem. Judas Maccabæus, and the whole people, besought the LORD, with tears in their eyes, to send his angel for the preservation of Israel. Full of confidence in God, they took the field. When they marched all together, with assured courage, out of Jerusalem,<sup>m</sup> there appeared a horseman marching before them. He was clothed in a white habit, with armour of gold, and he held a lance in his hand. That sight filled them with new ardour. They threw themselves upon the enemy like lions, killed 12,600 men, and obliged the rest to fly, most of them wounded and without arms.

After this check, Lysias,<sup>n</sup> weary of so unsuccessful a war, and, as the Scripture says, *believing the Jews invincible when supported by the aid of the Almighty God*, made a treaty with Judas and the Jewish nation, which Antiochus ratified. One of the articles of peace was, that the decree of Antiochus Epiphanes, which obliged the Jews to conform to the religion of the Greeks, should be revoked and cancelled, and that they should be at liberty to live in all places according to their own laws.

This peace was of no long duration. The neighbouring people were too much the enemies of the Jews to leave them long in repose. Judas overcame them in many battles. Timotheus, one of the king's generals, assembled all his forces, and raised an army of 120,000 foot, without including the horse, which amounted to 2500. Judas, full of confidence in the God of armies, marched against him with troops very much inferior as to number. He attacked and defeated him. Timotheus lost 30,000 men in this battle, and saved himself with great difficulty. This defeat was followed by many advantages on the side of Judas, which proved that God alone is the source of valour, intrepidity, and success in war. He showed

<sup>1</sup> 2 Maccab. xi. 1—33. xii. 1—37. xiii. 1—24. 1 Maccab. v. 65—67. vi. 19—63. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii.

<sup>m</sup> It was an angel, perhaps St. Michael, the protector of the people of God.  
<sup>n</sup> 2 Maccab. xi. 13.

this in the most sensible manner, by the evident and singular protection which he gave to a people, of whom he was in a peculiar manner the guide and director.

A new army was raised of 100,000 foot, with 20,000 horse, two-and-thirty elephants, and 300 chariots of war. The king in person, with Lysias the regent of the kingdom, put themselves at the head of it, and entered Judæa. Judas, relying upon the omnipotence of God, the creator of the universe, and having exhorted his troops to fight to the last drop of their blood, marched and posted himself in the front of the king's camp. After having given his troops for the word of battle, **VICTORY IS OF GOD**, he chose the bravest men of his army, and with them, in the night, attacked the king's quarters. They killed 4000 men, and retired, after having filled his whole camp with confusion and dismay.

Though the king knew from thence the extraordinary valour of the Jews, he did not doubt but they would be overpowered at length by the number of his troops and elephants. He resolved therefore to come to a general battle with them. Judas, without being intimidated by the terrible preparations for it, advanced with his army, and gave the king battle, in which the Jews killed a great number of the enemy. Eleazar, a Jew, seeing an elephant larger than the rest, covered with the king's arms, and believing the king was upon it, sacrificed himself to preserve his people, and to acquire a perpetual name. He forced his way boldly to the elephant through the line of battle, killing and overthrowing all who opposed him. Then placing himself under the beast's belly, he pierced it in such a manner, that it fell and crushed him to death underneath it.

Judas, in the mean time, and his troops, fought with extraordinary resolution. But at length, exhausted by fatigue, and no longer able to support the weight of the enemy, they thought fit to retire. The king followed them, and besieged the fortress of Bethsura. That place, after a long and vigorous defence, was obliged, for want of provisions, to surrender by capitulation.

From thence Antiochus marched against Jerusalem, and besieged the temple. Those who defended it were reduced to the same extremities with the garrison of Bethsura, and would, like them, have been obliged to surrender, if Providence had not relieved them by an unforeseen accident. I have observed, that Philip had retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding assistance there against Lysias. But the disputes which had arisen between the two brothers, who reigned jointly, as has been said elsewhere, soon undeceived him. Finding that he had nothing to expect from that quarter, he returned into the East, assembled some troops of Medes and Persians, and taking advantage

of the king's absence during his expedition against Judea, he seized the capital of the empire. Upon that news, Lysias thought it necessary to make peace with the Jews, in order to turn his arms against his rival in Syria. Peace was accordingly concluded upon very advantageous and honourable conditions. Antiochus swore to observe it, and was admitted to enter the fortifications of the temple, with the sight of which he was so much terrified, that, contrary to his faith given, and the oath he had sworn when ratifying the peace, he caused them to be demolished before he set out for Syria. The sudden return of Antiochus drove Philip out of Antioch, and put an end to his short regency, and soon after of his life.

The troubles occasioned by the divisions between the two Ptolemies,<sup>o</sup> which we have just now mentioned, rose so high, that the Roman senate gave orders to the ambassadors they had sent into Syria, to proceed to Alexandria, and to use all their endeavours to reconcile them. Before they arrived there, Physcon, the youngest, surnamed Euergetes, had already expelled his brother Philometor. The latter embarked for Italy, and landed at Brundisium. From whence he went the rest of the way to Rome on foot, very ill dressed, and with few followers, and demanded of the senate the necessary aid for replacing him upon the throne.

As soon as Demetrius, son of Seleucus Philopator, king of Syria, who was still a hostage at Rome, was apprized of the unhappy condition to which that fugitive prince was reduced, he caused royal robes and an equipage to be got ready for him, that he might appear in Rome as a king, and went to meet him with all he had ordered to be prepared for his use. He found him twenty-six miles, that is, at nine or ten leagues distance from Rome. Ptolemy expressed great gratitude to him for his goodness, and the honour he did him; but did not think proper to accept his present, nor permit him to attend on the rest of his journey. He finished it on foot, and with the same attendants and habit he had worn till then. In that manner he entered Rome, and took up his lodging with a painter of Alexandria, who had but a very small house. His design, by all these circumstances, was to express the misery to which he was reduced the better, and to move the compassion of the Romans.

When the senate were informed of his arrival, they sent to desire he would come to them; and to excuse their not having prepared a house for his reception, and that he had not been paid the honours at his entry with which it was the custom to

<sup>o</sup> Porphy. in Cr. Eus. Scalig. p. 60 et 68. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 322. Valer. Max. l. v. c. l. Polyb. Legat. cxiii. Epit. l. iv. l. xlv.

treat princes of his rank : they assured him that it was neither for want of consideration for his person, nor out of neglect, but because his coming had surprised them, and had been kept so secret, that they were not apprized of it till after he had entered Rome. Afterwards, having desired him to quit the habit he wore, and to demand an audience of the senate, in order to explain in a full meeting the occasion of his voyage, he was conducted by some of the senators to a house suitable to his birth ; and orders were given to the quæstors, or treasurers, to see him served and supplied at the expense of the public, with all things necessary, during his residence at Rome.

When they gave him audience, and he had represented his condition to the Romans, they immediately resolved to re-establish him ; and deputed two of the senators, with the character of ambassadors, to go with him to Alexandria, and cause their decree to be put in execution. They reconducted him accordingly, and succeeded in negotiating an accommodation between the two brothers. Lybia, and the province of Cyrene, were given to Physcon ; Philometor had Egypt and the isle of Cyprus ; and each of them was declared independent of the other in the dominions assigned them. The treaty and agreement were confirmed with the customary oaths and sacrifices.

But oaths and sacrifices had long been with the generality of princes no more than simple ceremonies and mere forms, by which they did not think themselves bound in the least. And this way of thinking is but too common. Soon after, the youngest of the two kings, dissatisfied with the partition which had been made, went in person to complain of it to the senate. He demanded that the treaty of partition should be annulled, and that he should be restored to the possession of the isle of Cyprus. He alleged that he had been forced by the necessity of the times to comply with the former proposals, and that, even though Cyprus should be granted him, his share would still be far from equal to his brother's. Menethyllus, whom the elder Ptolemy had deputed to Rome, made it appear that Physcon held not only Libya and Cyrenaica, but his life also, from the goodness of his brother : that he had made himself so much the abhorrence of the people, by his violent proceedings, that they would have left him neither life nor government, had not his brother snatched him from their resentment, by making himself mediator : that at the time he was preserved from this danger, he thought himself too happy in reigning over the region allotted to him ; and that both sides had ratified the treaty before the altar of the gods, and sworn to observe their agreement with each other. Quintus and Canuleius, who had nego-

tiated the accommodation between the brothers, confirmed the truth of all Menethyrius advanced.

The senate, seeing that in fact the partition was not equal, artfully took advantage of the quarrel between the two brothers, to diminish the strength of the kingdom of Egypt, by dividing it, and granted the younger what he demanded. For such was then the policy of the Romans. It is Polybius who makes this reflection. They made the quarrels and differences of princes the means of extending and strengthening their own power, and behaved in regard to them, with so much address, that whilst they acted solely for their own interest, the contending parties were, however, obliged to them. As therefore the great power of Egypt gave them reason to apprehend it would become too formidable if it fell into the hands of one sovereign, who knew how to use it, they adjudged the isle of Cyprus to Physcon. Demetrius, who did not lose sight of the throne of Syria, and who, on his part, was interested that so powerful a prince as the king of Egypt should not continue in possession of the island of Cyprus, had supported the demand of Physcon with all his influence. The Romans made T. Torquatus and Cn. Merula set out with the latter, to put him in possession of it.

During that prince's stay at Rome,<sup>p</sup> he had often the opportunity of seeing Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, and caused proposals of marriage to be made to her. But as she was the daughter of Scipio Africanus, and the widow of Tiberius Gracchus, who had been twice consul and censor, she rejected his offers, and believed it more honourable to be one of the first ladies of Rome, than queen of Libya with Physcon.

Physcon set out from Rome with the two Roman ambassadors. Their plan was to concert an interview between the two brothers upon the frontier, and by means of a negotiation to bring them to that agreement which the senate had fixed. Philometor did not explain himself openly at first. He spun out the affair to as great a length as he could upon different pretexts, endeavouring to gain time, and taking secret measures against his brother; at length he declared plainly, that he was resolved to stand to the first treaty, and that he would make no other.

The Cyrenæans, in the mean time,<sup>q</sup> informed A. M. 3843. of the ill conduct of Physcon during the time Ant. J. C. 161. that he was in possession of the government at Alexandria, conceived so strong an aversion for him, that they resolved to keep him out of their country by force of arms. It was not doubted but Philometor had covertly taken pains to

<sup>p</sup> Plut. in Tib. Grac. p. 824.

<sup>q</sup> Polyb. Legat. cxxxii. Id. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 197. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 334.

excite these disturbances. Physcon, who had been overthrown by the rebels in a battle, having almost lost all hope, sent two deputies with the Roman ambassadors on their return to Rome, with orders to lay his complaints against his brother before the senate and solicit their protection. The senate, offended at Philometor's refusal to evacuate the island of Cyprus according to their decree, declared that there was no longer any amity and alliance between him and the Romans, and ordered his ambassador to quit Rome in five days.

Physcon found means to re-establish himself in Cyrenaica ; but made himself so generally hated by his subjects, through his ill conduct, that some of them fell upon him, and wounded him in several places, and left him for dead upon the spot. He imputed this to his brother Philometor ; and, as soon as he was recovered of his wounds, undertook a voyage to Rome. He there made his complaints against him to the senate, showed the scars of his wounds, and accused him of having employed the assassins from whom he received them. Though Philometor was the most humane of all princes, and the least to be suspected of so black and barbarous an action, the senate, who were angry at his refusal to submit to the regulation they had made in regard to the isle of Cyprus, gave ear to this false accusation with too much facility. They carried their prejudice so high against him, that they would not so much as hear what his ambassadors had to say in his defence. Orders were sent to them to quit Rome immediately. Besides which, the senate appointed five commissioners to conduct Physcon into Cyprus, and to put him in possession of that island, and wrote to all their allies near it to aid him for that purpose with all their troops.

Physcon, by this means, with an army which  
 A. M. 3847. seemed to him sufficient for the execution of his  
 Ant J. C. 157. design, landed in the island. Philometor, who had gone thither in person, defeated him, and obliged him to shut himself up in Lapitho, where he was soon invested, besieged, and at length taken, and put into the hands of the brother whom he had so cruelly injured. Philometor's exceeding goodness appeared upon this occasion. After all that Physcon had done against him, it was expected that, as he now had him in his power, he would make him sensible of his indignation and revenge. He forgave him every thing ; and, not contented with pardoning his faults, he even restored him Libya and Cyrenaica, and added farther some amends in lieu of the isle of Cyprus. That act of generosity put an end to the war between the two brothers. It was not renewed ; and the Romans were ashamed of any longer opposing a prince of such extraordinary clemency. There is no reader who does not secretly pay the homage of esteem and admiration to so generous an action. Such inward



sentiments, which are founded in nature, and anticipate all reflections, imply how great and noble it is to forget and pardon injuries, and what a meanness of soul there is in the resentment of the revengeful.

### SECT. III.

Octavius, ambassador of the Romans in Syria, is killed there. Demetrius escapes from Rome, puts Eupator to death, ascends the throne of Syria, and assumes the surname of Soter. He makes war against the Jews. Repeated victories of Judas Maccabæus; death of that great man. Demetrius is acknowledged king by the Romans. He abandons himself to drunkenness and debauchery. Alexander Bala forms a conspiracy against him. Demetrius is killed in a battle. Alexander espouses the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor. Temple built by the Jews in Egypt. Demetrius, son of the first of that name, sets up his claim to the throne of Syria. Alexander is destroyed. Ptolemy Philometor dies at the same time.

We have<sup>r</sup> seen that the principal object of the commission of the three Roman ambassadors, Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, who went first into Egypt, was to go into Syria, in order to regulate the affairs of that nation. When they arrived there, they found the king had more ships and elephants than had been stipulated by the treaty made with Antiochus the Great after the battle of Sipylus. They caused the ships to be burnt, and the elephants to be killed, which exceeded the number stated in that treaty, and regulated all other matters in such a manner as they thought most to the advantage of the Romans. This treatment seemed insupportable, and exasperated the people against them. A person named Leptines was so incensed at it, that in his rage he fell upon Octavius<sup>a</sup> whilst he was bathing, and killed him. It was suspected that Lysias, the regent of the kingdom, had secretly a hand in this assassination. Ambassadors were immediately sent to Rome to justify the king, and to protest that he had had no share in the action. The senate sent them back without giving them any answer, to signify, by that silence, their indignation for the murder committed upon the person of Octavius, the examination and punishment of which they reserved to themselves. In the mean time, to do honour to his memory, they erected a statue to him amongst those of the great men who had lost their lives in defence of their country.

Demetrius believed that the displeasure of the Romans

<sup>r</sup> Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Polyb. Legat. cxiv. et cxxii. Cicer. Philip. ix. n. 4, 5. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3.

<sup>a</sup> This Octavius had been consul some years before, and was the first of his family who had attained that honour. *Cic. Philip. ix. n. 4.*—Octavius Cæsar, who became emperor, so well known under the name of Augustus, was of the same family with this Octavius, but of another branch, into which the consular dignity had never entered. *Sueton.*

against Eupator was a favourable conjuncture, of which it was proper for him to take the advantage, and addressed himself a second time to the senate, to obtain their permission to return into Syria. He took this step contrary to the opinion of the greatest part of his friends, who advised him to make his escape, without saying any thing. The event soon showed him how much they were in the right. As the senate had still the same motives of interest for keeping him at Rome as at first, he received the same answer, and had the mortification to experience a second denial. He had then recourse to the first advice of his friends; and Polybius the historian, who was then at Rome, was one of those who pressed him with the utmost warmth to put it in execution with secrecy and despatch. He took his advice. After concerting all his measures, he left Rome under pretence of a hunting match, went to Ostia, and embarked with a small train in a Carthaginian vessel bound for Tyre that waited for him.<sup>1</sup> It was three days before it was known at Rome that he had stolen away. All that the senate could do, was some days after to send Tib. Gracchus, L. Lentulus, and Servilius Glaucia, into Syria, to observe what effect the return of Demetrius would produce there.

Demetrius<sup>2</sup> having landed at Tripoli in Syria, a report spread, that the senate had sent him to take possession of his dominions, and had resolved to support him in them. Eupator was immediately looked upon as a lost man, and every one abandoned him to join Demetrius. Eupator and Lysias, seized by their own troops, were delivered up to the new comer, who ordered them to be put to death. Demetrius saw himself established by this means upon the throne without opposition, and with prodigious rapidity.

One of the first actions of his reign was, to deliver the Babylonians from the tyranny of Timarchus and Heraclides, who had been the two great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes. He had made the first governor, and the second treasurer of that province. Timarchus having added rebellion to his other crimes, Demetrius caused him to be put to death. He contented himself with banishing the other. The Babylonians were so much rejoiced to see themselves freed from the oppression of those two brothers, that upon this occasion they gave their deliverer the title of *SOTER* or *SAVIOUR*, which he bore ever afterwards.

Alcimus, whom Antiochus Eupator had made high-priest of the Jews after the death of Menelaus, not being able to procure

<sup>1</sup> That ship was carrying to Tyre, according to custom, the first-fruits of the lands and revenues of Carthage.

<sup>2</sup> Maccab. vii, viii, ix. et 2 Maccab. xiv. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii, xiii. Ap-  
pian. in Syr. p. 117. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3.

himself to be admitted by them in that capacity, because he had profaned the sanctity of the priesthood, by following the impious customs of the Greeks under Antiochus Epiphanes ; gathered together all the apostate Jews, who had taken refuge at Antioch, after having been expelled Judæa, and putting himself at their head, came to petition the new king to defend them from the oppressions of Judas and his brothers, venting a thousand calumnies against them. He accused them of having killed all persons of Demetrius's party who fell into their hands, and of having forced him, with all those in his company, to abandon their country, and seek their security elsewhere. Demetrius immediately ordered Bacchides, governor of Mesopotamia, to march into Judæa at the head of an army ; and confirming Alcimus in his office, he joined him in commission with Bacchides, and charged them both with the care of this war. Judas rendered all the efforts of this first army ineffectual, as he did also those of a second, which was commanded by Nicanor. The latter, enraged at the last defeat of the troops of Syria, and indignant that a handful of men should make head against such numerous and warlike armies, and knowing that they placed their whole confidence of victory in the protection of the God of Israel, and in the promises made in the temple where he was honoured, had uttered a thousand blasphemies against the Almighty and against his temple. He was soon punished for them. Judas engaged him in a bloody battle, and of his army of 35,000 men, not one escaped to carry the news of the defeat to Antioch. The body of Nicanor was found amongst the dead. His head and right hand, which he had lifted up against the temple, threatening to destroy it, were cut off, and placed upon one of the towers of Jerusalem.

Judas, after this complete victory, having some relaxation, sent an embassy to Rome. He saw himself continually attacked by the whole forces of Syria, without being able to rely with good reason upon any treaty of peace. He had no aid to expect from the neighbouring nations, who, far from interesting themselves for the preservation of the Jewish people, in concert with the Syrians, entertained no thoughts but of extirpating them. He had been informed that the Romans, equally esteemed for their justice and valour, were always ready to support weak nations against the oppression of kings, whose power gave them umbrage. He therefore thought of making an alliance with that people, in order to support himself by their protection against the unjust enterprises of the Syrians. Those ambassadors were very well received by the senate, who passed a decree by which the Jews were declared the friends and allies of the Romans, and a defensive league was made with them. They even obtained a letter from the senate to

Demetrius, by which he was enjoined not to distress the Jews any more, and war was threatened, in case he persevered to do so. But before the ambassadors returned Judas was dead.

As soon as Demetrius received news of the defeat and death of Nicanor, he gave the command of a powerful army to Bacchides and Alcimus, composed of the choicest of all his troops, and sent them into Judæa. Judas had only 3000 men with him when it arrived there. These were struck with such a panic, that they all abandoned him, except 800 men. Judas with that small number, through an excess of valour and confidence, had the boldness to hazard a battle against so numerous an army. He perished, overpowered by multitudes. His loss was deplored throughout all Judea and at Jerusalem, with all the marks of the keenest affliction, and the government was put into the hands of Jonathan his brother.

Alcimus being dead, after having committed great violences against the true Israelites, and Bacchides being returned to Antioch, the country remained quiet, and was not harassed by the Syrians for two years. Demetrius had most probably received the senate's letter in favour of the Jews, which obliged him to recall Bacchides.

Demetrius \* indeed was at this time very cautious in his conduct with regard to the Romans, and used all his endeavours to induce them to acknowledge him king, and to renew the treaty made with the kings his predecessors. Having received advice that the Romans had three ambassadors at the court of Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, he sent Menochares, one of his principal ministers, thither, to enter upon the negotiation. Finding at his return, by the report he made of what had passed, that the good offices of those ambassadors were absolutely necessary to his success on that point, he sent again into Pamphylia, and afterwards to Rhodes, to assure them that he would conform entirely to their will; and by the force of pressing solicitations, obtained at length, by their means, what he desired. The Romans acknowledged him king of Syria, and renewed the treaties made with that crown.

To cultivate their amity,† he sent the same Menochares the following year, in conjunction with some others, upon an embassy to Rome. They were charged with a crown that weighed 10,000 pieces of gold,‡ as a present from him to the senate, in gratitude for their kind treatment of him during the time that he was a hostage at Rome. They carried also with them Leptines and

\* Polyb. Legat. cxx.

† Ib. cxxii. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Dioc. Legat. xxv.

‡ They were worth more than ten thousand pistoles.

Isocrates, in order to deliver them up, upon account of the assassination of Octavius. This Leptines was the person who killed him at Laodicea. Isocrates was a Greek, by profession a grammarian, who being in Syria at that time, had upon all occasions taken upon him to vindicate that equally base and unjust action. The senate received the ambassadors with all the usual honours, and accepted the present they brought; but would neither see nor hear two vile men, objects unworthy of their anger; reserving to themselves, without doubt, the right of exacting, when they pleased, a more distinguished satisfaction for the murder of their ambassador.

It was nearly about this time that Demetrius, as I have observed before, established Holophernes upon the throne of Cappadocia. He was soon after expelled, and took refuge at Antioch. We are going to see how far he carried his ingratitude towards his benefactor.

Demetrius,<sup>a</sup> who found himself without war or occupation, began to indulge in pleasure, and to lead an idle life, not a little singular and fantastic in the manner of it. He caused a castle to be built near Antioch, flanked with four strong towers, and shut himself up in it, in order to abandon himself entirely on the one side to indolence, not being willing to hear any more mention made of public business, and, on the other, to the pleasure of good cheer and excess of wine. He was drunk at least one half of the day. The memorials, which people were desirous of presenting to him, were never received; justice was not administered; the affairs of the state languished: in a word, there was a general suspension of the government, which soon stirred up the whole people against him. A conspiracy was formed for deposing him. Holophernes, who continued at Antioch, entered into this plot against his benefactor, flattering himself with obtaining the crown if the enterprise succeeded. It was discovered, and Holophernes was thrown into prison. Demetrius would not deprive him of life. He chose rather to spare him, in order to make use of him upon occasion against Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, upon whose crown he had some pretensions.

Notwithstanding the discovery, the conspiracy was not suppressed.<sup>b</sup> The malcontents were secretly supported by Ptolemy Philometor, who had the affair of Cyprus at heart; and by Attalus and Ariarathes, who were anxious to revenge themselves for the war Demetrius had undertaken against them in favour of Holophernes. Those three princes in concert together

<sup>a</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 3. Athen. l. x. p. 440. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Polyb. Legat. cxxxviii. et cxi. Appian. in Syr. p. 131. Athen. l. v. p. 211. 1 Maccab. x. 1—50.

employed Heraclides in preparing somebody to personate the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and to set up hereditary pretensions to the crown of Syria. This Heraclides had been, as I have said already, one of the great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes, and treasurer of the province of Babylon, while Timarchus, his brother, another favourite, was governor of it. At Demetrius's accession to the crown, the two brothers having been convicted of malversation and other crimes, Timarchus had been executed, and the other, having made his escape, had taken up his residence at Rhodes. It was there he took pains to train the man intended for the design I have mentioned. He chose for that purpose a young man named Bala, of mean extraction, but well calculated to act the part assigned him. He modelled him, and instructed him fully in all that it was necessary to say or do.

When he was fully prepared, he began by causing him to be acknowledged by the three kings who were in the secret. He afterwards carried him to Rome, as he did also Laodice, the real daughter of Antiochus Epiphanes, for the better concealing of the imposture. By force of address and solicitations, he caused him to be acknowledged there also, and obtained a decree of the senate in his favour, which not only gave him permission to return into Syria, for the recovery of his dominions, but even granted him assistance for that purpose. Though the senate plainly saw through the imposture, and that all that was told of this pretender was mere fiction, they entered into every thing that was desired of them against Demetrius, with whom they were dissatisfied, and passed that decree in favour of the impostor. With this declaration of the Romans for him, he found no difficulty in raising troops. He seized upon Ptolemais in Palestine; and there, under the name of Alexander son of Antiochus Epiphanes, assumed the title of king of Syria. Many of the malcontents came thither to join him, and form his court.

This news made Demetrius quit his castle and his indolence, and apply himself to his defence. He assembled all the troops he could. Alexander armed also on his side. The assistance of Jonathan was of great consequence in this conjuncture, and both parties made their court to him. Demetrius wrote to him first, and sent him the commission of general of the king's troops in Judæa, which rendered him at that time very much superior to all his enemies.

Alexander, seeing what Demetrius had done for Jonathan, was thereby induced to make proposals also to him, in order to bring him over to his side. He made him high-priest, granted him the title of *Friend of the king*, sent him a purple robe and a crown of gold, marks of the high dignity which he conferred

upon him ; for none at that time wore purple except princes and nobles of the first rank. Demetrius, who received advice of this, still outbid him, to secure to himself an ally of such importance. But after the injuries he had done to all those who had had the true interest of the Jews at heart, and to the whole nation in general, they dared not confide in him, and resolved to treat rather with Alexander. Jonathan therefore accepted the high-priesthood from him ; and with the consent of the whole people, at the feast of tabernacles, which happened soon after, he put on the pontifical vestments, and officiated as high-priest.

The place had been vacant seven years from the death of Alcimus. The high-priesthood, which at that time came into the Asmonean family, continued in it till Herod's time, who, from hereditary, as it had been till then, made an employment of it, which he disposed of at his pleasure.

The two kings having taken the field, Demetrius, A. M. 3852. Ant. J. C. 152. who wanted neither valour nor good sense, when his reason was not impaired by wine, was victorious in the first battle ; but it was of no advantage to him. Alexander soon received new troops from the three kings, who had set him up, and continued to support him vigorously. Having, besides this, the Romans and Jonathan on his side, he retrieved his loss, and maintained his ground. The Syrians continually deserted also, because they could not bear Demetrius. That prince, beginning to apprehend the event of the war, sent his two sons, Demetrius and Antiochus, to Cnidos, a city of Caria, in order to provide for their security in case of misfortune. He confided them, with a considerable sum of money, to the care of a friend whom he had in that city ; in order that if any accident should happen to himself, they might remain there in safety, and wait some favourable conjuncture.

It was at the same time, and perhaps in imitation of Alexander Bala, that Andriscus played the same part in Macedonia. He had retired to Demetrius, who had given him up to the Romans, from the hope of conciliating their favour. A. M. 3853. Ant. J. C. 151.

The two competitors for the crown of Syria A. M. 3854. Ant. J. C. 150. having assembled all their troops, proceeded to a decisive battle. At first Demetrius's left wing broke that of the enemy which opposed it, and put it to flight. But being too hot in the pursuit, a common fault in battles, and which almost always occasions their being lost, at their return they found the right, at the head of which Demetrius fought in person, routed, and the king killed in the pursuit. As long as he had been in a condition to support the enemy's charge, he had omitted nothing of which valour and con-

duct were capable, that might conduce to his success. At length his troops gave way, and in the retreat his horse plunged into a bog, where those who pursued him killed him with their arrows. He had reigned twelve years. Alexander by this victory found himself master of the empire of Syria.

As soon as Alexander saw himself at ease,<sup>†</sup> he sent to demand Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy king of Egypt, in marriage. She was granted him; and her father conducted her in person to Ptolemais, where the nuptials were celebrated. Jonathan was invited to that feast, and went thither, where he was received by the two kings with all possible marks of honour.

Onias, son of Onias III.,<sup>‡</sup> having been disappointed of the high-priesthood after the death of his uncle Menelaus, had retired into Egypt. He had found means to insinuate himself so well into the favour of Ptolemy Philometor and Cleopatra his wife, that he was become their favourite and most intimate confidant. He made use of his influence at that court to obtain the king's permission for building a temple for the Jews in Egypt, like that in Jerusalem; assuring him that that favour would bring the whole nation over to his side against Antiochus Epiphanes; at the same time he obtained a grant of the high-priesthood to him and his descendants for ever. The great difficulty was, to make the Jews accede to this innovation; it being forbidden by the law to offer sacrifices in any place but the temple of Jerusalem. He overcame their repugnance, though not without difficulty, by a passage in Isaiah, wherein the prophet foretells this event in these terms:<sup>§</sup> *In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of Hosts; the one shall be called the city of the sun, or Heliopolis. In that day there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt; and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of hosts in the land of Egypt: for they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a Saviour, and a great one, and he shall deliver them. And the Lord shall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know the Lord in that day, and shall do sacrifice and oblation; yea, they shall vow a vow unto the Lord, and perform it.*

The event here foretold by Isaiah, is one of the most singular, and at the same time the most remote from all probability. Nothing was more strictly forbidden to the Jews than to offer sacrifices to God in any other place than the temple built by his order at Jerusalem; consequently how much more, to build

<sup>†</sup> 1 Maccab. x. 51—66.

<sup>‡</sup> Joseph. contra Appian. l. ii.

<sup>§</sup> Isa. xix. 18—21.



a temple elsewhere, especially in a land polluted with the most gross idolatry, as Egypt was, and always at enmity with the people of God? This, however, came to pass exactly as the prophet Isaiah had foretold. I shall not enter into a circumstantial exposition of this prophecy, which would carry me too far from my subject.

Alexander Bala,<sup>b</sup> finding himself in peaceable possession of the crown of Syria, thought he had nothing more to do than to take all the pleasures which the abundance and power to which he had attained would admit. He abandoned himself, therefore, to his natural inclination for luxury, idleness, and debauchery. He left the care of affairs entirely to a favourite named Ammonius. That insolent and cruel minion put to death Laodice, the sister of Demetrius, and widow of Perseus king of Macedonia; Antigonus, Demetrius's son, who continued in Syria when the two others were sent to Cnidos; in fine, all the persons of the blood-royal whom he could find, in order to secure to his master, by that means, the possession of the crown which he had usurped by an imposture. That conduct soon drew upon both the abhorrence of the people.

Demetrius, the eldest of Demetrius's sons, was at Cnidos, and began to be of an age capable of forming and executing plans. When he was advised of this aversion of the people, he thought the occasion favourable for repossessing himself of his right. Lasthenes, the friend in whose house he lived, procured him some companies of Cretans, with which he landed in Cilicia. There soon joined him a sufficient number of malcontents to form an army, with which he made himself master of the whole province. Alexander opened his eyes, and quitted his seraglio, to apply himself to his affairs. He left the government of Antioch to Hierax and Diodotus, who is also called Tryphon, put himself at the head of an army, formed of all the troops he could assemble; and upon receiving advice that Apollonius, governor of Cœle-syria and Phœnicia, had declared for Demetrius, he sent to demand aid of Ptolemy his father-in-law.

Apollonius's first thoughts were to reduce Jonathan, who persisted in his attachment to Alexander; but he was unsuccessful, and in one day he lost above 8000 men.

Ptolemy Philometor, to whom Alexander had applied in the extreme danger in which he found himself, came at last to the assistance of his son-in-law, and entered Palestine with a great army. All the cities opened their gates to him, according to the orders they had re-

<sup>b</sup> Liv. Epit. lib. 1. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 2. Jos. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. 1 Mac. cab. x. 67—89. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346.

ceived from Alexander to that effect. Jonathan came to Joppa, and followed him to Ptolemais. Upon his arrival a conspiracy was discovered, which had been formed by Ammonius, against the life of Philometor. As Alexander refused to deliver up that traitor, he concluded that he had entered into the conspiracy himself, and in consequence took his daughter from him, gave her to Demetrius, and made a treaty with him, by which he engaged to aid him in re-ascending the throne of his father.

The people of Antioch, who mortally hated Ammonius, believed it time to show their resentment. Having discovered him disguised like a woman, they sacrificed him to their rage. Not content with that revenge, they declared against Alexander himself, and opened their gates to Ptolemy. They would even have set him upon the throne. But that prince assuring them that he was contented with his own dominions, instead of accepting that offer, recommended to them Demetrius, the lawful heir, who accordingly was placed upon the throne of his ancestors, and acknowledged by all the inhabitants.

Alexander, who was at that time in Cilicia, A. M. 3859. Ant. J. C. 145. marched with the utmost diligence, and put all to fire and sword around Antioch. The two armies came to a battle. Alexander was defeated, and fled with 500 horse to Zabdiel, <sup>c</sup> an Arabian prince, with whom he had intrusted his children. Betrayed by the person in whom he had placed most confidence, his head was cut off and sent to Ptolemy, who expressed great joy at the sight of it. That joy was of no long duration; for he died some few days after of a wound he had received in the battle. Thus Alexander king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt, died at the same time: the first after a reign of five years, and the second after one of thirty-five. Demetrius, who had attained the crown by this victory, assumed the surname of *Nicator*, that is to say, *the Conqueror*.—The succession of Egypt was attended with more difficulties.

<sup>c</sup> He is called Emalcuel in the book of Maccabees.

## SECT. IV.

Physcon espouses Cleopatra, and ascends the throne of Egypt. Demetrius in Syria abandons himself to all manner of excesses. Diodotus, surnamed Tryphon, causes Antiochus, the son of Alexander Bala, to be proclaimed king of Syria; then kills him and takes his place. He seizes Jonathan by treachery, and puts him to death. Demetrius undertakes an expedition against the Parthians, who take him prisoner. Cleopatra his wife espouses Antiochus Sidetes brother of Demetrius, and places him upon the throne of Syria. Physcon's excessive follies and enormities. Attalus Philometor succeeds Attalus his uncle, whom he causes to be regretted by his vices. He dies himself, after having reigned five years, and by his will leaves the Roman people heirs to his dominions. Aristonicus seizes them. He is overthrown, led in triumph, and put to death.

Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, after the death of  
 A. M. 3859. her husband, who was at the same time her brother,  
 Ant. J. C. 145. ther, endeavoured to place the crown upon the head of the son she had by him.<sup>c</sup> As he was yet very young, others laboured to obtain it for Physcon, king of Cyrenaica, the late king's brother, and sent to desire him to come to Alexandria. Cleopatra, thereby reduced to the necessity of taking measures for her defence, caused Onias and Dosithæus, with an army of Jews, to come to her assistance. There was at that time a Roman ambassador at Alexandria, named Thermus, who by his mediation accommodated affairs. It was agreed that Physcon should marry Cleopatra, and educate her son, who should be declared heir to the crown; and that Physcon should possess it during his life. He had no sooner married the queen and taken possession of the crown, than, on the very day of the nuptials, he killed her son in her arms.

I have already observed, that the surname of *Physcon*, given to this prince, was properly a nickname. That which he took himself was *Euergetes*, which signifies *the benefactor*. The Alexandrians changed it into that of *Cacoergetes*, that is to say, on the contrary, *one who delights in doing harm*; a surname to which he had the justest title.

In Syria affairs went on little better.<sup>d</sup> Demetrius, a young prince without experience, left every thing to Lasthenes, who had procured him the Cretans, by whose aid he had ascended the throne. He was a corrupt and rash man, and behaved himself so, that he soon lost his master the hearts of those who were most necessary to his support.

The first wrong step which he took, was in regard to the soldiers, whom Ptolemy, upon his march, had put into the maritime places of Phœnicia and Syria, to reinforce the gar-

<sup>c</sup> Joseph. contr. App. l. ii. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1.

<sup>d</sup> Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346. 1 Maccab. xi. 20—37. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8.

risons. If he had left those garrisons in them, they would have very much augmented his forces. Instead of conciliating them, or at least of treating them well, upon some umbrage which he conceived, he sent orders to the troops of Syria who were in the same garrisons to cut the throats of all the Egyptian soldiers; which massacre was accordingly executed. The army of Egypt, which was still in Syria, and had placed him upon the throne, full of just horror for such barbarous cruelty, abandoned him immediately, and returned home. After which he caused the strictest search to be made for all those who had taken part against himself or his father in the last wars, and punished with death all that could be found. When he believed, after all these executions, that he had no longer any enemies to fear, he broke the greatest part of his troops, and kept only his Cretans, and some other foreigners, in his service. By that means he not only deprived himself of the veteran troops who had served under his father, and who, being as well affected to him, would have maintained him upon the throne, but he rendered them his greatest enemies, by depriving them of the sole means they had to subsist. He found this fully verified in the insurrections and revolutions which afterwards happened.

Jonathan in the mean time seeing every thing quiet in Judæa, formed the design of delivering the nation at length from the evils it suffered from the citadel, which the idolatrous Greeks still held in Jerusalem. He invested it, and caused machines of war to be brought, in order to attack it in form. Demetrius, in consequence of the complaints made to him upon that occasion, went to Ptolemais, and commanded Jonathan to attend him there, to give an account of that affair. Jonathan gave orders for pushing the siege vigorously in his absence, and set out to meet him with some of the priests and principal persons of the nation. He carried with him a great quantity of magnificent presents, and appeased the king and his ministers so successfully, that he had not only caused the accusation which had been formed against him to be rejected, but even obtained great honours and new marks of favour. The whole country under his government was discharged from all duties, customs, and tributes, for the sum of 300 talents,<sup>e</sup> which he agreed to pay the king by way of equivalent.

The king being returned to Antioch, <sup>f</sup> and continuing to give himself up immoderately to all kind of excesses, violence, and

<sup>e</sup> Three hundred thousand crowns.

<sup>f</sup> Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 9. 1 Maccab. xi. 39—74. xii. 21—34. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. Appian. in Syr. p. 132. Epit. l. iv. l. lii. Strab. l. xvi. p. 752. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346.

cruelty, the people's patience was entirely exhausted, so that the whole nation was disposed for a general revolt.

Diodotus, afterwards surnamed Tryphon, who had formerly served Alexander, and had shared the government of Antioch with Hierax, seeing the people in this disposition, found the occasion favourable for attempting a bold enterprise, which was to set the crown upon his own head, by taking advantage of these disorders. He went into Arabia to Zabdiel, to whom the person and education of Antiochus, the son of Alexander Bala, had been intrusted. He laid the state of affairs of Syria before him, informed him of the discontent of the people, and of the soldiery in particular, and strongly represented, that there could not be a more favourable opportunity for setting Antiochus upon the throne of his father. He demanded that the young prince should be put into his hands, in order that he might enforce his rights. His view was to make use of the pretensions of Antiochus till he had dethroned Demetrius, and afterwards to rid himself of the young prince, and assume the crown himself, as he did. Zabdiel, whether he penetrated his real design, or did not entirely approve his scheme, did not accede to it at first. Tryphon was obliged to continue a considerable time with him to solicit and press him. At length, by force of importunity or presents, he gained Zabdiel's consent, and obtained what he demanded.

Jonathan carried on the siege of the citadel of Jerusalem with vigour: but seeing that he made no progress, he sent deputies to Demetrius, to desire that he would withdraw the garrison which he could not drive out by force. Demetrius, who found himself involved in great difficulties from the frequent tumults which happened at Antioch, where the people had conceived an invincible aversion for his person and government, granted Jonathan all he demanded, upon condition that he would send troops to chastise the mutineers. Jonathan sent him 3000 men immediately. As soon as the king had them, believing himself sufficiently strong to undertake every thing, he resolved to disarm the inhabitants of Antioch, and gave orders accordingly that they should all deliver up their arms. Upon this they rose, to the number of 120,000 men, and invested the palace, with design to kill the king. The Jews immediately flew to disengage him, dispersed the multitude with fire and sword, burnt a great part of the city, and killed or destroyed very near 100,000 of the inhabitants. The rest, intimidated by so great a misfortune, demanded a peace, which was granted them: and the tumult ceased. The Jews, after having taken this terrible revenge for the wrongs which the people of Antioch had done to

A. M. 3860.  
Ant. J. C. 144.

Judæa and Jerusalem, principally during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, returned into their country laden with honour and booty.

Demetrius still continuing his cruelty, tyranny, and oppression, put many more persons to death for the last sedition, confiscated the estates of others, and banished a great number. All his subjects conceived such a hatred and animosity against him, that there wanted nothing but an opportunity for displaying it, and making him experience the most dreadful effects of their vengeance.

Notwithstanding the promises he had made to Jonathan, and the great obligations he had to him for the aid which had preserved him, he behaved no better towards him than he did to others. Believing he could do without him for the future, he did not observe the treaty he had made with him. Though the sum of 300 talents had been paid, he did not desist from demanding all the usual imposts, customs, and tributes, with the same rigour as before, and with menaces to Jonathan of making war upon him if he failed.

Whilst things were in this unsteady condition, Tryphon conducted Antiochus, the son of Alexander, into Syria, and caused his pretensions to the crown to be declared by a manifesto. The soldiers who had been disbanded by Demetrius, and a great number of other malcontents, came in crowds to join the pretender, and proclaimed him king. They marched under his ensigns against Demetrius, defeated him, and obliged him to retire into Seleucia.—They took all his elephants, made themselves masters of Antioch, placed Antiochus upon the throne of the kings of Syria, and gave him the surname of *Theos*, which signifies “the God.”

Jonathan, disgusted at the ingratitude of Demetrius, accepted the invitation made him by the new king, and engaged in his party. Great favours were heaped upon him and Simon his brother.—A commission was sent them, whereby they were empowered to raise troops for Antiochus throughout all Coele-syria and Palestine. Of these troops they formed two bodies, with which they acted separately, and obtained several victories over the enemy.

Tryphon,<sup>s</sup> seeing all things brought to the desired point for executing the project he had formed of destroying Antiochus, and of possessing himself of the crown of Syria, found no other obstacle to his design than on the part of Jonathan, whose probity he knew too well even to sound him upon entering into his views. He resolved therefore to rid himself, at any price, of so formidable an enemy; and accordingly entered Judæa

<sup>s</sup> 1 Maccab. xii. 39—54. xiii. 1—30. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 10, 11. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. Epit. l. iv. l. lv.

with an army in order to take him and put him to death. Jonathan came also to Bethshan at the head of 40,000 men. Tryphon perceived that he should get nothing by force against so powerful an army. He endeavoured therefore to amuse him with fine words, and the warmest assurances of a sincere friendship. He gave him to understand, that he was come thither only to consult him upon their common interests, and to put Ptolemais into his hands, which he was resolved to make him a present of as a free gift. He deceived him so well by these protestations of friendship and obliging offers, that he dismissed all his troops, except 3000 men, of which he kept only 1000 about his person. He sent the rest towards Galilee, and followed Tryphon to Ptolemais, relying upon the traitor's oath, that he should be put into possession of it. He had no sooner entered the place, than the gates were shut upon him. Jonathan was immediately seized, and all his followers put to the sword. Troops were also detached directly to follow and surprise the 2000 men who were upon their march to Galilee. They had already received advice of what had happened to Jonathan and his troops at the city of Ptolemais; and having exhorted one another to defend themselves well, and to sell their lives as dear as possible, the enemy were afraid to attack them. They were suffered to proceed, and arrived all safe at Jerusalem.

The affliction there for what had befallen Jonathan was extreme. The Jews, however, did not lose courage. They chose Simon by universal consent for their general, and immediately, by his orders, set themselves at work with all possible speed to complete the fortifications begun by Jonathan at Jerusalem. And when advice came that Tryphon approached, Simon marched against him at the head of a fine army.

Tryphon did not dare to give him battle, but had again recourse to the same artifices which had succeeded so well with Jonathan. He sent to tell Simon, that he had only laid Jonathan under an arrest, because he owed the king 100 talents;<sup>h</sup> that if he would send him that sum, and Jonathan's two sons as hostages for their father's fidelity, he would cause him to be set at liberty. Though Simon saw clearly that this proposal was no more than a feint, nevertheless, that he might not have reason to reproach himself with being the occasion of his brother's death, by refusing to comply with it, he sent him the money and Jonathan's two children. The traitor, notwithstanding, did not release his prisoner, but returned a second time into Judæa, at the head of a greater army than before, with design to put all things to fire and sword. Simon kept so close to him in all his marches and countermarches, that he frustrated his designs, and obliged him to retire.

<sup>h</sup> A. hundred thousand crowns.

Tryphon, on his return into winter-quarters in the country of Galaad, caused Jonathan to be put to death; and believing after this that he had nobody to fear, gave orders to kill Antiochus secretly. He then caused it to be given out that he was dead of the stone, and at the same time declared himself king of Syria in his stead, and took possession of the crown. When Simon was informed of his brother's death, he sent to fetch his bones, interred them in the sepulchre of his forefathers at Modin, and erected a magnificent monument to his memory.

Tryphon passionately desired to be acknowledged by the Romans.<sup>i</sup> His usurpation was so unsteady without this, that he perceived plainly this was absolutely necessary to his support. He sent them a magnificent embassy, with a golden statue of Victory of 10,000 pieces of gold in weight. He was cheated by the Romans. They accepted the statue, and caused the name of Antiochus, whom he had assassinated, to be inserted in the inscription, as if it had come from him.

<sup>k</sup>The ambassadors sent by Simon to Rome were received there much more honourably, and all the treaties made with his predecessors were renewed with him.

Demetrius in the mean time amused himself with diversions at Laodicea,<sup>l</sup> and abandoned himself to the most infamous debauches, without becoming more wise from adversity, and without so much as seeming to have the least sense of his misfortunes. As Tryphon had given the Jews just reason to oppose him and his party, Simon sent a crown of gold to Demetrius, and ambassadors to treat with him. They obtained from that prince a confirmation of the high-priesthood and sovereignty to Simon, exemption from all kind of tributes and imposts, with a general amnesty for all past acts of hostility; upon condition that the Jews should join him against Tryphon.

Demetrius at length recovered a little from his lethargy upon the arrival of deputies from the East,<sup>m</sup> who came to invite him thither. The Parthians, having overrun almost the whole East, and subjected all the countries of Asia between the Indus and Euphrates, the inhabitants of those countries, who were descended from the Macedonians, not being able to endure that usurpation, and the haughty insolence of their new masters, were extremely urgent with Demetrius, by repeated embassies, to come and put himself at their head; assured him of a general insurrection against

<sup>i</sup> Diod. Legat. xxxi.

<sup>k</sup> 1 Maccab. xiv. 16—40.

<sup>l</sup> Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 353. 1 Maccab. xiii. 34—42. and xiv. 38—41. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 11.

<sup>m</sup> Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. l. xxxviii. c. 9. l. xli. c. 5 and 6. 1 Maccab. xiv. 1—49. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9—12. Orosius, l. v. c. 4. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 359. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.



the Parthians; and promised to supply him with a sufficient number of troops to expel those usurpers, and recover all the provinces of the East. Full of these hopes, he at length undertook that expedition, and passed the Euphrates, leaving Tryphon in possession of the greatest part of Syria. He conceived that, having once made himself master of the East, with that increase of power he should be in a better condition to reduce that rebel at his return.

As soon as he appeared in the East, the Elymæans, Persians, and Bactrians, declared in his favour; and with their aid he defeated the Parthians in several engagements, but at length, under pretence of treating with him, they got him into an ambuscade, where he was made prisoner, and his whole army cut in pieces. By this blow the empire of the Parthians took such firm footing, that it supported itself for many ages afterwards, and became the terror of all its neighbours, so as to be considered equal even to the Romans themselves, as to power in the field and reputation for military exploits.

The king who then reigned over the Parthians was Mithridates, son of Priapatius, a valiant and wise prince. We have seen in what manner Arsaces founded this empire, and his son Arsaces II. established and confirmed it, by a treaty of peace with Antiochus the Great. Priapatius was the son of the second Arsaces, and succeeded him; he was called also Arsaces, which became the common name of all the princes of this race. After having reigned fifteen years, he left the crown at his death to his eldest son Phraates, and he to Mithridates his brother, in preference to his own children," because he had discovered more merit and capacity in him for the government of the people; convinced that a king, when it is in his own power, ought to be more attentive to the good of the state than the advancement of his own family; and to forget, in some measure, that he is a father, to remember solely that he is a king. This Mithridates was that king of the Parthians, into whose hands Demetrius had fallen.

That prince, after having subdued the Medes, Elymæans, Persians, and Bactrians, extended his conquests even into India, beyond the bounds of Alexander's; and when he had defeated Demetrius, subjected also Babylonia and Mesopotamia; so that his empire was bounded at that time by the Euphrates on the west, and the Ganges on the east.

He carried Demetrius his prisoner into all the provinces that still adhered to the king of Syria, with the view of inducing them to submit to him, by showing them the person they

<sup>a</sup> Non multò post decessit, multis filiis relictis; quibus præteritis, fratri potissimum Mithridati, insignis virtutis viro, reliquit imperium: plus regio quàm patrio deberi nomini ratus, potiùsque patriæ quàm liberis consulendum. *Justin.*

had looked upon as their deliverer, reduced to so low and shameful a condition. After that, he treated him as a king, sent him into Hyrcania, which was assigned for his place of residence, and gave him his daughter Rhodoguna in marriage. However, he was always regarded as a prisoner of war, though in other respects he had the liberty that could be granted him in that condition. His son Phraates, who succeeded him, treated him in the same manner.

It is observed particularly of this Mithridates, that having subjected several different nations, he took from each of them whatever was best in their laws and customs, and out of them composed an excellent body of laws and maxims of state, for the government of his empire. This was making a glorious use of his victories; by so much the more laudable, as it is uncommon and almost unheard of, for a victor to be more intent upon gaining improvement from the wise customs of conquered nations, than upon enriching himself out of their spoils. It was by this means that Mithridates established the Parthians' upon solid foundations, gave it a firm consistency, effectually attached the conquered provinces to it, and united them into one monarchy, which subsisted many ages without change or revolution, notwithstanding the diversity of nations of which it was composed. He may be looked upon as the Numa of the Parthians, who taught that warlike nation to temper a savage valour with discipline, and to blend the wise authority of laws with the blind force of arms.

At this time happened a considerable change in the affairs of the Jewish nation. They had contended long with incredible efforts against the kings of Syria, not only for the defence of their liberty, but the preservation of their religion. They thought it incumbent on them to take advantage of the favourable opportunity of the king of Syria's captivity, and of the civil wars with which that empire was continually torn, to secure both the one and the other. In a general assembly of the priests, the elders, and the whole people of Jerusalem, Simon was chosen general, to whose family they had most essential obligations, and they gave him the government, with the title of sovereign, as well as that of high-priest: and declared this double power, civil and sacerdotal, hereditary in his family. These two titles had been conferred on him by Demetrius, but limited to his person. After his death both dignities descended jointly to his posterity, and continued united for many generations.

When queen Cleopatra saw her husband taken and kept prisoner by the Parthians, she shut herself up with her children in Seleucia, where many of Tryphon's soldiers came over to her party. That man, who

A. M. 3864.  
Ant. J. C. 140.

was naturally brutal and cruel, had industriously concealed those defects under appearances of lenity and goodness, as long as he believed it necessary to please the people, in order to be successful in his ambitious designs. When he saw himself in possession of the crown, he quitted an assumed character that laid him under too much constraint, and gave himself up entirely to his bad inclinations. Many therefore abandoned him, and came over in no inconsiderable numbers to Cleopatra. These desertions did not, however, sufficiently augment her party to put her into a condition to support herself. She was also afraid, lest the people of Seleucia should choose rather to give her up to Tryphon, than support a siege out of affection for her person. She therefore sent proposals to Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius's brother, for uniting their forces; and promised on that condition to marry him, and procure him the crown. For when she was informed that Demetrius had married Rhodoguna, she was so much enraged, that she no longer observed any measures, and resolved to seek support in a new marriage. Her children were yet too young to support the weight of a tottering crown, and she was not of a character to pay much regard to their rights. As Antiochus, therefore, was the next heir to the crown after them, she fixed upon him, and took him for her husband.

This Antiochus was the second son of Demetrius Soter, and had been sent to Cnidus with his brother Demetrius, during the war between their father and Alexander Bala, to secure them against the revolutions he apprehended, and which actually happened, as has been said before. Having accepted Cleopatra's offers, he assumed the title of king of Syria.

He wrote a letter to Simon,<sup>a</sup> wherein he complained of Tryphon's unjust usurpation, for which he promised to take speedy vengeance. To engage him in his interests, he made him great concessions, and gave him hopes of much greater when he should ascend the throne.

And in fact, in the beginning of the following  
 A. M. 3865.  
 Ant. J. C. 139. year, he made a descent into Syria with an army of foreign troops, which he had taken into his pay in Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands; and after having espoused Cleopatra, and joined what troops she had with his own, he took the field, and marched against Tryphon. The greatest part of that usurper's troops, weary of his tyranny, abandoned him, and came over to the army of Antiochus, which amounted at that time to 120,000 foot and 8000 horse.

Tryphon could not make head against him, and retired to Dora, a city in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais in Phœnicia. Antiochus besieged him there by sea and land with all his forces.

<sup>a</sup> Maccab. xv. 1—11. xvi. 1—10. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12 et 13.

The place could not hold out long against so powerful an army. Tryphon escaped by sea to Orthosia, another maritime city of Phœnicia, and from thence proceeding to Apamea, where he was born, he was there taken and put to death. Antiochus thus terminated the usurpation, and ascended his father's throne, which he possessed nine years. His passion for hunting occasioned his being called *Sidetes*, or "the hunter," from the word "Zidah," which has the same signification in the Syriac language.

Simon, established in the government of Judæa by the general consent of the nation, thought it necessary to send ambassadors to Rome, in order to his being acknowledged under that title, and to renew the ancient treaties. They were very well received, and obtained all they desired. The senate, in consequence, caused the consul Piso to write to Ptolemy king of Egypt, Attalus king of Pergamus, Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, Demetrius <sup>b</sup> king of Syria, Mithridates king of the Parthians, and to all the states of Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands, with whom the Romans were in alliance, to notify to them, that the Jews were their friends and allies, and that consequently they should not undertake any thing to their prejudice.

As Antiochus had granted Simon so advantageous an alliance solely from the necessity of his present circumstances, and contrary to the interests of the state, as well as to the policy of his predecessors, the letter from the Romans did not prevent him from declaring against Simon, notwithstanding all the magnificent promises he had made him, and from sending troops into Judæa, under the command of Cendebæus, who was overthrown in a battle by Judas and John, the sons of Simon.

Physcon had reigned seven years in Egypt. <sup>c</sup>  
 A. M. 3866. History relates nothing of him, during all that  
 Ant. J. C. 138. time, but monstrous vices and detestable cruelties.

Never was there a prince so abandoned to excesses, and at the same time as cruel and sanguinary. All the rest of his conduct was as contemptible as his vices were enormous; for he both said and acted in public the extravagances of an infant, by which he drew upon himself both the contempt and abhorrence of his subjects. Without Hierax, his first minister, he had infallibly been dethroned. This Hierax was a native of Antioch, and was the same to whom, in the reign of Alexander Bala, the government of that city had been given in conjunction with Diodotus, afterwards surnamed Tryphon. After the revolution which happened in Syria, he retired into Egypt, entered into

<sup>b</sup> This letter was addressed to Demetrius, though prisoner amongst the Parthians, because the Romans had neither acknowledged Antiochus Sidetes nor Tryphon.

<sup>c</sup> Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 361. Athen. l. iv. p. 181. et l. vi. p. 252. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1, 2.

the service of Ptolemy Physcon, and soon became his captain-general and prime minister. As he was valiant in the field and able in council, by causing the troops to be well paid, and amending the faults which his master committed, by a wise and equitable government, and by preventing or redressing them as much as possible, he had been till then so fortunate as to support the tranquillity of the state.

But in the following years, whether Hierax  
 A. M. 3868.  
 Ant. J. C. 136. was dead, or the prudence and ability of that minister were no longer capable of restraining the folly of this prince, the affairs of Egypt went on worse than ever. Physcon, without any reason, caused the greatest part of those to be put to death, who had expressed the most zeal in procuring him the crown after his brother's death, and maintaining it upon his head. Athenæus places Hierax in this number; but without mentioning the time. He also put to death, or at least banished, most of those who had been in favour with Philometor his brother, or had only held employments during his reign; and by permitting his foreign troops to plunder and murder at discretion, he terrified Alexandria so much, that the greatest part of the inhabitants, to avoid his cruelty, thought it necessary to retire into foreign countries, and the city remained almost a desert. To supply their places, when he perceived that nothing remained but empty houses, he caused proclamation to be made in all the neighbouring countries, that whosoever should come and settle there, of whatsoever nation they were, should meet with the greatest advantages. There were considerable numbers whom this proposal suited very well: the houses that had been abandoned were given to them, and all the rights, privileges, and immunities granted them, which had been enjoyed by the ancient inhabitants; by this means the city was repeopled.

As amongst those who had quitted Alexandria, there was a great number of grammarians, philosophers, geometricians, physicians, musicians, and other masters in the liberal sciences, it happened from thence, that the polite arts and sciences began to revive in Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands; in a word, in every place where these illustrious fugitives carried them. The continual wars between the successors of Alexander, had almost extinguished the sciences in all those countries; and they would have been entirely lost in those times of confusion if they had not found protection under the Ptolemies at Alexandria. The first of those princes, by founding his Musæum for the entertainment of the learned, and erecting his fine library, had drawn about him almost all the learned men of Greece. The second and third following the founder's steps in that respect, Alexandria became the principal city in the world where

the liberal arts and sciences were most cultivated, whilst they were almost absolutely neglected every where else. Most of the inhabitants of that great city studied or professed some or other of those polite arts, in which they had been instructed in their youth. So that when the cruelty and oppression of the tyrant, of whom I speak, obliged them to take refuge in foreign countries, their most general recourse for subsistence was to make it their business to teach what they knew. They opened schools for that purpose; and as they were pressed by necessity, they taught at a low price, which very much increased the number of their disciples. By this means the arts and sciences began to revive wherever they were dispersed; that is to say, throughout what we call the whole East, exactly in the same manner as they took new birth in the West, after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks.

Much about the same time that strangers came in crowds to repeople Alexandria,<sup>d</sup> P. Scipio Africanus the younger, Sp. Mummius, and L. Metellus, arrived there as ambassadors from Rome. It was a maxim with the Romans to send frequent embassies to their allies, in order to take cognizance of their affairs, and to accommodate their differences. It was with this view, that three of the greatest persons in the state were sent at this time into Egypt. They had orders to go into Egypt, Syria, Asia, and Greece; and to see in what condition the affairs of those countries were; to examine in what manner the treaties made with them were observed; and to remedy whatever they should find amiss. They acquitted themselves of this commission with so much equity, justice, and address; and rendered such great services to those to whom they were sent, in restoring order amongst them, and in accommodating their differences; that, as soon as they returned to Rome, ambassadors came from all parts through which they had passed, to return the senate thanks for having sent amongst them persons of such extraordinary merit, and whose wisdom and goodness they could never sufficiently admire.

The first place they went to, according to their instructions, was Alexandria. The king received them with great magnificence. As to themselves, they affected state so little, that at their entry, Scipio, who was the greatest personage of Rome, had only one friend with him, which was Panætius the philosopher, and five domestics.<sup>e</sup> Not his domestics, (says an historian,) but his victories were considered: he was not esteemed for his gold or his silver, but for his personal virtues and qualities.

<sup>d</sup> Cic. in Somn. Scip. Athen. l. vi. p. 273, et l. xii. p. 549. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Diod. Legat. xxxii.

<sup>e</sup> Cum per socios et externas gentes iter faceret, non mancipia sed victoriæ numerabantur; nec quantum auri et argenti, sed quantum amplitudinis onus secum ferret æstimabatur. Val. Mal.

Though during their whole residence at Alexandria, the king caused them to be served with whatever was most delicate and exquisite, they never touched any thing but the most simple and common meats; despising all the rest, as serving only to enervate the mind as well as the body. So great, even at that time, were the moderation and temperance of the Romans; but luxury and pomp quickly assumed their place.

When the ambassadors had fully viewed Alexandria, and regulated the affairs which brought them thither, they went up the Nile to visit Memphis and the other parts of Egypt. They saw with their own eyes, or by statements drawn up upon the spot, the infinite number of cities, and the prodigious multitude of inhabitants contained in that kingdom; the strength of its natural situation, the fertility of its soil, and all the other advantages it enjoyed. They found that it wanted nothing to render it powerful and formidable, but a prince of capacity and application; for Physcon, who then reigned, was nothing less than a king. Nothing was so wretched as the idea he gave them of himself in all the audiences they had of him. Of his cruelty, luxury, barbarity, and other vices, I have already made mention, and shall be obliged to give farther proofs of them in the sequel. The deformity of his body sufficiently corresponded with that of his mind:† nothing more hideous was ever seen. His stature was of the smallest, and with that he had a belly of so enormous a size, that there was no man could embrace him in his arms. This largeness of his belly occasioned his being called by the nick-name of *Physcon*. Upon this wretched person he wore so transparent a stuff, that all his deformity might be seen through it. He never appeared in public but in a chariot, not being able to carry the load of flesh, which was the fruit of his intemperance, unless when he walked with Scipio. So that the latter, turning towards Panætius, told him in his ear, smiling, *The Alexandrians are obliged to us for seeing their king walk on foot.*

We must confess, to the reproach of royalty, that most of the kings of whom we now speak, dishonoured not only the throne, but even human nature itself, by the most horrid vices. It is dreadful to see, in that long list of kings whose history we have related, how few there are who deserve that name. What comparison is there between those monsters of dissoluteness and

† Quam cruentus civibus, tam ridiculus Romanis fuit. Erat enim et vultu deformis, et staturâ brevis, et saginâ ventris non homini sed belluæ similis. Quam fœditatem nimia subtilitas perlucidæ vestis augebat, prorsus quasi astu inspicienda præberentur, quæ omni studio occultanda pudibundo viro erant. *Justin. l. viii. c. 8.*

Athenæus says, *προήει μηδέποτε πεζός εἰ μὴ διὰ Σκιπίωνα*—Which the interpreter translates, *Pedibus ille nunquam ex regiâ prodibat, sed perpetuo Scipione subnixus*; instead of *nisi propter Scipionem*.

cruelty, and Scipio Africanus, one of the three Roman ambassadors, who was a prodigy of wisdom and virtue, as far as they could be found amongst the Pagans? Justin accordingly says of him, that whilst he visited and considered with curiosity the rarities of Alexandria, he was himself a sight to the whole city. *Dum inspicit urbem, ipse spectaculo Alexandrinis fuit.*

A. M. 3866.

Ant. J. C. 138.

Attalus, king of Pergamus,<sup>s</sup> died about the time of which we now speak. His nephew, who bore the same name, and was also called Philometor, succeeded him. As the latter was very young when his father Eumenes died, he had been under the tuition of his uncle, to whom the crown was also left by the will of Eumenes. Attalus gave his nephew the best education he could, and at his death bequeathed the throne to him, though he had sons of his own; a proceeding as rare as it was laudable; most princes thinking no less of transferring their crowns to their posterity, than of preserving them to themselves during their lives.

This prince's death was a misfortune to the kingdom of Pergamus. Philometor governed it in the most extravagant and pernicious manner. He was scarce upon the throne before he stained it with the blood of his nearest relations, and the best friends of his family. He caused almost all who had served his father and uncle with extreme fidelity, to be murdered, under pretence that some of them had killed his mother Stratonice, who died of disease in a very advanced age, and others his wife Berenice, who died of an incurable distemper, with which she had been seized very naturally. He put others also to death upon suspicions entirely frivolous; and with them, their wives, children, and whole families. He caused these executions to be committed by foreign troops, whom he had expressly sent for from the most savage and cruel nations, to make them the instruments of his enormous barbarity.

After having massacred and sacrificed to his fury, in this manner, the most deserving persons of his kingdom, he ceased to show himself abroad. He appeared no more in the city, and ate no longer in public. He put on old clothes, let his beard grow without taking any care of it, and did every thing which persons accused of capital offences used to do in those days, as if he intended thereby to acknowledge the crimes which he had just perpetrated.

From thence he proceeded to other species of folly. He renounced the cares of state, and retired into his garden, and engaged in digging the ground himself, and then sowed all sorts of venomous, as well as wholesome herbs; then poisoning the good with the juice of the bad, he sent them in that manner as

<sup>s</sup> Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 4. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. Plut. in Demet. p. 397. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 370.



presents to his friends. He passed all the rest of his reign in cruel extravagances of the like nature, which, happily for his subjects, was of no long duration, for it lasted only five years.

He had taken it into his head to practise the trade of a founder, and formed the model of a monument of brass to be erected to his mother. Whilst he was at work in casting the metal, on a hot summer's day, he was seized with a fever, which carried him off in seven days, and freed his subjects from an abominable

tyrant.

He had made a will, by which he appointed the Roman people his heirs. Eudemus of Pergamus carried this will to Rome. The principal article was expressed in these terms, **LET THE ROMAN PEOPLE INHERIT ALL MY EFFECTS.**<sup>b</sup> As soon as it was read, Tiberius Gracchus, tribune of the people, always attentive to conciliate their favour, took hold of the occasion; and ascending the tribunal, proposed a law to this effect: That all the ready money which should arise from the succession to this prince, should be distributed amongst the poor citizens, who should be sent as colonies into the country bequeathed to the Roman people, in order that they might have wherewithal to support themselves in their new possessions, and to supply them with the tools and other things necessary in agriculture. He added, that as to the cities and lands, which were under that prince's government, the senate had no right to pass any decree in regard to them, and that he should leave the disposal of them to the people; which extremely offended the senate. That tribune was killed some small time after.

A. M. 3872.  
Ant. J. C. 132. Aristonicus, however, who reported himself of the blood royal, was actively employed in preparing to take possession of Attalus's dominions.

He was indeed the son of Eumenes, but by a courtesan. He easily engaged the majority of the cities in his party, because they had been long accustomed to the government of kings. Some cities, through fear of the Romans, refused at first to acknowledge him, but were compelled to it by force.

As his party grew stronger every day, the Romans sent the consul, Licinius Crassus, against him. It was observed of this general, that he was so perfectly master of all the dialects of the Greek tongue, which in a manner formed five different languages, that he pronounced his decrees according to the particular idiom of those who pleaded before him, which made him very agreeable

<sup>b</sup> Plut. in Gracch. Flor. l. ii. c. 20. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 4. and xxxvii. c. 1. Vell. Patere. l. ii. c. 4. Strab. l. xiv. p. 646. Oros. l. v. c. 8—10. Eutrop. l. iv. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 2.

to all the states of Asia Minor. All the neighbouring princes in alliance with the Roman people, the kings of Bithynia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, joined him with their troops.

Notwithstanding such powerful supports, having engaged in a battle with disadvantage, his army, which he commanded then in quality of proconsul, was defeated, and himself made prisoner. He avoided the shame of being put into the victor's hands, by a voluntary death. His head was carried to Aristonicus, who caused his body to be interred at Smyrna.

The consul Perpenna, who had succeeded Crassus, soon revenged his death. Having made all haste into Asia, he gave Aristonicus battle, entirely routed his army, besieged him soon after in Stratonice, and at length made him prisoner. All Phrygia submitted to the Romans.

He sent Aristonicus to Rome, in the fleet which he loaded with Attalus's treasures. A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130. Manius Aquilius, who had lately been elected consul, was hastening to take his place, in order to put an end to this war, and deprive him of the honour of a triumph. He found Aristonicus set out; and some time after, Perpenna, who had begun his journey, died of a disease at Pergamus. Aquilius soon terminated this war, which had continued almost four years. Lydia, Caria, the Hellespont, Phrygia, in a word, all that composed the kingdom of Attalus, was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, under the common name of Asia.

The senate had decreed, that the city of Phocæa, which had declared against the Romans, as well in this last war as in that against Antiochus, should be destroyed. The inhabitants of Marseilles, which was a colony of Phocæa, moved as much with the danger of their founders as if the fate of their own city had been in question, sent deputies to Rome, to implore the clemency of the senate and people in their favour. Just as their indignation was against Phocæa, they could not refuse to pardon it, in consideration of the ardent solicitations of a people, whom they had always held in the highest consideration, and who rendered themselves still more worthy of it, by the tender concern and gratitude they expressed for their forefathers and founders.

Phrygia Major was granted to Mithridates Euergetes, king of Pontus, in reward for the aid he had given the Romans in that war. But after his death, they dispossessed his son, Mithridates the Great, of it, and declared it free.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who died during this war, had left six children. Rome, to reward in the sons the services

of the father, added Lycaonia, and Cilicia to their dominions. They found in queen Laodice, not the tenderness of a parent, but the cruelty of a step-mother. To secure all authority to herself, she poisoned five of her children; and the sixth would have shared the same fate, if his relations had not taken him out of the murderous hands of that Megæra, on whose crimes the people soon took vengeance by a violent death.

Manius Aquilius, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph. Aristonicus, after having been shown there for a sight to the people, was carried to prison, where he was strangled. Such were the consequences of king Attalus's will.

Mithridates, in a letter which he wrote afterwards to Arsaces king of Parthia, accuses the Romans of having forged a false will of Attalus's,<sup>1</sup> in order to deprive Aristonicus, the son of Eumenes, of his father's kingdom, which appertained to him of right: but it is an avowed enemy who charges them with this. It is more surprising that Horace, in one of his odes, seems to make the Roman people the same reproach, and to insinuate that they had attained the succession by fraud:

\* Neque Attali  
Ignotus hæres regiam occupavi.

*Nor have I seiz'd an heir unknown,  
The Phrygian's kingdom for my own.*

However, there remains no trace in history of any secret intrigue or solicitation to that effect on the side of the Romans.

I thought it proper to relate all the consequences of this will without interruption. I shall now resume the thread of my history.

## SECT. V.

Antiochus Sidetes besieges John Hyrcanus in Jerusalem. That city surrenders by capitulation. He makes war against the Parthians, and perishes in it. Phraates, king of the Parthians, defeated in his turn by the Scythians. Physcon commits horrid cruelties in Egypt. A general revolt obliges him to quit it. Cleopatra, his first wife, is replaced upon the throne. She implores aid of Demetrius, and is soon reduced to leave Egypt. Physcon returns thither, and re-ascends the throne. By his means Zebina dethrones Demetrius, who is soon after killed. The kingdom is divided between Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius, and Zebina. The latter is defeated and killed. Antiochus Grypus ascends the throne of Syria. The famous Mithridates begins to reign in Pontus. Physcon's death.

A. M. 3869. Simon having been slain by treachery,<sup>1</sup> with Ant. J. C. 135. two of his sons, John, another of them, surnamed

<sup>1</sup> Simulato impio testamento, filium ejus (Eumenis) Aristonicum, quia patrium regnum petiverat, hostium more per triumphum duxere. *Apud. Salust. in Fragm.*

<sup>2</sup> Hor. Od. xviii. l. ii. l. 5.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Maccab. xvi. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16. Diod. Eclog. i. p. 901.

**Hyrcanus**, was proclaimed high-priest and prince of the Jews in his father's stead. Here ends the history of the Maccabees.

**Antiochus Sidetes**, king of Syria, made all possible haste to take advantage which the death of Simon gave him, and advanced at the head of a powerful army to reduce Judæa, and unite it to the empire of Syria. Hyrcanus was obliged to shut himself up in Jerusalem, where he sustained a long siege with incredible valour. Reduced at length to the last extremity for want of provisions, he caused proposals of peace to be made to the king. His condition was not unknown in the camp. Those who were about the king's person pressed him to take advantage of the present occasion for exterminating the Jewish nation. They represented to him, (recurring to past ages,) that they had been driven out of Egypt as impious wretches, hated by the gods, and abhorred by men; that they were enemies to all the rest of mankind, as they had no communication with any but those of their own sect, and would neither eat, drink, nor have any familiarity with other people; that they did not adore the same gods; that they had laws, customs, and a religion entirely different from that of all other nations; that therefore they well deserved to be treated by other nations with equal contempt, and to be rendered hatred for hatred; and that all people ought to unite in extirpating them. **Diodorus Siculus**, as well as **Josephus**, says, that it was from the pure effect of the generosity and clemency of **Antiochus**, that the Jewish nation was not entirely destroyed on this occasion.

He was well pleased to enter into a treaty with **Hyrcanus**. It was agreed, that the besieged should surrender their arms; that the fortifications of Jerusalem should be demolished; and that a tribute should be paid to the king for Joppa, and for the other cities which the Jews had out of Judæa: and peace was concluded upon these conditions. **Antiochus** also demanded that the citadel of Jerusalem should be rebuilt, and would have put a garrison into it; but **Hyrcanus** would not consent to that, upon account of the miseries which the nation had suffered from the garrison of the former citadel, and chose rather to pay the king the sum of 500 talents,<sup>m</sup> which he demanded as an equivalent. The capitulation was executed, and for those articles which could not be immediately fulfilled, hostages were given, amongst whom was a brother of **Hyrcanus**.

**Scipio Africanus** the younger, having gone to command in Spain,<sup>n</sup> during the war with **Numantia**, **Antiochus Sidetes** sent him rich and magnificent presents. Some generals would have appropriated them to their own use. **Scipio** received them in public, sitting upon his tribunal in the view of the whole army, and gave orders

<sup>m</sup> Five hundred thousand crowns.

<sup>n</sup> *Epit. Liv. l. lvii.*

that they should be delivered to the quæstor,<sup>o</sup> to be applied in rewarding the officers and soldiers who should distinguish themselves in the service. By such conduct a generous and noble soul is known.

Demetrius Nicator<sup>p</sup> had been kept many years in captivity by the Parthians in Hyrcania, where he wanted nothing except liberty, without which all else is misery. He had made several attempts to obtain it and to return into his own kingdom, but always without success. He was twice retaken in the midst of his flight, and punished only with being carried back to the place of his confinement, where he was guarded with more care, but was always treated with the same magnificence. This was not the effect of mere goodness and clemency in the Parthians; interest had some share in it. They had views of making themselves masters of the kingdom of Syria, however remote they were, and waited a favourable opportunity, when, under colour of going to re-establish Demetrius upon his throne, they might take possession of it for themselves.

Antiochus Sidetes, whether apprised of this design or not, thought proper to prevent it, and marched against Phraates at the head of a formidable army. The Parthians' late usurpation of the richest and finest provinces of the East, which his ancestors had always possessed from the time of Alexander, was a strong inducement to him for uniting all his forces for their expulsion. His army consisted of upwards of 80,000 men, well armed and disciplined. But the train of luxury had added to it so great a multitude of sutlers, cooks, pastry-cooks, confectioners, actors, musicians, and infamous women, that they were almost four times as many as the soldiers, for they were reckoned to amount to about 300,000. There may be some exaggeration in this account, but, if two thirds were deducted, there would still remain a numerous train of useless mouths. The luxury of the camp was in proportion to the number of those that administered to it. Gold and silver glittered in all parts,<sup>q</sup> even upon the boots of the private soldiers. The instruments and utensils of the kitchen were silver, as if they had been marching to a feast and not to a war.

Antiochus had great success at first. He beat Phraates in three battles, and retook Babylon and Media. All the

<sup>o</sup> The quæstor was the treasurer of the army.

<sup>p</sup> Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 9 et 10. l. xxxix. c. 1. Oros. l. v. c. 1. Valer. Max. l. ix. c. 1. Athen. l. v. p. 210. et l. x. p. 439. et l. xii. p. 540. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. c. 16. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

<sup>q</sup> Argenti aurique tantum, ut etiam gregarii milites caligas auro figerent, proculcarentque materiam, cujus amore populi ferro dimicant. Culinarum quoque argentea instrumenta fuere, quasi ad epulas non ad bella pergerent. Justin.

provinces of the East, which had formerly appertained to the Syrian empire, threw off the Parthian yoke, and submitted to him, except Parthia itself, where Phraates found himself reduced within the narrow bounds of his ancient kingdom. Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, accompanied Antiochus in this expedition, and having had his share in all these victories, returned home laden with glory, at the end of the campaign and the year.

The rest of the army passed the winter in the East. The prodigious number of the troops, including the train before mentioned, obliged them to separate, and to remove so far from each other, that they could not easily rejoin and form one body in case of an attack. The inhabitants, whom they plundered extremely in their quarters, to be revenged upon them, and to get rid of troublesome guests whom nothing could satisfy, conspired with the Parthians to massacre them all in one day in their quarters, without giving them time to assemble; which was accordingly executed. Antiochus, who had kept a body of troops always about his person, marched to assist the quarters nearest him, but was overpowered by numbers, and perished himself. All the rest of the army were either massacred in their quarters the same day, or made prisoners; so that out of so great a multitude, scarce any escaped to carry the sad news of this slaughter into Syria.

It occasioned great grief and consternation there. The death of Antiochus, a prince estimable for many excellent qualities, was particularly lamented. Plutarch<sup>a</sup> relates a saying of his very much to his honour. One day, having lost himself a-hunting, and being alone, he retired into the cottage of some poor people, who received him in the best manner they could without knowing him. At supper, having himself turned the conversation upon the person and conduct of the king, they said, that he was in every thing else a good prince, but that his too great passion for hunting made him neglect the affairs of his kingdom, and repose too much confidence in his courtiers, whose actions did not always correspond with the goodness of his intentions. Antiochus made no answer at that time. The next day, upon the arrival of his train at the cottage, he was known. He repeated to his officers what had passed the evening before, and told them by way of reproach, *Since I have taken you into my service, I have not heard the truth concerning myself till yesterday.*

Phraates, thrice beaten by Antiochus, had at last released Demetrius, and sent him back into Syria with a body of troops, in hopes that his return would occasion such troubles as would compel Antiochus to follow him. But after the massacre, he detached a party of horse to retake him. Demetrius, who ap-

<sup>a</sup> Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 284.

prehended a countermand of that nature, had marched with so much diligence, that he had already passed the Euphrates before that party arrived upon the frontier. In this manner he recovered his dominions, and made great rejoicings upon that occasion; whilst all the rest of Syria were in tears, deploring the loss of the army, in which few families had not some near relation.

Phraates caused the body of Antiochus to be sought for amongst the dead, and put into a coffin of silver. He sent it into Syria to be honourably interred with his ancestors; and having found one of his daughters amongst the captives, he was struck with her beauty, and married her.

Antiochus being dead,<sup>r</sup> Hyrcanus took advantage of the troubles and divisions which happened throughout the whole empire of Syria, to extend his dominions, by making himself master of many places in Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia, which lay commodiously for him. He laboured also at the same time to render himself absolute and independent. He succeeded so well, that from thenceforth neither himself nor any of his descendants were dependent in the least upon the kings of Syria. They threw off entirely the yoke of subjection, and even that of homage.

Phraates,<sup>s</sup> flushed with his great successes  
A. M. 3875.  
 Ant. J. C. 129. and the victory he had gained, designed to carry the war into Syria, in revenge for Antiochus's invasion of his dominions. But, whilst he was making his preparations for that expedition, an unexpected war broke out with the Scythians, who found him employment enough at home, to remove all thoughts of disquieting others abroad. Finding himself vigorously pressed by Antiochus, as we have seen, he had demanded aid of that people. When they arrived, the affair was terminated; and having no farther occasion for them, he would not give them the sums he had engaged to pay them. The Scythians immediately turned their arms against himself, to avenge themselves for the injustice he had done them.

It was a great error in this prince to have disgusted so powerful a nation by a mean and sordid avarice; and he committed a second, no less considerable, in the war itself. To strengthen himself against that nation, he sought aid from a people to whom he had made himself more hateful than to the Scythians themselves; these were the Greek foreign troops, who had been in the pay of Antiochus in the last war against him, and had been made prisoners. Phraates thought proper to incorporate them into his own troops; believing that he should considerably reinforce them by that means. But when

<sup>r</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17. Strab. l. xvi. p. 761. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 1.

<sup>s</sup> Justin. l. xxxix. c. 1. et l. xliii. c. 1 et 2.

they saw themselves with arms in their hands, they were resolved to be revenged for the injuries and ill-treatment they had suffered during their captivity ; and as soon as the armies engaged, they went over to the enemy, and gave such a turn to the battle, whilst the victory was in suspense, that Phraates was defeated, with a great slaughter of his troops. He perished himself in the pursuit, and almost his whole army. The Scythians and Greeks contented themselves with plundering the country, and then retired to their several homes.

When they were gone, Artaban, Phraates's uncle, caused himself to be crowned king of the Parthians. He was killed some days after in a battle with the Thogarians, another Scythian nation. Mithridates was his successor, who for his glorious actions was surnamed the Great.

During all these revolutions in the Syrian and Parthian empires,\* Ptolemy Physcon did not alter his conduct in Egypt. I have already observed, that on his marriage with his sister Cleopatra, who was his brother's widow, he had killed in her arms the son she had by his brother, on the very day of their nuptials. Afterwards, having taken a disgust for the mother, he fell passionately in love with one of her daughters by Philometor, called also Cleopatra. He began by violating her, and then married her, after turning away her mother.

He soon made himself hated also by the new inhabitants of Alexandria, whom he had drawn thither to re-people it, and supply the places of those whom his former cruelties had obliged to abandon their country. To put them out of a condition to do him hurt, he resolved to have the throats cut of all the young people in the city, in whom its whole force consisted. For that purpose, he caused them to be invested one day by his foreign troops in the place where the exercises were performed, when the assembly there was most numerous, and put them all to the sword. The whole people ran in a fury to set fire to the palace, and to burn him in it: but he had quitted it before they arrived there, and made his escape into Cyprus, with his wife Cleopatra, and his son Memphitis. Upon his arrival there, he was informed that the people of Alexandria had put the government into the hands of Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated. He immediately raised troops to make war upon the new queen and her adherents.

But first apprehending that the Alexandrians would make his son king to whom he had given the government of Cyrenaica, he caused him to

\* Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8, 9. xxxix. c. 1. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2—7. Oros. l. v. c. 10. Epit. Liv. l. lix. lx. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 374—376. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.



come to him, and put him to death as soon as he arrived, only to prevent a pretended danger, which had no foundation but in his falsely-alarmed imagination. That barbarity enraged every body the more against him. They pulled down and dashed to pieces all his statues in Alexandria. He believed that Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated, had induced the people to this action; and to be revenged of her, ordered the throat of Memphitis to be cut, a young prince whom he had by her, of great beauty and hopes. He afterwards caused the body to be cut in pieces, and put into a chest, with the head entire, that it might be known, and sent it by one of his guards to Alexandria, with orders to wait till the birth-day of that princess, which was approaching, and was to be celebrated with great magnificence, and then to present it to her. His orders were obeyed. The chest was delivered to her in the midst of the rejoicings of the feast, which were immediately changed into mourning and lamentations. The horror cannot be expressed which the view of that sad object excited against the tyrant, whose monstrous barbarity had perpetrated so unnatural and unheard-of a crime. The abominable present was exposed to the view of the public, with whom it had the same effect as with the court, who had first seen that sad spectacle. The people ran to arms; and nothing was thought of, but how to prevent that monster from ever re-ascending the throne. An army was formed, and the command of it given to Marsyas, whom the queen had appointed general, and all the necessary precautions were taken for the defence of the country.

Ptolemy Physcon having raised an army on  
 A. M. 3876. his side, gave the command of it to Hegelochus,  
 Ant. J. C. 128. and sent him against the Alexandrians. A battle was fought and gained by Hegelochus. He even took Marsyas prisoner, and sent him loaded with chains to Physcon. It was expected that so bloody a tyrant would have put him to death in the most exquisite torments; but the contrary happened. He gave him his pardon, and set him at liberty. For finding by experience, that his cruelties only drew misfortunes upon him, he began to abate in them, and was for doing himself honour by his lenity. Cleopatra, reduced to great extremities by the loss of her army, which was almost entirely cut to pieces in the pursuit, sent to demand aid of Demetrius, king of Syria, who had married her eldest daughter by Philometor, and promised him the crown of Egypt for his reward. Demetrius, without hesitation, accepted that proposal, marched with all his troops, and laid siege to Pelusium.

That prince was no less hated by the Syrians for his haughtiness, tyranny, and excesses, than Physcon by the Egyptians. When they saw him at a distance, and employed in the siege

of Pelusium, they took up arms. The people of Antioch began, and after them those of Apamea; many other cities of Syria followed their example, and joined with them. Demetrius was obliged to leave Egypt, in order to reduce his own subjects to obedience. Cleopatra, destitute of the aid she expected from him, embarked with all her treasures, and took refuge with her daughter Cleopatra, queen of Syria.

This Cléopatra, the daughter, had been first married to Alexander Bala, and afterwards to Demetrius, in the life-time of her father Philometor. But Demetrius, having been taken prisoner by the Parthians, and detained amongst them, she had married Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius's brother. After the death of Sidetes, she returned to Demetrius, her first husband, who being set at liberty by the Parthians, had repossessed himself of Syria; she kept her court at Ptolemais, where her mother came to her.

Physcon, as soon as Cleopatra had abandoned A. M. 3877.  
Ant. J. C. 127. Alexandria, returned thither, and reassumed the government. For after the defeat of Marsyas, and the flight of Cleopatra, there was nobody in condition to oppose him. After having employed some time in strengthening himself, to revenge the invasion of Demetrius, he set up against him an impostor called Alexander Zebina. He was the son of a broker of Alexandria. He gave himself out for the son of Alexander Bala, and pretended, in that quality, that the crown of Syria was his right. Physcon lent him an army to put him in possession of it. He was no sooner in Syria, than, without examining the justice of his pretensions, the people came in crowds to join him, out of their hatred to Demetrius. They cared not who was to be their king, provided they got rid of him.

At length a battle decided the affair. It was fought near Damascus, in Coele-syria. Demetrius was entirely defeated and fled to Ptolemais, where his wife Cleopatra was. She, who had always at heart his marriage with Rhodoguna amongst the Parthians, took this occasion to be revenged, and caused the gates of the city to be shut against him. Would not one think, that in the age of which we now treat, there was a kind of dispute and emulation between the princes and princesses, who should distinguish themselves most by wickedness and the blackest crimes? Demetrius was obliged to fly to Tyre, where he was killed. After his death, Cleopatra preserved for herself part of the kingdom: Zebina had all the rest; and, to establish himself the better, made a strict alliance with Hyrcanus, who, as an able statesman, took the advantage of these divisions to strengthen himself, and to obtain for his people the confirmation of their liberty, and many other considerable

advantages, which rendered the Jews formidable to their enemies.

He had sent the preceding year an embassy to Rome to renew the treaty made with Simon his father.<sup>b</sup> The senate received those ambassadors very graciously, and granted them all they demanded. And because Antiochus Sidetes had made war against the Jews, contrary to the decree of the Romans, and his alliance with Simon; had taken several cities; had made them pay tribute for Gazara, Joppa, and some other places which he had ceded to them; and had made them consent by force to a disadvantageous peace, by besieging the city of Jerusalem;—upon what the ambassadors represented to the senate on these heads, they condemned all that had been done in such manner against the Jews from the time of the treaty made with Simon, and resolved that Gazara, Joppa, and the rest of the places taken from them by the Syrians, or which had been made tributary, contrary to the tenor of that treaty, should be restored to them, and exempted from all homage, tribute, or other subjection. It was also decreed, that the Syrians should make amends for all the losses that the Jews had sustained from them in contravention to the senate's regulations in the treaty concluded with Simon: in fine, that the kings of Syria should renounce their pretended right to march their troops into the territories of the Jews.

At the time of which we speak,<sup>c</sup> incredible swarms of locusts laid Africa waste in an unheard-of manner. They ate up the fruits of the earth; and afterwards, being carried by the wind into the sea, their dead bodies were thrown by the waves upon the shore, where they rotted, and infected the air to such a degree, that they occasioned a pestilence, which carried off in Lybia, Cyrenaica, and some other parts of Africa, more than 800,000 souls.

We have seen that Cleopatra had possessed herself of part of the kingdom of Syria<sup>d</sup> at the death of Demetrius Nicator, her husband. He left two sons by that princess, the eldest of whom, called Seleucus, conceived hopes of ascending the throne of his father, and accordingly caused himself to be declared king. His ambitious mother was anxious to reign alone, and was very much offended at her son's intention to establish himself to her prejudice. She had also reason to fear that he might desire to avenge his father's death, of which it was well known she had been the cause. She killed him with her own hands, by plunging a dagger into his breast. He reigned only one year. It is hardly conceivable how a woman and a

<sup>b</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.

<sup>c</sup> Liv. Epit. l. lx. Oros. l. v. c. 11.

<sup>d</sup> Liv. Epit. l. lx. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 1, 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

mother could be capable of committing such horrid excesses: but when some unjust passion takes possession of the heart, it becomes the source of every kind of guilt. However gentle it may appear, it is not far from arming itself with poniards, and from having recourse to poison; because, being anxious to attain its ends, it has a natural tendency to destroy every thing which opposes that view.

Zebina had made himself master of part of the kingdom of Syria. Three of his principal officers revolted against him, and declared for Cleopatra. They took the city of Laodicea, and resolved to defend that place against him. But he found means to bring them to reason. They submitted, and he pardoned them with the most uncommon clemency and greatness of soul, and without doing them any hurt. This pretended prince had in reality an exceeding good heart. He received all who approached him in the most affable and engaging manner, so that he acquired the love of all men, and even of those who abhorred the imposture by which he had usurped the crown.

Mithridates Euergetes, king of Pontus, died this year; he was assassinated by his own servants. His son, who succeeded him, was the famous Mithridates Eupator, who disputed so long the empire of Asia with the Romans, and supported a war of almost thirty years' duration against them. He was but twelve years of age when his father died. I shall make his history a separate article.

Cleopatra, after having killed her eldest son, A. M. 3881. Ant. J. C. 123. believed it for her interest to make a titular king, under whose name she might conceal the authority which she intended to retain entirely to herself. She well knew that a warlike people, accustomed to be governed by kings, would always regard the throne as vacant whilst filled only by a princess, and that they would not fail to offer it to any prince that should set up for it. She therefore caused her other son, Antiochus, to return from Athens, whither she had sent him for his education, and ordered him to be declared king as soon as he arrived. But that was no more than an empty title. She gave him no share in the affairs of government; and as that prince was very young, being no more than twenty years of age, he suffered her to govern for some time with patience enough. To distinguish him from other princes of the name of Antiochus, he was generally called by the surname of *Grypus*,<sup>c</sup> taken from his great nose. Joseph calls him *Philometor*; but that prince in his medals took the title of *Epiphanes*.

Zebina having well established himself, after A. M. 3882. Ant. J. C. 122. the death of Demetrius Nicator, in the possession of part of the Syrian empire, Physcon, who

<sup>c</sup> Γρυπὸς in Greek signifies a man with an aquiline nose.

looked upon him as his creature, insisted upon his doing him homage for it. Zebina refused in direct terms to comply with that demand. Physcon resolved to throw him down as he had set him up ; and having accommodated all differences with his niece Cleopatra, he sent a considerable army to the assistance of Grypus, and gave him his daughter Tryphena in marriage. Grypus, by the means of this aid, defeated Zebina, and obliged him to retire to Antioch. The latter formed a design of plundering the temple of Jupiter, to defray the expenses of the war. Upon its being discovered, the inhabitants rose, and drove him out of the city. He wandered some time about the country from place to place, but was taken at last, and put to death.

After the defeat and death of Zebina, Antiochus Grypus, believing himself of sufficient years, resolved to take the government upon himself.

The ambitious Cleopatra, who saw her power diminished and grandeur eclipsed by that measure, could not suffer it. To render herself again absolute mistress of the government of Syria, she resolved to rid herself of Grypus, as she had already done of his brother Seleucus, and to give the crown to another of her sons by Antiochus Sidetes, under whom, being an infant, she was in hopes of possessing the royal authority for many years, and of taking such measures as might establish her in it during her life. This wicked woman prepared a poisoned draught for that purpose, which she presented to Grypus one day as he returned very hot from some exercise. But that prince having been apprized of her design, desired her first, by way of respect, to drink the cup herself ; and upon her obstinate refusal to do it, having called in some witnesses, he gave her to understand, that the only means she had to clear herself of the suspicions conceived against her, was to drink the liquor she had presented to him. That unhappy woman, who found herself without evasion or resource, swallowed the draught. The poison took effect immediately, and delivered Syria from a monster, who, by her unheard-of crimes, had been so long the scourge of the state. She had been the wife of three kings of Syria, <sup>1</sup> and the mother of four. She had occasioned the death of two of her husbands ; and as to her children, she had murdered one with her own hands, and would have destroyed Grypus by the poison which he made her drink herself. That prince afterwards applied himself with success to the affairs of the public, and reigned several years in peace and tranquillity, till his brother Antiochus of Cyzicum, occasioned the troubles we shall relate hereafter.

<sup>1</sup> The three kings of Syria who had been her husbands, were Alexander Bala, Demetrius Nicator, and Antiochus Sidetes. Her four sons were Antiochus, by Alexander Bala ; Seleucus and Antiochus Grypus, by Demetrius ; and Antiochus the Cyzicenean, by Antiochus Sidetes.

**Ptolemy Physcon, king of Egypt,** <sup>g</sup> after having reigned twenty-nine years from the death of his brother Philometor, died at last in Alexandria. No reign was ever more tyrannical, nor abounded more with crimes than his.

## SECT. VI.

Ptolemy Lathyrus succeeds Physcon. War between Grypus and his brother Antiochus of Cyzicum, for the kingdom of Syria. Hyrcanus fortifies himself in Judæa. His death. Aristobulus succeeds him, and assumes the title of king. He is succeeded by Alexander Jannæus. Cleopatra drives Lathyrus out of Egypt, and places Alexander, his youngest brother, on the throne in his stead. War between that princess and her sons. Death of Grypus. Ptolemy Apion leaves the kingdom of Cyrenaica to the Romans. Continuation of the wars in Syria and Egypt. The Syrians choose Tigranes king. Lathyrus is re-established upon the throne of Egypt. He dies. Alexander his nephew succeeds him. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, makes the Roman people his heirs.

**Physcon at his death left three sons.** <sup>h</sup> The first named Apion, was a natural son, whom he had by a concubine. The two others were legitimate, and the children of his niece Cleopatra, whom he married after having repudiated her mother. The eldest was called Lathyrus, and the other Alexander.

He left the kingdom of Cyrenaica by will to Apion, and Egypt to his widow Cleopatra, and to whichever of his two sons she should think fit to choose. Cleopatra believing that Alexander would be the most complaisant, resolved to choose him; but the people would not suffer the eldest to lose his birth-right, and obliged the queen to recall him from Cyprus, whither she had caused him to be banished by his father, and to associate him with her on the throne. Before she would suffer him to take possession of the throne at Memphis according to custom, she obliged him to repudiate his eldest sister Cleopatra, whom he passionately loved, and to take Selene, his youngest sister, for whom he had no inclination. Arrangements of this kind promise no very pacific reign.

At his coronation he took the title of Soter. Some authors give him that of Philometor; but the generality of historians distinguish him by the name of Lathyrus.<sup>i</sup> However, as that was but a kind of nick-name, nobody dared to give it him in his own time.

<sup>g</sup> Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scal. Hieron. in Dan. ix.

<sup>h</sup> Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4, 5. Appian. in Mithrid. sub. finem, et in Syr. p. 132. Strab. l. xvii. p. 795. Plin. l. ii. c. 67. et l. vi. c. 30. Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 384.

<sup>i</sup> *Λάθυρος* signifies a kind of pea, called in Latin *cicer*, from which came the surname of Cicero. Lathyrus must have had some very visible mark of this sort upon his face, or the name would have been still more offensive.

**Antiochus Grypus**, king of Syria, was making preparations for invading Judæa, when a civil war broke out to employ him, which was fomented by Antiochus of Cyzicum, his brother by the mother's side. He was the son of Cleopatra and Antiochus Sidetes, and born whilst Demetrius was prisoner among the Parthians. When Demetrius returned, and repossessed himself of his dominions after the death of Antiochus Sidetes, his mother, out of regard to his safety, had sent him to Cyzicum, a city situate upon the Propontis, in Mysia Minor, where he was educated by the care of a faithful eunuch named Craterus, to whom she had intrusted him. From thence he was called the Cyzicenean. Grypus, to whom he gave umbrage, wished to have him poisoned. His design was discovered, and the Cyzicenean was compelled to take up arms in his own defence, and to endeavour to make good his pretensions to the crown of Syria.

Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, finding herself at her own disposal, married the Cyzicenean. She brought him an army for her dowry,<sup>k</sup> to assist him against his competitor.—Their forces by that means being very near equal, the two brothers came to a battle, in which the Cyzicenean having the misfortune to be defeated, retired to Antioch. He left his wife in that place, where he fancied she would be secure, and went himself to raise new troops for the reinforcement of his army.

But Grypus immediately laid siege to the city, and took it. Tryphena, his wife, was very earnest with him to put Cleopatra his prisoner into her hands. Though her sister by father and mother, she was so excessively enraged at her for having married their enemy, and giving him an army against them, that she resolved to deprive her of life. Cleopatra had taken refuge in one of the temples of Antioch; a sanctuary which was held inviolable. Grypus would not show a complaisance for his wife, which he saw would be attended with fatal effects from the violence of her rage. He alleged to her the sanctity of the asylum where her sister had taken refuge; and represented, that her death would neither be of use to them; nor of prejudice to the Cyzicenean; that in all the civil or foreign wars, wherein his ancestors had been engaged, it had never been known, that after victory any cruelty had been exercised against the women, especially against so near a relation; that Cleopatra was her

<sup>k</sup> We find in the latter editions of Justin the following words: *exercitum Grypi sollicitatum, velut dotalem, ad maritum deducit*; which shows, that Cleopatra, having succeeded in corrupting part of Grypus's army, carried it to her husband. Several editions read *Cypri* instead of *Grypi*, which would imply, that Cleopatra had an army in Cyprus.

sister, and his near relation :<sup>1</sup> that therefore he desired her to speak no more of her to him, because he could by no means consent to her being treated with any severities. Tryphena,<sup>m</sup> far from acquiescing in his reasons, became more violent, through sentiments of jealousy; imagining, that it was not through compassion, but love, that her husband thus took the part of that unfortunate princess. She therefore sent soldiers into the temple, who could not tear her in any other manner from the altar, than by cutting off her hands with which she embraced it. Cleopatra expired, uttering a thousand curses against the parricides who were the authors of her death, and implored the god, in whose sight so barbarous a cruelty was committed, to avenge her upon them.

However, the other Cleopatra, the common mother of the two sisters, did not seem to be affected at all with either the fate of the one or the crime of the other. Her heart, which was solely susceptible of ambition, was so taken up with the desire of reigning, that she had no other thoughts than of the means of supporting herself in Egypt, and of retaining an absolute authority in her own hands during her life. To strengthen herself the better, she gave the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander her youngest son, in order to draw from him the assistance for which she might have occasion, in case Lathyrus should ever dispute the authority she was determined to keep.

The death of Cleopatra in Syria did not long remain unpunished. The Cyzicenian returned at the head of a new army to give his brother battle a second time, defeated him, and took Tryphena, upon whom he inflicted the torments which her cruelty to her sister had well deserved.

Grypus was obliged to abandon Syria to the victor. He retired to Aspendus in Pamphylia, which occasioned his being sometimes called in history the Aspendian, but returned a year after into Syria, and repossessed himself of it. The two brothers at length divided that empire between them. The Cyzicenian had Coele-syria and Phoenicia, and took up his residence at Damascus. Grypus had all the rest, and kept his court at Antioch. Both equally abandoned themselves to luxury, and many other excesses.

Whilst the two brothers were exhausting their forces against one another,<sup>a</sup> or indolently dozed after the peace in luxurious sloth and ease, John

<sup>1</sup> Her father Physcon was the uncle of Cleopatra, Grypus's mother.

<sup>m</sup> Sed quãtò Grypus abnuìt, tantò soror muliebri pertinaciâ accenditur, rata non misericordiæ hæc verba, sed amoris esse. *Justin.*

<sup>a</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17—19.



Hyrcanus was augmenting his wealth and power ; and seeing that he had nothing to fear from them, he undertook to reduce the city of Samaria. He sent Aristobulus and Antigonus, two of his sons, to form the siege of that place. The Samaritans demanded aid of the Cyzicenean, king of Damascus, who marched thither at the head of an army. The two brothers quitted their lines, and a battle ensued, wherein Antiochus was defeated, and pursued as far as Scythopolis, escaping with great difficulty.

The two brothers after this victory returned to the siege, and pressed the city so vigorously, that it was obliged a second time to send to the Cyzicenean, to solicit him to come again to its aid. But he had not troops enough to undertake the raising of the siege ; and the same request was made to Lathyrus, king of Egypt, who granted 6000 men, contrary to the opinion of Cleopatra his mother. As Chelcias and Ananias, two Jews, were her favourites, ministers, and generals, both the sons of Onias, who built the temple of Egypt, those two ministers, who entirely governed her, influenced her in favour of their nation ; and out of regard to them, she would not do any thing to the prejudice of the Jews. She was almost resolved to depose Lathyrus for having engaged in this war without her consent, and even against her will.

When the auxiliary troops of Egypt arrived, the Cyzicenean joined them with his. He was afraid, however to attack the army that formed the siege, and contented himself with ravaging the country ; by flying parties and excursions, in order to form a diversion, and to induce the enemy to raise the siege, in order to defend themselves at home. But seeing that the Jewish army did not move, and that his own was much diminished by the defeat of some detachments, by desertion, and other incidents, he thought it improper to expose his person by continuing in the field with an army so much weakened, and retired to Tripoli. He left the command of his troops to two of his best generals, Callimander and Epicrates. The first was killed in a rash enterprise, in which his whole party perished with him. Epicrates, seeing no hopes of success, had no farther thoughts but of serving his private interest in the best manner he could in the present situation of affairs. He treated secretly with Hyrcanus, and for a sum of money put Scythopolis into his hands, with all the other places which the Syrians possessed in the country, without regard to his duty, honour, and reputation ; and all for a sum perhaps inconsiderable enough.

Samaria, destitute of all appearance of relief, was obliged, after having sustained a siege for a year, to surrender at last

to Hyrcanus, who immediately ordered it to be demolished. The walls of the city, and the houses of the inhabitants, were entirely razed and laid level with the ground ; and, to prevent its being rebuilt, he caused large and deep ditches to be cut through the new plain where the city had stood, into which water was turned. It was not re-established till the time of Herod, who gave the new city which he used to be rebuilt there the name of Sebaste<sup>b</sup> in honour of Augustus.

Hyrcanus saw himself at that time master of all Judæa, Galilee, Samaria, and of many places upon the frontiers, and became thereby one of the most considerable princes of his time. None of his neighbours dared to attack him any more, and he passed the rest of his days in perfect tranquillity with regard to foreign affairs.

But towards the close of his life he did not find the same repose at home. The Pharisees, a violent and rebellious sect, gave him abundance of vexation. By an affected profusion of attachment to the law, and a severity of manners, they had acquired a reputation which gave them great sway amongst the people. Hyrcanus had endeavoured, by all sorts of favours, to engage them in his interests. Besides having been educated amongst them, and having always professed their sect, he had protected and served them upon all occasions ; and, to make them more firmly his adherents, not long before, he had invited the heads of them to a magnificent entertainment, in which he made a speech to them, highly capable of affecting reasonable minds. He represented, that it had always been his intention, as they well knew, to be just in his actions towards men, and to do all things in regard to God that might be agreeable to him, according to the doctrine taught by the Pharisees : that he conjured them therefore, if they saw that he departed in any thing from the great end he proposed to himself in those two rules, that they would give him their instructions, in order to his amending and correcting his errors. Such a disposition is highly laudable in princes, and in all men ; but it ought to be attended with prudence and discernment.

The whole assembly applauded this discourse, and highly praised him for it. One man only, named Eleazar, of a turbulent and seditious spirit, rose up, and spoke to him to this effect : *Since you desire that the truth should be told you with freedom, if you would prove yourself just, renounce the high-priesthood, and content yourself with the civil government.* Hyrcanus was surprised, and asked him what reasons he had to give him such counsel. Eleazar replied, *that it was known from the testimony of aged persons worthy of belief, that his*

<sup>b</sup> Σεβαστος in Greek signifies Augustus.

*mother was a captive, and that, as the son of a stranger, he was incapable by the law of holding that office.* If the fact had been true, Eleazar would have been in the right; for the law was express in that point:° but it was a false supposition, and a mere calumny; and all who were present extremely blamed him for advancing it, and expressed great indignation upon that account.

This adventure, however, occasioned great troubles. Hyrcanus was highly incensed at so insolent an attempt to defame his mother, and call in question the purity of his birth, and, in consequence, to invalidate his right to the high-priesthood. Jonathan, his intimate friend and a zealous Sadducee, took advantage of this opportunity to incense him against the whole party, and to bring him over to that of the Sadducees.

Two powerful sects in Judæa, but directly opposite to each other in sentiments and interests, entirely divided the state; that of the Pharisees, and that of the Sadducees. The first piqued themselves upon an exact observance of the law; to which they added a great number of traditions, that they pretended to have received from their ancestors, and to which they much more strictly adhered than to the law itself, though often contrary to what the latter enjoined. They acknowledged the immortality of the soul, and, in consequence, another life after this.—They affected an outside of virtue, regularity, and austerity, which gained them great consideration with the people. But under that imposing appearance they concealed the greatest vices: sordid avarice; insupportable pride; an insatiable thirst of honours and distinctions; a violent desire of ruling alone; an envy, that rose almost to fury, against all merit but their own; an irreconcilable hatred for all who presumed to contradict them; a spirit of revenge capable of the most horrid excesses; and what was still more their distinguishing characteristic, and outdid all the rest, a black hypocrisy, which always wore the mask of religion. The Sadducees rejected the Pharisaical traditions with contempt, denied the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body; and admitted no felicity, but that which may be enjoyed in this life. The rich, the nobility, and most of those who composed the Sanhedrim, that is to say, the Great Council of the Jews, in which the affairs of state and religion were determined, were of this latter sect.

Jonathan, therefore, to bring over Hyrcanus to his party, insinuated to him, that what had passed was not the mere suggestion of Eleazar, but a trick concerted by the whole cabal, of which Eleazar had only been the tool; and that, in order to convince himself of the truth of this assertion, he had only to con-

° Lev. xxi. 15.

sult them upon the punishment which the calumniator deserved ; that he would find, if he thought fit to make the experiment, by their conduct in favour of the criminal, that they were all of them his accomplices. Hyrcanus followed his advice, and consulted the chief men among the Pharisees upon the punishment due to the person who had so grossly defamed the prince and high-priest of his people, excepting that they would undoubtedly condemn him to die. But their answer was, that calumny was not a capital crime ; and that all the punishment he deserved, was to be scourged and imprisoned. So much lenity in so heinous a case, made Hyrcanus believe all that Jonathan had insinuated : and he became the mortal enemy of the whole sect of the Pharisees. He prohibited, by a decree, the observation of the regulations founded upon their pretended tradition ; inflicted penalties upon such as disobeyed that ordinance : and abandoned their party entirely, to throw himself into that of the Sadducees their enemies.

Hyrcanus did not long survive this storm ;  
 A. M. 3897. he died the year following, after having been  
 Ant. J. C. 107. high-priest and prince of the Jews twenty-nine years.

Not to interrupt the history of other kingdoms, I shall reserve the greatest part of what regards the successors of Hyrcanus for the article in which I shall treat the history of the Jews separately.

We have seen that Ptolemy Lathyrus had sent an army into Palestine to aid Samaria,<sup>d</sup> contrary to the advice of his mother, and notwithstanding her opposition. She carried her resentment of this and some other similar encroachments upon her authority so far, that she took his wife Selene from him, by whom he had already had two sons,<sup>e</sup> and obliged him to quit Egypt. The method which she devised to effect her purpose was this. She procured some of her favourite eunuchs to be wounded, and then produced them in an assembly of the people of Alexandria. She caused it to be reported, that they had been used thus barbarously by her son Lathyrus, for having endeavoured to defend her against his violence ; and inflamed the people so much by this black fiction, which convinced them that he had designed to kill her, that they immediately rose universally against Lathyrus, and would have torn him in pieces, if he had not escaped from the port in a ship, which set sail as soon as he got on board. Cleopatra sent immediately after for Alexander, her youngest son, to whom she had given the kingdom of Cyprus, and made him king of Egypt in his brother's stead, whom she obliged to content himself with the kingdom of Cyprus, which the other quitted.

<sup>d</sup> Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 4.  
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<sup>e</sup> Those two sons died before him.  
 N

A. M. 3899.  
Ant. J. C. 105. Alexander,<sup>f</sup> king of the Jews, after having put the internal affairs of his kingdom in good order, marched against the people of Ptolemais, beat them, and obliged them to shut themselves up within their walls, where he besieged them. They sent to demand aid of Lathyrus, who went thither in person. But the besieged changing their sentiments, from the apprehension of having him for their master, Lathyrus dissembled his resentment for the present. He was upon the point of concluding a treaty with Alexander, when he was apprised that the latter was negotiating secretly with Cleopatra, to engage her to join him with all her forces in order to drive him out of Palestine. Lathyrus became his declared enemy, and resolved to do him all the injury in his power.

A. M. 3900.  
Ant. J. C. 104. The next year he did not fail to carry his resolution into effect. He divided his army into two parties, and detached one of them under the command of one of his generals, to form the siege of Ptolemais; with which place he had reason to be dissatisfied: and with the other marched in person against Alexander. The inhabitants of Gaza had supplied Lathyrus with a considerable number of troops. A bloody battle was fought between them upon the banks of the Jordan. Alexander lost 30,000 men, without including the prisoners taken by Lathyrus after the victory.

A most cruel and horrid action is related to have been committed by Lathyrus upon this occasion. The same evening that he gained this battle, in going to take up his quarters in the neighbouring villages, he found them full of women and children, and caused them all to be put to the sword, and their bodies to be cut in pieces, and put in cauldrons to be cooked, as if he intended to make his army sup upon them. His design was to have it believed that his troops ate human flesh, to spread the greater terror throughout the country. Could one believe such a barbarity possible, or that any man should ever conceive so wild a thought? Josephus reports this fact upon the authority of Strabo, and another author.

Lathyrus, after the defeat of Alexander, not having any enemy in the field, ravaged and laid waste all the flat country. Without the succours brought by Cleopatra, the following year, Alexander would have been undone; for after so considerable a loss, it was impossible for him to retrieve his affairs and make head against his enemy.

A. M. 3901.  
Ant. J. C. 103. That princess saw plainly, that if Lathyrus made himself master of Judæa and Phœnicia, he would be in a condition to enter Egypt, and to dethrone her; and that it was necessary to put a stop to

<sup>f</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 20, 21.

his progress. For that purpose she raised an army, and gave the command of it to Chelcias and Ananias, the two Jews of whom we have spoken before. She fitted out a fleet at the same time to transport her troops ; and embarking with them herself, landed in Phoenicia.<sup>5</sup> She carried with her a great sum of money, and her richest jewels. In order to secure them in case of accident, she chose the isle of Cos for their repository, and sent thither at the same time her grandson Alexander, the son of him who reigned jointly with her. When Mithridates made himself master of that island, and of the treasures laid up there, he took that young prince under his care, and gave him an education suitable to his birth. Alexander withdrew by stealth from Mithridates some time after, and took refuge with Sylla, who received him well and took him into his protection, carried him to Rome, and at length set him upon the throne of Egypt, as we shall see in the sequel.

The arrival of Cleopatra made Lathyrus immediately raise the siege of Ptolemais, which he had continued till then. He retired into Coele-syria. She detached Chelcias, with part of her army, to pursue him, and with the other, commanded by Ananias, formed the siege of Ptolemais herself. Chelcias, who commanded the first detachment, having been killed in the expedition, his death put a stop to every thing. Lathyrus, to take advantage of the disorder occasioned by that loss, threw

himself with all his forces into Egypt, in hopes of finding it without defence in the absence of his mother, who had carried her best troops into Phoenicia. He was mistaken. The troops Cleopatra had left there, made head till the arrival of those she detached to reinforce them from Phoenicia, upon receiving advice of his design. He was compelled to return into Palestine, and took up his winter-quarters in Gaza.

Cleopatra, in the mean time, pushed the siege of Ptolemais with so much vigour, that she at last took it. As soon as she entered it, Alexander made her a visit, and brought rich presents with him to recommend himself to her favour. But what conduced most to his success, was his hatred for her son Lathyrus ; which was alone sufficient to assure him of a good reception.

Some persons of Cleopatra's court pointed out to her the fair opportunity she now had of making herself mistress of Judæa, and all Alexander's dominions, by seizing his person : they even pressed her to take the advantage of it, which she would have done, had it not been for Ananias. But he represented to her, how base and infamous it would be to treat an ally in that manner, who was engaged with her in the same

<sup>5</sup> Appian. in Mithridat. p. 186. et de Bel. Civil. p. 414.

cause; that it would be acting contrary to honour and good faith, which are the foundations of society; that such a conduct would be highly prejudicial to her interests, and would draw upon her the abhorrence of all the Jews dispersed throughout the world. In fine, he so effectually prevailed by his arguments and influence, which he employed to the utmost for the preservation of his countryman and relation, that she came into his opinion, and renewed her alliance with Alexander. Of how great value to princes is a wise minister, who has courage enough to oppose their unjust undertakings with vigour! Alexander returned to Jerusalem, where he at length set another good army on foot, with which he passed the Jordan, and formed the siege of Gadara.

Ptolemy Lathyrus, after having wintered at A. M. 3903. Gaza, perceiving that his efforts would be ineffectual against Palestine whilst his mother supported it, abandoned that design, and returned into Cyprus. Ant. J. C. 101. She, on her side, retired also into Egypt, and the country was delivered from them both.

Being informed,<sup>h</sup> upon her return to Alexandria, that Lathyrus had entered into a treaty at Damascus with Antiochus the Cyzicenian, and that with the aid which he expected from him he was preparing to make a new attempt for the recovery of the crown of Egypt; that queen, to make a diversion, gave her daughter Selene, whom she had taken from Lathyrus, to Antiochus Grypus, and sent him at the same time a considerable number of troops, and great sums of money, to put him into a condition to attack his brother the Cyzicenian with vigour. The affair succeeded as she had intended. The war was renewed between the two brothers, and the Cyzicenian had so much employment upon his hands at home, that he was in no condition to assist Lathyrus, who was thereby obliged to abandon his design.

Ptolemy Alexander, his younger brother, whom she had placed upon the throne in conjunction with herself, shocked by the barbarous cruelty with which she persecuted his brother Lathyrus, especially in depriving him of his wife to give her to his enemy; and observing besides, that the greatest crimes cost her nothing, when the gratification of her ambition was concerned; did not believe himself safe near her, and resolved to abandon the throne, and retire; preferring a quiet life without fear in banishment, to reigning with so wicked and cruel a mother, with whom he was perpetually in danger. It was not without abundant solicitation he was prevailed upon to return: for the people were absolutely determined that she should not reign alone, though they well knew that she gave her son only

<sup>h</sup> Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4.

the name of king; that since the death of Physcon she had always engrossed the whole royal authority; and that the real cause of Lathyrus's disgrace, which had cost him his crown and wife, was his having presumed to act in one instance without her.

A. M. 3907.  
Ant. J. C. 97. The death of Antiochus Grypus happened this year. He was assassinated by Heracleon, one of his own vassals, after having reigned twenty-seven years. He left five sons; Seleucus, the eldest, succeeded him; the four others were Antiochus and Philip, twins; Demetrius Eucherus, and Antiochus Dionysius. They were all kings in their turns, or at least pretended to the crown.

A. M. 3908.  
Ant. J. C. 96. Ptolemy Apion,<sup>i</sup> son of Physcon, king of Egypt, to whom his father had given the kingdom of Cyrenaica, dying without issue, left his kingdom to the Romans by will; who, instead of taking advantage of that legacy, gave the cities their liberty, which soon filled the whole country with tyrants; because the most powerful persons of each of those small states were for making themselves sovereigns of them. Lucullus, in passing that way against Mithridates, remedied those disorders in some measure; but there was no other means of re-establishing peace and good order, than by reducing the country into a province of the Roman empire, as was afterwards done.

Antiochus the Cyzicenean seized Antioch,<sup>k</sup> after the death of Grypus, and used his utmost endeavours to dispossess Grypus's children of the rest of the kingdom. But Seleucus, who was in possession of many other strong cities, maintained himself against him, and found means to support his right.

A. M. 3909.  
Ant. J. C. 95. Tigranes, son of Tigranes king of Armenia, who had been kept as a hostage by the Parthians during the life of his father,<sup>l</sup> was released at his death, and set upon the throne, on condition that he should resign certain places to the Parthians which lay conveniently for them. This happened twenty-five years before he espoused the part of Mithridates against the Romans. I shall have occasion hereafter to speak of this Tigranes, and of the kingdom of Armenia.

A. M. 3910.  
Ant. J. C. 94. The Cyzicenean,<sup>m</sup> who saw that Seleucus was gaining strength every day in Syria, set out from Antioch to give him battle; but being defeated, he was made prisoner, and put to death. Seleucus entered An-

<sup>i</sup> Liv. Epit. l. lxx. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 5.

<sup>k</sup> Porphy. in Græc. Scal.

<sup>l</sup> Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Strab. l. xi. p. 532.

<sup>m</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 21. Appian. in Syr. p. 132. Porphy. in Græc. Scal.



tiach, and saw himself in possession of the whole empire of Syria; but could not keep it long. Antiochus Eusebes, son of the Cyzicenean, who made his escape from Antioch, when Seleucus took it, went to Aradus,<sup>n</sup> where he caused himself to be crowned king. From thence he marched with a considerable army against Seleucus, obtained a great victory over him, and obliged him to shut himself up in Mopsuestia, a city of Cilicia, and to abandon all the rest to the mercy of the victor. In this retirement he oppressed the inhabitants so much by the heavy subsidies which he exacted from them, that at length they mutinied, invested the house where he resided, and set it on fire. Himself, and all who were in it, perished in the flames.

A. M. 3911.  
Ant. J. C. 93. Antiochus and Philip, the twin-sons of Grypus, to revenge the death of their brother Seleucus, marched at the head of all the troops they could raise against Mopsuestia. They took and demolished the city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. But on their return, Eusebes charged them near the Orontes, and defeated them. Antiochus was drowned in endeavouring to swim his horse over that river. Philip made a fine retreat with a considerable body of men, which soon increased to such a number, as enabled him to keep the field, and dispute the empire with Eusebes.

The latter, to strengthen himself upon the throne, had married Selene the widow of Grypus. That politic princess, upon her husband's death, had found means to secure part of the empire in her own possession, and had provided herself with good troops. Eusebes married her, therefore, in order to augment his forces. Lathyrus, from whom she had been taken, to avenge himself for this fresh insult, sent to Cnidos for Demetrius Eucherus, the fourth son of Grypus, who was brought up in that place, and made him king at Damascus. Eusebes and Philip were too much employed against each other to prevent that blow. For though Eusebes had well retrieved his affairs, and augmented his power by his marriage, Philip, however, still supported himself, and at last so totally defeated Eusebes in a great battle, that he was reduced to abandon his dominions, and take refuge amongst the Parthians, whose king at that time was Mithridates II. surnamed the Great. The empire of Syria by this means became divided between Philip and Demetrius. Two years after, Eusebes, assisted by the Parthians, returned into Syria, repossessed himself of part of what he had before, and involved Philip in new difficulties. Another competitor fell also upon his hands, almost at the same time; this was Antiochus Dionysius, his brother, the fifth son of Grypus. He

<sup>n</sup> An island and city of Phœnicia.

seized the city of Damascus, established himself there as king of Coele-syria, and supported himself in that city for three years.

Affairs<sup>o</sup> were neither more quiet, nor crimes  
 A. M. 3915. and perfidy more rare, in Egypt than in Syria.  
 Ant. J. C. 89.

Cleopatra, not being able to bear a companion in the supreme authority, nor to admit her son Alexander to share the honour of the throne with her, resolved to rid herself of him, in order to reign alone for the future. That prince, who was apprized of her design, prevented her, and put her to death. She was a monster of a woman, who had spared neither her mother, her sons, nor her daughters, and had sacrificed every thing to the ambitious desire of reigning. She was punished in this manner for her crimes, but by a crime equal to her own.

I do not doubt but the reader, as well as myself, is struck with horror at the sight of so dreadful a scene as our history has for some time exhibited. It furnishes us no where with such frequent and sudden revolutions, nor with examples of so many kings dethroned, betrayed, and murdered by their nearest relations, their brothers, sons, mothers, wives, friends, and confidants; who all in cold blood, with premeditated design, reflection, and concerted policy, employ the most odious and most inhuman means to effect their purpose. Never was the anger of Heaven more distinctly visible, nor more dreadfully inflicted, than upon these princes and nations. We see here a sad complication of the blackest and most detestable crimes; perfidy, imposture of heirs, divorces, murders, poisoning, incest. Princes on a sudden become monsters, vying in treachery and wickedness with each other; attaining crowns with rapidity, and disappearing as soon; reigning only to satiate their passions, and to render their people unhappy. Such a situation of a kingdom, wherein all orders of the state are in confusion, all laws despised, justice abolished, all crimes secure of impunity, denotes approaching ruin, and seems to call for it with the loudest exclamations.

As soon as it was known at Alexandria, that it was Alexander who had caused his mother to be put to death, that horrid crime made the parricide so odious to his subjects, that they could not endure him any longer. They expelled him, and called in Lathyrus, whom they replaced upon the throne, in which he supported himself to his death. Alexander having got some ships together, endeavoured to return into Egypt the year following, but without success. He perished soon after in a new expedition which he undertook.

<sup>o</sup> Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4. Pausan. in Attic. p. 15. Athen. l. xii. p. 560.

The Syrians,<sup>p</sup> weary of the continual wars made in their country by the princes of the house of Seleucus for the sovereignty, and not being able to suffer any longer the ravages, murders, and other calamities, to which they were perpetually exposed, resolved at last to exclude them all, and to submit to a foreign prince, who might deliver them from the many evils which those divisions occasioned, and restore tranquillity to their country. Some had thoughts of Mithridates, king of Pontus: others of Ptolemy, king of Egypt: but the former was actually engaged in a war with the Romans, and the other had always been the enemy of Syria. They therefore determined upon electing Tigranes king of Armenia; and sent ambassadors to acquaint him with their resolution, and the choice they had made of him. He agreed to it, came into Syria, and took possession of the crown, which he wore eighteen years. He governed that kingdom fourteen years together by a viceroy named Megadates, whom he did not recall from that office till he had occasion for him against the Romans.

Eusebes, being driven out of his dominions by his subjects and Tigranes, took refuge in Cilicia, where he passed the rest of his days in concealment and obscurity. As to Philip, it is not known what became of him. It is probable that he was killed in some action defending himself against Tigranes. Selene, the wife of Eusebes, retained Ptolemais, with part of Phœnicia and Cœle-syria, and<sup>q</sup> reigned there many years after, which enabled her to give her own two sons an education worthy of their birth. The eldest was called Antiochus Asiaticus, and the youngest Seleucus Cibiosactes. I shall have occasion to speak of them in the sequel.

Some time after<sup>r</sup> Ptolemy Lathyrus had been replaced upon the throne of Egypt, a considerable rebellion broke out in the Upper Egypt. The rebels, being overthrown and defeated in a great battle, shut themselves up in the city of Thebes, where they defended themselves with incredible obstinacy. It was at length taken after a siege of three years. Lathyrus used it with so much rigour, that, from being the greatest and richest city till then in all Egypt, it was almost reduced to nothing.

Lathyrus did not long survive the ruin of Thebes. Reckoning from the death of his father, he had reigned thirty-six years; eleven jointly with his mother in Egypt, eighteen in Cyprus, and

<sup>p</sup> Justin. l. xl. c. 1. et 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24.

<sup>q</sup> Cic. in Ver. vi. n. 61. Appian. in Syr. p. 133. Strab. l. xvii. p. 796.

<sup>r</sup> Pausan. in Attic. p. 15.

seven alone in Egypt after his mother's death. Cleopatra, his daughter, succeeded him, who was his only legitimate issue. Her proper name was Berenice; but by the established custom of that family, all the sons were called Ptolemy, and the daughters Cleopatra.

Sylla,<sup>a</sup> at that time perpetual dictator of Rome, sent Alexander to take possession of the crown of Egypt after the death of his uncle Lathyrus, as the nearest heir-male of the deceased. He was the son of that Alexander who had put his mother to death. But the people of Alexandria had already set Cleopatra upon the throne, and she had been six months in possession of it when Alexander arrived. To accommodate the difference, and not to draw Sylla, the master of Rome, and, in consequence, dispenser of law to the universe, upon their hands, it was agreed that Cleopatra and he should marry, and reign jointly. But Alexander, who either did not approve of her for a wife; or would have no associate in the throne, caused her to be put to death nineteen days after their marriage, and reigned alone fifteen years. Murder and parricide were no longer reckoned as any thing in those times, and, if I may use that expression, were grown into fashion among princes and princesses.

Some time after,<sup>t</sup> Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, died, having first made the Roman people his heirs. His country by that means became a province of the Roman empire, as Cyrenaica did also the same year. The Romans, instead of appropriating the latter to themselves, had granted it liberty. Twenty years had since elapsed, during which term sedition and tyranny had occasioned infinite calamities. It is said, that the Jews, who had been long settled there, and composed a great part of the nation, contributed very much to those disorders. The Romans, to put a stop to them, were obliged to accept Cyrenaica, which had been bequeathed to them by the last king's will, and to reduce it into a Roman province.

<sup>a</sup> Appian de Bel. Civ. p. 414. Porphyrr. in Græc. Scal. p. 60.

<sup>t</sup> Appian. in Mithridat. p. 218. De Bel. Civil. l. i. p. 420. Liv. Epit. l. lxx. et xciii. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492.

## SECT. VII.

Selene, sister of Lathyrus, conceives hopes of the crown of Egypt; she sends two of her sons to Rome for that purpose. The eldest, called Antiochus, on his return passes through Sicily. Verres, prætor of that island, takes from him a golden candelabrum, designed for the Capitol. Antiochus, surnamed Asiaticus, after having reigned four years over part of Syria, is dispossessed of his dominions by Pompey, who reduces Syria into a province of the Roman empire. Troubles in Judæa and Egypt. The Alexandrians expel Alexander their king, and set Ptolemy Auletes on the throne in his stead. Alexander, at his death, makes the Roman people his heirs. In consequence, some years after, they order Ptolemy king of Cyprus, brother of Auletes, to be deposed, confiscate his property, and seize that island. The celebrated Cato is charged with this commission.

Some troubles which happened in Egypt,<sup>a</sup> occasioned by the disgust taken against Alexander, made Selene, the sister of Lathyrus, conceive thoughts of pretending to the crown. She sent her two sons, Antiochus Asiaticus and Seleucus, whom she had by Antiochus Eusebes, to Rome, to solicit the senate in her behalf.<sup>b</sup> The important affairs which then employed Rome, at that time engaged in a war with Mithridates, and perhaps the motives of policy, from which she had hitherto always opposed the kings who were desirous of joining the forces of Egypt with those of Syria, prevented the princess from obtaining what they demanded. After a residence of two years in Rome, and ineffectual solicitations, they set out upon their return to their own kingdom.

The eldest,<sup>c</sup> called Antiochus, resolved to pass through Sicily. He experienced an insult there, which is hardly credible, and shows how much Rome was corrupted in the times we speak of; to what an excess the avarice of the magistrates, sent into the provinces, had risen; and what horrid rapine they committed with impunity, in the sight and with the knowledge of the whole world.

Verres was at that time prætor in Sicily.<sup>d</sup> As soon as he

<sup>a</sup> Cic. vi. in Ver. Orat. n. 61—67.

<sup>b</sup> Reges Syriæ, regis Antiochi filios pueros, scitis Romæ nuper fuisse; qui venerant, non propter Syriæ regnum, nam id sine controversiâ obtinebant, ut à patre et à majoribus acceperant; sed regnum Ægypti ad se et ad Selenem matrem suam pertinere arbitrabantur. Hi, postquam temporibus populi Romani exclusi, per senatum agere quæ voluerant non potuerunt, in Syriam, in regnum patrum profecti sunt.

<sup>c</sup> Eorum alter, qui Antiochus vocatur, iter per Siciliam facere voluit.

<sup>d</sup> Itaque isto (Verre) prætore venit Syracusas. Hic Verres hæreditatem sibi venisse arbitratus est, quodd in ejus regnum ac manus venerat is, quem iste et audierat multa secum præclara habere, et suspicabatur. Mittit homini munera satis larga: hæc ad usum domesticum, vini, olei, quod visum erat, etiam tritici quod satis esset. Deinde ipsum regem ad cœnam invitavit. Exornat amplè magnificèque triclinium. Exponit ea, quibus abundabat, plurima ac pulcherrima vasa argentea.—Omnibus curat rebus instructum et paratum ut sit con-

heard that Antiochus was arrived at Syracuse, as he had reason to believe, and had been told, that that prince had abundance of rare and precious things with him, he judged his arrival a kind of rich inheritance fallen to him. He began by sending Antiochus presents considerable enough, consisting in provisions of wine, oil, and corn. He then invited him to supper. The hall was magnificently adorned. The tables were set off with all his vessels of the most excellent workmanship, of which he had a great number. The feast was sumptuous and delicate, for he had taken care that nothing should be wanting to make it so. In a word, the king withdrew, well convinced of the prætor's magnificence, and still better satisfied with the honourable reception he had given him.

He invites Verres to supper in his turn;<sup>c</sup> exposes all his riches, a vast quantity of silver plate, and not a few cups of gold set with jewels, after the custom of kings, especially those of Syria. There was among the rest a very large vessel for wine, made out of one precious stone. Verres takes each of these vessels into his hand one after the other, praises and admires them, while the king rejoices that the prætor of the Roman people is so well pleased with his entertainment.

On retiring from this entertainment,<sup>f</sup> the latter had no other thoughts, as the sequel sufficiently showed, than how to raffle Antiochus, and send him away fleeced and plundered of all his rich effects. He sent to desire that he would let him have the finest of the vessels he had seen at his house, under pretence of showing them to his workmen. The prince, who did not know Verres, complied without difficulty or suspicion. The prætor sent again to desire that he would lend him the beautiful vessel made of a single precious stone, that he might examine it more attentively, as he said. The king sent him that also.

But to crown all,<sup>g</sup> the kings of Syria, of whom we are speak-

vivum. Quid multa? Rex ita discessit, ut et istum copiose ornatum, et se honorificè acceptum arbitraretur.

<sup>c</sup> Vocat ad cœnam deinde ipse prætorem. Exponit suas copias omnes; multum argentum, non pauca etiam pocula ex auro, quæ, ut mos est regibus et maximè in Syriâ, gemmis erant distincta clarissimis. Erat etiam vas viarium ex unâ gemmâ pergrandi.—Iste unumquodque vas in manus sumere, laudare, mirari. Rex gaudere prætori populi Romani satis jucundum et gratum illud esse convivium.

<sup>f</sup> Postea quàm inde discessum est, cogitare iste nihil aliud, quod ipsa res declaravit, nisi quemadmodum regem ex provinciâ spoliatum expilatumque dimitterit. Mittit rogatum vasa ea, quæ pulcherrima apud illum viderat: ait se suis cælatoribus velle ostendere. Rex, qui istum non nôset, sine ullâ suspitione libentissimè dedit. Mittit etiam trullam gemmeam rogatum: velle se eam diligentius considerare. Ea quoque mittitur.

<sup>g</sup> Nunc reliquum, judices, attendite—Candelabrum è gemmis clarissimis, opere mirabili perfectum, reges hi, quos dico, Romani cum attulissent, ut in Capitolio ponerent; quòd nondum etiam perfectum templum offerderant, neque ponere, neque vulgò ostendere ac proferre voluerunt; ut et magnificentius videretur, cum suo tempore in sellâ Jovis Opt. Max. poneretur, et clarius,

ing, had carried a candelabrum with them to Rome, of singular beauty, as well from the precious stones with which it was adorned, as its exquisite workmanship. With this they intended to adorn the Capitol, which had been burnt during the wars between Marius and Sylla, and was then rebuilding. But that edifice not being finished, they would not leave it behind them, nor suffer any body to have a sight of it; in order that when it should appear at a proper time in the temple of Jupiter, the surprise might add to the admiration of it, and the charm of novelty give new splendour to the present. They therefore chose to carry it back into Syria, resolving to send ambassadors to offer this rare and magnificent gift, amongst many others, to the god, when they should know that his statue was set up in the temple.

Verres was informed of all this by some means or other;<sup>h</sup> for the prince had taken care to keep the candelabrum concealed; not that he feared or suspected any thing, but that few people might see it before it was exposed to the public view of the Romans. The prætor demanded it of the king, and earnestly entreated him to send it him, expressing a great desire to examine it, and promising to let nobody else see it. The young prince, with the candour and simplicity of whose youth the noble sentiments of his birth were united, was far from suspecting any bad design. He ordered his officers to carry the candelabrum secretly to Verres, well covered from sight; which was done accordingly. As soon as the wrappers were taken off, and the prætor beheld it, he cried out, This is a present worthy of a prince, worthy of a king of Syria; worthy of the Capitol. For it was amazingly splendid, from the quantity of fine jewels with which it was adorned, and the variety of the workmanship, in which art seemed to vie with

cùm pulchritudo ejus recens ad oculos hominum atque integra perveniret. Statuerunt id secum in Syriam reportare, ut, cùm audissent simulacrum Jovis Opt. Max. dedicatum, legatos mitterent, qui cum cæteris rebus illud quoque eximium atque pulcherrimum donum in Capitolium efferrent.

<sup>h</sup> Pervenit res ad istius aures nescio quomodo. Nam rex id celatum voluerat: non quò quidquam metueret aut suspicaretur, sed ut ne multi illud antè perciperent oculis, quàm populus Romanus. Iste petit à rege, et cum plurimis verbis rogat, uti ad se mittat: cupere se dicìt inspicere, neque se aliis videndi potestatem esse facturum. Antiochus, qui animo et puerili esset et regio, nihil de istius improbitate suspicatus est. Imperat suis, ut id in prætorium involutum quàm occultissimè deferrent. Quò posteaquam attulerunt, involucrisque rejectis constituerunt, iste clamare cœpit, dignam rem esse regno Syriæ, dignam regio munere, dignam Capitolio. Etenim erat eo splendore, qui ex clarissimis et plurimis gemmis esse debebat: eâ varietate operam, ut ars certare videretur cum copiâ: eâ magnitudine, ut intelligi posset, non ad hominum apparatus, sed ad amplissimi templi ornamentum, esse factum. Quod cùm satis jam perspexisse videretur, tollere incipiunt ut referrent. Iste ait se velle illud etiam atque etiam considerare: nequaquam se esse satiatum. Jæbet illos discedere, et candelabrum relinquere. Sic illi tum inanes ad Antiochum revertuntur.

the materials; and at the same time so large a size, that it was easy to distinguish it was not intended to be used in the palaces of men, but to adorn a vast and superb temple. The officers of Antiochus, having given the prætor full time to consider it, prepared to carry it back; but were told by him, that he would examine it more at his leisure, and that his curiosity was not yet sufficiently gratified. He then bade them go home, and leave the candelabrum with him. They accordingly returned without it.

The king was not alarmed at first,<sup>i</sup> and had no suspicion:—one day, two days, several days passed, and the candelabrum was not brought home. The prince therefore sent to demand it of the prætor, who put it off till the next day; but it was not returned then. At length he applied in person to him, and prayed him to restore it. Who would believe it? That very candelabrum, which, he knew from the prince himself, was to be set up in the Capitol, and designed for the great Jupiter and the Roman people, Verres earnestly entreated the prince to give him. Antiochus excusing himself both from the vow he had made to consecrate it to Jupiter, and the judgment which the many nations that had witnessed the progress of the workmanship of it, and knew for whom it was designed, would pass upon such an action: the prætor began to threaten him in the sharpest terms; but when he saw his menaces had no more effect than his entreaties, he ordered the prince to quit his province before night; and alleged for his reason, that he had received advice from good hands that pirates from Syria were about to land in Sicily.

The king upon that withdrew to the public square,<sup>k</sup> and, with tears in his eyes, declared with a loud voice, in a numerous assembly of the Syracusans, calling the gods and men to wit-

<sup>i</sup> Rex primò nihil metuere, nihil suspicari. Dies unus, alter, plures: non referri. Tum mittit rex ad istum, si sibi videatur, ut reddat. Jubet iste posterius ad se reverti. Mirum illi videri. Mittit iterum: non redditur. Ipse hominem appellat: rogat ut reddat. Os hominis insignemque impudentiam cognoscite. Quod sciret, quodque ex ipso rege audisset, in Capitolio esse ponendum; quod Jovi Opt. Max. quod populo Rom. servari videret, id sibi ut donaret, rogare et vehementer petere cœpit. Cùm ille se religione Jovis Capitolini et hominum existimatione impediri diceret, quod multæ nationes testes essent illius operis ac muneris; iste homini minari acerrimè cœpit. Ubi videt eum nihilo magis minis quàm precibus permoveri, repentè hominem de provinciâ jubet ante noctem discedere. Ait se comperisse ex ejus regno piratas in Siciliam esse venturos.

<sup>k</sup> Rex maximo conventu Syracusis, in foro, flens, deos hominesque contestans, clamare cœpit, candelabrum factum è gemmis, quod in Capitolium missurus esset, quod in templo clarissimo, populo Rom. monumentum suæ societatis amicitiaeque esse voluisset, id sibi C. Verrem abstulisse. De cæteris operibus ex auro et gemmis, quæ sua penès illum essent, se non laborare: hoc sibi eripi miserrum esse et indignum. Id etsi antea jam, mente et cogitatione suâ fratrisque sui consecratum esset; tamen tum se in illo conventu civium Romanorum dare, donare, dicare, consecrare, Jovi Opt. Max. testemque ipsi Jovem suæ voluntatis ac religionis adhibere.



ness, that Verres had taken from him a candelabrum of gold, enriched with precious stones, which was to have been placed in the Capitol, to be a monument in that august temple of his alliance and amity with the Roman people. That he cared little, and did not complain, for the other vessels of gold and the jewels which Verres had got from him; but that to see that candelabrum taken from him by violence, was a misfortune and an affront that made him inconsolable. That though by his intention, and that of his brother, that candelabrum was already consecrated to Jupiter; however, he offered, presented, dedicated, and consecrated it again to that god, in the presence of the Roman citizens who heard him, and called Jupiter to witness to the sentiments of his heart, and the piety of his intentions.

Antiochus Asiaticus, being returned into Asia, soon after ascended the throne: he reigned over part of the country for the space of four years. Pompey deprived him of his kingdom during the war against Mithridates, and reduced Syria into a province of the Roman empire.

What must foreign nations think, and how odious must the name of Roman be to them, when they heard it told, that in a Roman province a king had been so grossly injured by the prætor himself; a guest plundered, an ally and friend of the Roman people driven away with the highest indignity and violence! And what Cicero reproaches Verres with in this place, was not peculiar to him; it was the crime of almost all the magistrates sent by Rome into the provinces; a crime which the senate and people seemed to approve, and of which they made themselves equally guilty by their weak and abject connivance. *We have seen for several years,*<sup>1</sup> says the same Cicero, in another of his orations against Verres, *and have suffered in silence the wealth of all nations to be transferred into the hands of a few private persons. Athens, Pergamus, Cyzicum, Miletus, Chios, Samos, in short, all Asia, Achaia, Greece, Sicily, are now inclosed in some of the country-houses of those rich and unjust plunderers, whilst money is universally a prodigious rarity every where else. And we have just reason to believe, that we ourselves connive at all these flagrant and terrible disorders, since those who commit, take no man-*

<sup>1</sup> Patimur multos jam annos et silemus, cum videamus ad paucos homines omnes omnium nationum pecunias pervenisse. Quod ed magis ferre æquo animo atque concedere videmur, quia nemo istorum dissimulat, nemo laborat, ut obscura sua cupiditas esse videatur. Ubi pecunias exterarum nationum esse arbitramini, quibus nunc omnes egent, cum Athenas, Pergamum, Cyzicum, Miletum, Chium, Samum, totam denique Asiam, Achaïam, Græciam, Siciliam, jam in paucis villis inclusas esse videatis? *Cic. in Ver. ult. de Suppl.* n. 125, 126.

*ner of pains to conceal them, nor to hide their thefts and depredations from the eyes and knowledge of the public.*

Such was Rome at the time we now speak of, which soon occasioned its ruin, and the loss of its liberty. And, in my opinion, to consider in this manner the failings and vices that prevail in a state, to examine their causes and effects, to enter thus into men's most secret retirements, (if I may use that expression,) to study closely the characters and dispositions of those who govern, is a much more important part of history, than that which only treats of sieges, battles, and conquests: to which, however, we must return.

The reign of Alexander Jannæus in Judæa had always been involved in troubles and seditions, occasioned by the powerful faction of the Pharisees, that continually opposed him, because he was not of a disposition to suffer himself to be governed by them. His death did not put an end to these disorders.<sup>a</sup> Alexander, his wife,

was appointed supreme administratrix of the nation according to the king's last will. She caused her eldest son Hyrcanus to be acknowledged high-priest. The Pharisees continually persisted in persecuting those who had been their enemies in the late reign. That princess, at her death, had

appointed Hyrcanus her sole heir; but Aristobulus, his younger brother, had the strongest party, and took his place.

Nothing but troubles and violent agitations were to be seen on all sides.<sup>b</sup> In Egypt, the Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up arms and expelled him, and called in Ptolemy Auletes. He was a bastard of Lathyrus, who never had a legitimate son. He was surnamed *Auletes*, that is to say, *the player upon the flute*, because he valued himself so much upon playing well upon that instrument, that he disputed the prize of it in the public games. Alexander, being driven out in this manner, went to Pompey, who was then in the neighbourhood, to demand aid of him: Pompey would not interfere in his affairs, because they were foreign to his commission. That prince retired to Tyre, to wait there a more favourable conjuncture.

But none offered, and he died there some time after. Before his death, he made a will, by which he declared the Roman people his heirs. The succession was important, and included all the dominions Alexander had possessed, and to which he had retained a lawful right, of which the violence he had sustained could not deprive him. The affair was

<sup>a</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 23, 24. et de Bell. Judaic. i. 3, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. xi. Trogus in Prol. xxxix. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 251.

taken into consideration by the senate.<sup>c</sup> Some were of opinion that it was necessary to take possession of Egypt, and of the island of Cyprus, of which the testator had been sovereign, and which he had bequeathed in favour of the Roman people. The majority of the senators did not approve this advice. They had very lately taken possession of Bithynia, which had been left them by the will of Nicomedes; and of Cyrenaica and Libya, which had been also given them by that of Apoion; and they had reduced all these countries into Roman provinces. They were afraid that if they also accepted Egypt and the isle of Cyprus in virtue of a like donation, that their facility in accumulating provinces upon provinces, might alienate men's minds from them, and indicate and express too clearly a fixed design to engross in the same manner all other states. They believed, besides, that this enterprise might involve them in another war, which would embarrass them very much, whilst they had that with Mithridates upon their hands. So that they contented themselves for the present with causing all the effects which Alexander had at his death to be brought from Tyre, and did not meddle with the rest of his estates. This proceeding sufficiently implied, that they did not renounce the will, as the sequel will fully explain.

This is the fourth example of dominions left to the Roman people by will; a very singular custom, and almost unheard-of in all other history, which undoubtedly does great honour to those in whose favour it was established. The usual methods of extending the bounds of a state, are war, victory, and conquest. But with what enormous injustice and violence are those methods attended, and how much devastation and blood must it cost to subject a country by force of arms? In this there is nothing cruel and inhuman, and neither tears nor blood are shed. It is a pacific and legitimate increase of power, the simple acceptance of a voluntary gift. Subjection here has nothing of violence to enforce it, and proceeds from the heart.

There is another sort of violence, which has neither the name nor appearance of being so, but it is no less dangerous on that account; I mean seduction: when, to obtain the suffrages of a people, undermining arts, indirect means, secret artifices, and great donations of money are employed to corrupt the fidelity of the persons of the highest credit and authority in states and kingdoms, and events are influenced, in which the principal agents act at a distance, and do not seem to have any share. In this we now speak of, there was no visible trace of a policy so common with princes, and which, so far from making any scruple of it, they imagine for their glory.

Attalus, who was the first, if I am not mistaken, that ap-

<sup>c</sup> Cicer. Orat. ii. in Rullum. n. 41—43.

pointed the Roman people his heirs, had not engaged in any strict union with that republic during the short time he reigned. As for Ptolemy Apion, king of Cyrenaica, the Romans, far from using any arts to attain the succession to his dominions, renounced it, left the people in the full enjoyment of their liberty, and would not accept the inheritance afterwards, till they were in some measure obliged to it against their will. It does not appear that they employed any solicitations, either public or private, towards Nicomedes king of Bithynia, or Ptolemy Alexander, king of Egypt.

What motives then induced these princes to act in this manner? First, gratitude: the house of Attalus was indebted for all its splendour to the Romans; Nicomedes had been defended by them against Mithridates: and next, love for their people, the desire of procuring a lasting tranquillity for them, and the idea they entertained of the wisdom, justice, and moderation of the Roman people. They died without children or lawful successors; for bastards were not looked upon as such. They had only in view the future divisions and civil wars that might arise about the choice of a king, of which Egypt and Syria supplied them with dreadful examples. They saw with their own eyes the tranquillity and happiness enjoyed by many cities and nations under the shelter and protection of the Roman people.

A prince, in the situation of which we speak, had but three things to choose: either to leave his throne to the ambition of the grandees of his kingdom; to restore to his subjects their entire liberty, by instituting republican government; or to give his kingdom to the Romans.

The first choice undoubtedly exposed the kingdom to all the horrors of a civil war, which the factions and jealousies of the great would not fail to excite, and continue with heat and fury: and the prince's love for his subjects induced him to spare them misfortunes as fatal as they would be inevitable.

The execution of the second choice was impracticable. There are many nations, whose genius, manners, characters, and habit of living, do not admit their being formed into republics. They are not capable of that uniform equality, that dependence upon mute laws, which do not make an impression on their senses. They are made for monarchy; and every other kind of government is incompatible with the natural frame of their minds. Cyrenaica, which has a share in the present question, is a proof of this; and all ages and climates supply us with examples of the same kind.

A prince, therefore, at his death, could not do more wisely than to leave his subjects the alliance and protection of a people, feared and respected by the whole universe, and therefore capable of defending them from the unjust and violent attempts

of their neighbours. How many civil divisions, and bloody discords, did he spare them by this kind of testamentary disposition ! This appears from the example of Cyrenaica. The Romans, out of a noble disinterestedness, having refused the legacy which the king had bequeathed to them at his death, that unhappy kingdom, abandoned to liberty and its own will, gives itself up to cabals and intrigues. Torn by a thousand factions, exasperated almost to madness against each other, and, in a word, become like a ship without a pilot in the midst of the most violent storms, it suffered many years the most incredible calamities ; the only remedy of which was to pray, and in some manner to force, the Romans to vouchsafe to take the government of it upon themselves.

Besides this, a prince by such conduct did no more than prevent, and that advantageously for his people, what must necessarily have happened sooner or later. Was there any city or state capable of making head against the Romans ? Could it be expected, that a kingdom, especially when the royal family was extinct, could support itself, and its independence, long against them ? There was an inevitable necessity, therefore, for its falling into the hands of that people ; and for that reason it was highly consistent with prudence to soften the yoke by a voluntary subjection. For they made a great difference between those nations who submitted to them freely as to friends and protectors, and those who only yielded to them out of force, after a long and obstinate resistance, and being compelled, by reiterated defeats, to give way at last to a conqueror. We have seen with what severity the Macedonians, at least the principal persons of the nation, and after them the Achæans, were treated ; especially during the first years of their subjection.

The other nations suffered nothing of that kind ; and, generally speaking, of all foreign yokes none ever was lighter than that of the Romans. Scarce could its weight be perceived by those who bore it. The subjection of Greece to the Roman empire, even under the emperors themselves, was rather a means to ensure the public tranquillity, than a servitude heavy upon private persons, and prejudicial to society. Most of the cities were governed by their ancient laws, had always their own magistrates, and wanted very little of enjoying entire liberty. They were by that means secured from all the inconveniences and misfortunes of war with their neighbours, which had so long and so cruelly distressed the republic of Greece in the times of their ancestors. So that the Greeks seemed to be great gainers in ransoming themselves from these inconveniences by some diminution of their liberty.

It is true, the provinces sometimes suffered very much from the avarice of their governors. But those were only transient

evils, which had no long effects, and to which the goodness and justice of a worthy successor applied a speedy redress; and which, after all, were not comparable to the disorders with which the wars of the Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedæmonians, against each other, were attended; and still less to the violences and ravages occasioned in many cities and states, by the insatiable avarice and barbarous cruelty of tyrants.

An evident proof of the wisdom of the plan adopted by princes, of leaving their dominions to the Romans after their death, is, that their people never exclaimed against that disposition, nor proceeded to any revolt of their own accord, to prevent its taking effect.

I do not pretend to exculpate the Romans entirely in this place, nor to justify their conduct in all things. I have sufficiently animadverted upon the interested views and political motives which influenced their actions. I only say, that the Roman government, especially with regard to those who submitted voluntarily to them, was gentle, humane, equitable, advantageous to the people, and the source of their peace and tranquillity. There were indeed some individual oppressors, who made the Roman people authorize the most flagrant injustice, of which we shall soon see an example: but there was always in that republic a considerable number of citizens, zealous for the public good, who rose up against those violences, and declared loudly for justice. This, however, was not the case in the affair of Cyprus, which it is now time to relate.

Clodius,<sup>b</sup> who commanded a small fleet near Cilicia, was defeated and taken prisoner by the pirates of that coast, against whom he had been sent. He caused Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, brother of Ptolemy Auletes, to be desired in his name to send him money to pay his ransom. That prince, who was a kind of prodigy in point of avarice, sent him only two talents. The pirates chose rather to release Clodius without ransom, than to take so small a one.

His thoughts were bent upon being revenged on that king as soon as possible. He had found means to get himself elected tribune of the people; an important office, which gave him great power. Clodius made use of it for the destruction of his enemy. He pretended that that prince had no right to the kingdom of Cyprus, which had been left to the Roman people by the will of Alexander, who died at Tyre. It was determined, in consequence, that the kingdom of Egypt, and that of Cyprus, which depended on it, appertained to the Romans in virtue of that donation; and Clodius accordingly obtained an order of the people

A. M. 3946.

Ant. J. C. 58.

<sup>b</sup> Strab. l. xiv. p. 684.

to seize the kingdom of Cyprus, to depose Ptolemy, and to confiscate all his effects. To put so unjust an order in execution, he had sufficient influence and address to cause the justest of all the Romans to be elected, I mean Cato,<sup>c</sup> whom he removed from the republic, under the pretext of so honourable a commission, that he might not find in him an obstacle to the violent and criminal designs which he was meditating. Cato was therefore sent into the isle of Cyprus, to deprive a prince of his kingdom, who well deserved that disgrace, says an historian, for his many irregularities; as if a man's vices sufficiently authorized the seizure of all his property.

Cato, upon his arrival at Rhodes,<sup>d</sup> sent to bid Ptolemy retire peaceably; and promised him, if he complied, to procure him the high-priesthood of the temple of Venus at Paphos, the revenues of which were sufficiently considerable to enable him to subsist honourably. Ptolemy rejected that proposal. He was not, however, in a condition to defend himself against the power of the Romans; but could not resolve, after having worn a crown so long, to live as a private person. Determined therefore to end his life and reign together, he embarked with all his treasures, and put to sea. His design was to have holes bored in the bottom of his ship, that it might sink with him and all his riches. But when he came to the execution of his purpose, though he persisted constantly in the resolution of dying himself, he had not courage to include his innocent and well-beloved treasures in his ruin; and thereby showed that he loved them better than he did himself;<sup>e</sup>—king of Cyprus indeed in title, but in fact, the mean slave of his money. He returned to shore, and replaced his gold in his magazines, after which he poisoned himself, and left the whole to his enemies. Cato carried those treasures the following year to Rome. The sum was so large, that in the greatest triumphs the like had scarce ever been laid up in the public treasury. Plutarch makes it amount to almost 7000 talents (1,050,000*l.* sterling). Cato caused all Ptolemy's precious effects and furniture to be sold publicly; reserving to himself only a picture of Zeno, the founder of the Stoics, the sentiments of which sect he followed.

The Roman people here throw off the mask, and show themselves not such as they had been in the glorious ages of the republic, full of contempt for riches and of esteem for poverty, but such as they were become, after that gold and silver had

<sup>c</sup> P. Clodius in senatu sub honorificentissimo titulo M. Catonem à rep. relegavit. Quippe legem tulit, ut is—mitteretur in insulam Cyprum, ad spoliandum regno Ptolemæum, omnibus morum vitiis eam contumeliam meritum. *Vell. Paterc.* l. ii. c. 45.

<sup>d</sup> Plut. in Cato. p. 776.

<sup>e</sup> Procul dubio hic non possedit divitias, sed à divitiis possessus est; titulo rex insulæ, animo pecuniæ miserabile mancipium. *Val. Max.*

entered Rome in triumph with their victorious generals. Never was any thing more capable of disgracing and reproaching the Romans, than this last action. *The Roman people,*<sup>f</sup> says Cicero, *instead of making it their honour, and almost a duty, as formerly, to re-establish the kings their enemies whom they had conquered, upon their thrones, now see a king, their ally, or at least a constant friend of the republic, who had never done them any wrong, of whom neither the senate nor any of our generals had ever received the least complaint, who enjoyed the dominions left him by his ancestors in tranquillity, plundered on a sudden without any formality, and all his effects sold by auction almost before his eyes, by order of the same Roman people.* This, continues Cicero, shows other kings upon what they are to rely for their security: from this fatal example they learn, that amongst us, there needs only the secret intrigue of some seditious tribune, to deprive them of their thrones, and to plunder them at the same time of all their fortunes.

What I am most amazed at is, that Cato, the justest and most upright man of those times, (but what was the most shining virtue and justice of the Pagans!) should lend his name and service in so notorious an injustice. Cicero, who had reasons for sparing him, and dared not blame his conduct openly, shows, however, in the same oration which I have now cited, but in an artful and delicate manner, and under the appearance of excusing him, how much he had dishonoured himself by that action.

During Cato's stay at Rhodes, Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, and brother to him of Cyprus, came thither to him. I reserve for a following book the history of that prince, which merits particular attention.

<sup>f</sup> Ptolemæus rex, si nondum socius, at non hostis, pacatus, quietus, fretus imperio populi Rom. regno paterno atque avito, regali otio perfruebatur. De hoc nihil cogitante, nihil suspicante, est rogatum, ut sedens cum purpurâ et sceptro et illis insignibus regis, præconi publico subjiceretur, et imperante populo Rom., qui etiam victis bello regibus regna reddere censuevit, rex amicus, nulla injuria commemorata, nullis repetitis rebus, cum bonis omnibus publicaretur—Cyprius miser, qui semper socius, semper amicus fuit; de quo nulla unquam suspicio durior aut ad senatum, aut ad imperatores nostros allata est; vivus (ut aiunt) est et videns, cum victu et vestitu suo, publicatus. An ceteri reges stabilem esse suam fortunam arbitrentur, cum hoc illius funesti anni perditio exemplo videant, per tribunum aliquem se fortunis spoliari (posse) et regno omni nudari? *Cic. Orat. pro Sextio.* n. 57.



## BOOK XXI.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS  
CONTINUED.

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THE twenty-first Book is divided into three articles, which are all abridgments: the first, of the history of the Jews, from the reign of Aristobulus to that of Herod the Great; the second, of the history of the Parthians, from the establishment of that empire to the defeat of Crassus; the third, of the history of the kings of Cappadocia, to the annexing of that kingdom to the Roman empire.

### ARTICLE I.

Abridgment of the History of the Jews, from Aristobulus, son of Hyrcanus, who first assumed the title of king, to the reign of Herod the Great, the Idumæan.

As the history of the Jews is often intermixed with that of the kings of Syria and Egypt, I have taken care, as occasion offered, to relate those circumstances of it which were most necessary and suitable to my subject. I shall add here what remains of that history, to the reign of Herod the Great. The historian Josephus, who is in every one's hands, will satisfy the laudable curiosity of such as are desirous of being more fully informed. Dean Prideaux, of whom I have here made much use, may be also consulted for the same purpose.

## SECT. I.

Reign of Aristobulus the First, which lasted two years.

Hyrcanus,<sup>a</sup> high-priest and prince of the Jews, A. M. 3898. had left five sons at his death. The first was Ant. J. C. 106. Aristobulus, the second Antigonus, the third Alexander Jannæus, the fourth's name is unknown. The fifth was called Absalom.

Aristobulus, as the eldest, succeeded his father in the high-priesthood and temporal sovereignty. As soon as he saw himself well established, he assumed the diadem and title of king, which none of those who had governed Judæa since the Babylonish captivity had done besides himself. The circumstances of the times seemed favourable for that design. The kings of Syria and Egypt, who were alone capable of opposing it, were weak princes, involved in domestic troubles and civil wars, little secure upon the throne, and not maintaining themselves long in the possession of it. He knew that the Romans were much inclined to authorize the dismembering and dividing the dominions of the Grecian kings, in order to weaken and keep them low in comparison with themselves. Besides, it was natural for Aristobulus to take advantage of the victories and acquisitions made by his ancestors, who had given an assured and uninterrupted establishment to the Jewish nation, and enabled it to support the dignity of a king amongst its neighbours.

Aristobulus's mother, in virtue of Hyrcanus's will, pretended to the government; but Aristobulus was the strongest, and put her in prison, where he caused her to be starved to death. With respect to his brothers, as he very much loved Antigonus, the eldest of them, he gave him at first a share in the government. He confined the other three in prison, and kept them there during his life.

When Aristobulus<sup>b</sup> had fully possessed himself of the authority which his father had enjoyed, A. M. 3898. he entered into a war with the Ituræans; and Ant. J. C. 106. after having subjected the greatest part of them, he obliged them to embrace Judaism, as Hyrcanus had compelled the Idumæans some years before. He gave them the alternative, either to be circumcised and profess the Jewish religion, or to quit their country and seek a settlement elsewhere. They chose to stay, and comply with what was required of them, and thus were incorporated with the Jews, both as to spirituals and temporals. This practice became a fundamental maxim

<sup>a</sup> Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 19, &c. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 3.

Ibid.

with the Asmoneans. It shows, that they had not a just idea of religion at that time, which does not impose itself by force, and which ought not to be received but voluntarily and by persuasion. Ituræa, which was inhabited by the people in question, formed part of Coele-syria, on the north-east frontier of Israel, between the inheritance of the half tribe of Manasseh on the other side of Jordan, and the territory of Damascus.

A distemper obliged Aristobulus to return from Ituræa to Jerusalem, and to leave the command of the army to his brother Antigonus, to make an end of the war he had begun. The queen and her cabal, who envied Antigonus the king's favour, took advantage of this illness, to prejudice the king against him by false reports and vile calumnies. Antigonus soon returned to Jerusalem after the successes by which he had terminated the war. His entry was a kind of triumph. The feast of tabernacles was then celebrating. He went directly to the temple with his guards, completely armed as he had entered the city, without giving himself time to change any part of his equipage. This was imputed to him as a crime with the king; who, otherwise prejudiced against him, sent him orders to disarm himself, and come to him as soon as possible; conceiving, that if he refused to obey, it was a proof of some bad design; and in that case he gave orders that he should be killed. The person sent by Aristobulus was gained by the queen and her cabal, and told him the order quite differently; that the king desired to see him completely armed as he was. Antigonus went directly to wait on him; and the guards who saw him come in his arms, obeyed their orders, and killed him.

Aristobulus, having discovered all that had passed, was keenly affected with it, and inconsolable for his death. Tormented with remorse of conscience for this murder, and that of his mother, he led a miserable life, and expired at last in anguish and despair.

## SECT. II.

Reign of Alexander Jannæus, which continued twenty-seven years.

Salome,<sup>c</sup> the wife of Aristodulus, immediately after his death, took the three princes out of the prison, into which they had been put by her husband. Alexander Jannæus, the eldest of the three, was crowned. He put his next brother to death, who had endeavoured to deprive him of the crown. As for the third, named Absalom, who was of a peaceable disposition, and who had no thoughts but of

<sup>c</sup> Joseph. Antiq. xii. 20. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 3.

living in tranquillity as a private person, he granted him his favour, and protected him during his whole life. No more is said of him,<sup>d</sup> than that he gave his daughter in marriage to Aristobulus the youngest son of his brother Alexander, and that he served him against the Romans at the siege of Jerusalem, in which he was made prisoner forty-two years after, when the temple was taken by Pompey.

Whilst all this was passing, the two kings of Syria, of whom Grypus reigned at Antioch, and Antiochus of Cyzicum at Damascus, made a cruel war upon each other, although they were brothers. Cleopatra, and Alexander, the youngest of her sons, reigned in Egypt, and Ptolemy Lathyrus, the eldest, in Cyprus.

Alexander Jannæus, some time after he returned to Jerusalem, and had taken possession of the throne, had set a strong army on foot, which passed the Jordan, and formed the siege of Gadara. At the end of ten months, having made himself master of that city, he took several other very strong places, situated also on the other side of the Jordan. But not being sufficiently upon his guard on his return, he was beaten by the enemy, and lost 10,000 men, with all the spoils he had taken, and his own baggage. He returned to Jerusalem in the highest affliction for this loss, and the shame with which it was attended. He had even the mortification to see that many people, instead of lamenting his misfortune, took a malignant joy in it. For since the quarrel of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees, they had always been the enemies of his house, and especially of this Alexander. And as they had drawn almost the whole people into their party, they had so strongly prejudiced and inflamed them against him, that all the disorders and commotions with which his whole reign was embroiled, flowed from this source.

This loss, great as it was, did not prevent his going to seize Raphia and Anthedon, when he saw the coast of Gaza without defence, after the departure of Lathyrus.

Those two posts, which were only a few miles from Gaza, kept it in a manner blocked up, which was what he proposed when he attacked them. He had never forgiven the inhabitants of Gaza for calling in Lathyrus against him, and giving him troops, which had contributed to his gaining the fatal battle of the Jordan; and he earnestly sought all occasions to avenge himself upon them.

As soon as his affairs would permit, he came with a numerous army to besiege their city. Apollodorus, the governor of it, defended the place a whole year with a valour and prudence that acquired

<sup>d</sup> Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 8.

him great reputation. His own brother Lysimachus could not see his glory without envy; and that base passion induced him to assassinate the governor. That wretch afterwards associated with some others as abandoned as himself, and surrendered the city to Alexander. Upon his entrance, it was thought by his behaviour and the orders which he gave, that he intended to use his victory with clemency and moderation. But as soon as he saw himself master of all the posts, and that there was nothing to oppose him, he let loose his soldiers with permission to kill, plunder, and destroy; and immediately all the barbarity that could be imagined was exercised upon that unfortunate city. The pleasure of revenge cost him very dear. For the inhabitants of Gaza defended themselves, like men in despair, and killed almost as many of his people as they were themselves. But at length he satiated his brutal revenge, and reduced that ancient and famous city to a heap of ruins; after which he returned to Jerusalem. This war employed him a year,

Some time after the people affronted him in the most heinous manner.<sup>e</sup> At the feast of tabernacles, whilst he was in the temple, offering the solemn sacrifice in quality of high-priest, upon the altar of burnt-offerings, they threw lemons at his head, calling him a thousand injurious names, and amongst the rest giving him that of "Slave;" a reproach which sufficiently argued, that they looked upon him as unworthy of the crown and pontificate. This was a consequence of what Eleazar had presumed to advance; that the mother of Hyrcanus, had been a captive. These indignities enraged Alexander to such a degree, that he attacked those insolent people in person, at the head of his guards, and killed 6000 of them. Seeing how much the Jews were disaffected towards him, he was afraid to trust his person any longer to them, and used foreign troops for his guard, whom he caused to come from Pisidia and Cilicia. Of these he formed a body of 6000 men, who attended him every where.

When Alexander saw the storm which had been raised against him a little appeased by the terror of the revenge he had taken for it, he turned his arms against the enemy abroad. After having obtained some advantages over them, he fell into an ambuscade, wherein he lost the greatest part of his army, and escaped himself with great difficulty. At his return to Jerusalem, the Jews, incensed at this defeat, revolted against him. They flattered themselves, that they should find him so much weakened and dejected by his late loss, that they should experience no difficulty in completing

<sup>e</sup> Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 21.

his destruction, which they had so long desired. Alexander, who wanted neither application nor valour, and who besides had a more than common capacity, soon found troops to oppose them. A civil war ensued between him and his subjects, which continued six years, and occasioned great misfortunes to both parties. The rebels were beaten and defeated upon many occasions.

Alexander, having taken a city wherein many of them had shut themselves up, carried 800 of them to Jerusalem, and caused them all to be crucified in one day. When they were fixed to the cross, he ordered their wives and children to be brought out, and to have their throats cut before their faces. During this cruel execution, the king regaled his wives and concubines in a place from whence they saw all that passed ; and this sight was to him and them the principal part of the entertainment. Horrid gratification ! This civil war, during the six years it lasted, had cost the lives of more than 50,000 men on the side of the rebels.

Alexander, after having put an end to it, undertook many other foreign expeditions with very great success. Upon his return to Jerusalem, he abandoned himself to intemperance and excess of wine, which brought a quartan ague upon him, of which he died at the end of three years, after having reigned twenty-seven.

He left two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus ; but he decreed by his will, that Alexandra his wife should govern the kingdom during her life, and choose which of her sons she thought fit to succeed her.

### SECT. III.

Reign of Alexandra, the wife of Alexander Jannæus, which continued nine years. Hyrcanus her eldest son is high-priest during that time.

According to the advice of her husband,<sup>s</sup> Alexandra submitted herself and her children to the power of the Pharisees, declaring to them, that in doing so, she acted only in conformity to the last will of her husband.

By this step she so well conciliated them, that, forgetting their hatred for the dead, though they had carried it during his life as far as possible, they changed it on a sudden into respect and veneration for his memory : and instead of the invectives and reproaches which they had always abundantly vented against him, nothing was heard but praises and panegyrics, wherein they exalted immoderately the great actions of Alexander, by which the nation had been aggrandized, and its power,

<sup>s</sup> Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 23, 24. et de Bell. Jud. i. 4.

honour, and credit, much augmented. By this means they brought over the people so effectually, whom till then they had always irritated against him, that they celebrated his funeral with greater pomp and magnificence than that of any of his predecessors ; Alexandra, according to the intent of his will, was confirmed sovereign administratrix of the nation. We see from hence, that a blind and unlimited conformity to the power and will of the Pharisees was with them a substitute for every kind of merit, and made all failings, and even crimes, disappear as effectually as if they had never been : which is very common with those who are fond of ruling.

When that princess saw herself well established, she caused her eldest son Hyrcanus to be received as high-priest : he was then near thirty-three years of age. According to her promise, she gave the administration of all important affairs to the Pharisees. The first thing they did was to repeal the decree, by which John Hyrcanus, father of the two last kings, had abolished all their traditional constitutions, which were afterwards more generally received than ever. They persecuted with great cruelty all those who had declared themselves their enemies in the preceding reigns, without the queen's being able to prevent them ; because she had tied up her own hands, by putting herself into those of the Pharisees. She had seen in her husband's time what a civil war was, and the infinite misfortunes with which it is attended. She was afraid of kindling a new one ; and not knowing any other means to prevent it, than by giving way to the violence of those revengeful and inexorable men, she believed it necessary to suffer a less evil, in order to prevent a greater.

What we have said upon this head may contribute very much to our having a right notion of the state of the Jewish nation, and of the characters of those who governed it.

The Pharisees still continued their persecutions against those who had opposed them under the late king.<sup>h</sup> They made them accountable for all the cruelties and faults with which they thought proper to blacken his memory. They had already got rid of many of their enemies under this pretext, and invented every day new articles of accusation to destroy those who gave them most umbrage amongst such as still survived.

The friends and partisans of the late king, seeing that there was no end to these persecutions, and that their destruction was sworn, assembled at last, and came in a body to wait on the queen, with Aristobulus, her second son, at their head. They represented to her the services they had done the late king ; their fidelity and attachment to him in all his wars, and all the

<sup>h</sup> Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 24. et de Bell. Jud. i. 4.

difficulties in which he had been involved during the troubles. That it was very hard at present, that under her government, every thing they had done for him should be made criminal, and they should see themselves sacrificed to the implacable hatred of their enemies, solely for the adherence to herself and her family. They implored her either to put a stop to such sort of inquiries; or, if that was not in her power, to permit them to retire out of the country, in order to seek an asylum elsewhere: at least they begged her to put them into garrisoned places, where they might find some security against the violence of their enemies.

The queen was as much affected as it was possible to be with the condition she saw them in, and the injustice done them. But it was out of her power to do for them all she desired; for she had given herself masters, by engaging to take no steps without the consent of the Pharisees. How dangerous is it to invest such people with too much authority! They exclaimed, that it would be putting a stop to the course of justice to suspend the inquiries after the culpable; that such a proceeding was what no government ought to suffer, and that therefore they never would accede to it. On the other side, the queen believed that she ought not to give her consent, that the real and faithful friends of her family should abandon their country in such a manner; because she would then lie at the mercy of a turbulent faction, without any support, and would have no resource in case of necessity. She resolved therefore upon the third point they had proposed to her, and dispersed them into places where she had garrisons. She found two advantages resulting from that conduct: the first was, that their enemies dared not attack them in those fortresses, where they would have arms in their hands; and the second, that they would always be a body of reserve, upon which she could rely upon occasion in case of any rupture.

Some years after, queen Alexandra fell sick  
 A. M. 3934. of a very dangerous distemper, which brought  
 Ant. J. C. 70. her to the point of death. As soon as Aristobulus, her youngest son, saw that she could not recover, as he had long formed the design of seizing the crown at her death, he stole out of Jerusalem in the night, with only one domestic, and went to the places, in which, according to a plan he had given them, the friends of his father had been placed in garrison. He was received there with open arms, and in fifteen days' time twenty-two of those towns and castles declared for him, which put him in possession of almost all the forces of the state. The people as well as the army were entirely inclined to declare for him, being weary of the cruel administration of the Pharisees, who had governed without control under Alexandra,



and were become insupportable to every one. They came therefore in crowds from all quarters to follow the standards of Aristobulus ; in hopes that he would abolish the tyranny of the Pharisees, which could not be expected from Hyrcanus his elder brother, who had been brought up by his mother in a blind submission to that sect : besides which, he had neither the courage nor capacity necessary for so vigorous a design ; for he was heavy and indolent, void of activity and application, and of a very mean capacity.

When the Pharisees saw that Aristobulus's party augmented considerably, they went with Hyrcanus at their head to represent to the dying queen what was going forward, and to demand her orders and assistance. She answered, that she was no longer in a condition to intermeddle in such affairs, and that she left the care of them to the Pharisees. However, she appointed Hyrcanus her heir, and expired soon after.

As soon as she was dead, he took possession of the throne, and the Pharisees used all their endeavours to support him upon it. When Aristobulus quitted Jerusalem, they had caused his wife and children, whom he had left behind him, to be shut up in the castle of Baris,<sup>1</sup> as hostages against himself. But seeing this did not stop him,<sup>k</sup> they raised an army. Aristobulus did the same. A battle near Jericho decided the quarrel. Hyrcanus, abandoned by most part of his troops, who went over to his brother, was obliged to fly to Jerusalem, and to shut himself up in the castle of Baris ; his partisans took refuge in the temple. A short time after they also submitted to Aristobulus, and Hyrcanus was obliged to come to an accommodation with him.

## SECT. IV.

Reign of Aristobulus II. which continued six years.

It was agreed by this accommodation, that  
 A. M. 3935. Aristobulus should have the crown and high-  
 Ant. J. C. 69. priesthood, and that Hyrcanus should resign both to him, and content himself with a private life, under the protection of his brother, and with the enjoyment of his fortune. It was not difficult to reconcile him to this ; for he loved quiet and ease above all things. Thus he quitted the government, after having possessed it three months. The tyranny of the Pharisees ended with his reign, after having greatly distressed the Jewish nation from the time of the death of Alexander Jannæus.

The troubles of the state were not so soon appeased : these were occasioned by the ambition of Antipas, better known

<sup>1</sup> Baris was a castle situate upon a high rock without the works of the temple, which were upon the same rock.

<sup>k</sup> Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 1. et de Bell. Jud. i. 4.

under the name of Antipater, father of Herod. He was by extraction an Idumæan, and a Jew by religion, as were all the Idumæans, from the time that Hyrcanus had obliged them to embrace Judaism. As he had been brought up in the court of Alexander Jannæus, and of Alexandra his wife, who reigned after him, he had gained an ascendant over Hyrcanus, their eldest son, with the hope of raising himself by his

favour when he should succeed to the crown. But when he saw all his measures defeated by the deposition of Hyrcanus,<sup>1</sup> and the coronation of Aristobulus, from whom he had nothing to expect, he employed his whole address and application to replace Hyrcanus upon the throne.

The latter, by his secret negotiations, had at first applied to Aretas, king of Arabia Petra, for aid to reinstate himself. After various events, which I pass over to avoid prolixity, he had recourse to Pompey, who, on his return from his expedition against Mithridates, was arrived in Syria.<sup>m</sup> He there took cognizance of the competition between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who repaired thither according to his orders. A great number of Jews went thither also, to request that he would free them from the government of both the one and the other. They represented that they ought not to be ruled by kings: that they had long been accustomed to obey only the high-priest, who, without any other title, administered justice according to the laws and constitutions transmitted down to them from their forefathers: that the two brothers were indeed of the sacerdotal line; but that they had changed the form of the government for a new one, which would enslave them, if not remedied.

Hyrcanus complained, that Aristobulus had unjustly deprived him of his birthright, by usurping every thing, and leaving him only a small estate for his subsistence. He accused him also of practising piracy at sea, and of plundering his neighbours by land. And to confirm what he alleged against him, he produced almost a thousand Jews, the principal men of the nation, whom Antipater had brought expressly, to support by their testimony what that prince had to say against his brother.

Aristobulus replied to this, That Hyrcanus had been deposed only for his incapacity: that his sloth and indolence rendered him entirely incapable of the management of public affairs; that the people despised him; and that he (Aristobulus) had been obliged to take the reins of the government into his own hands, to prevent them from falling into those of strangers. In fine, that he bore no other title than what his father Alexander had done before him. And in proof of what he ad-

<sup>1</sup> Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 2—8. et de Bell. Jud. i. 5.

<sup>m</sup> Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 5. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 5.

vanced, he produced a great number of the young nobility of the country, who appeared with all possible splendour and magnificence. Their superb habits, haughty manners, and proud demeanour, did no great service to his cause.

Pompey heard enough to discern that the conduct of Aristobulus was violent and unjust; but would not, however, pronounce immediately upon it, lest Aristobulus, out of resentment, should oppose his designs against Arabia, which he had much at heart: he therefore politely dismissed the two brothers; and told them, that at his return from reducing Aretas and his Arabians, he should pass through Judæa, and that he would then regulate their affair, and settle every thing.

Aristobulus, who fully penetrated Pompey's sentiments, set out suddenly for Damascus, without paying him the least instance of respect, returned into Judæa, armed his subjects, and prepared for a vigorous defence. By this conduct, he made Pompey his mortal enemy.

Pompey applied himself also in making preparations for the Arabian war. Aretas till then had despised the Roman arms; but when he saw them at his door, and that victorious army ready to enter his dominions, he sent an embassy to make his submission. Pompey, however, advanced as far as Petra, his capital, of which he made himself master. Aretas was taken in it. Pompey at first kept him under a guard, but at length he was released upon accepting the conditions imposed on him by the victor, who soon after returned to Damascus.

He was not apprized till then of Aristobulus's proceedings in Judæa. He marched thither with his army, and found Aristobulus posted in the castle of Alexandrion, which stood upon a high mountain at the entrance of the country. This was an extremely strong place, built by his father Alexander, who had given his name to it. Pompey sent to bid him come down to him. Aristobulus was not much inclined to comply, but he at last acceded to the opinion of those about him, who, dreading a war with the Romans, advised him to go. He did so; and after a conversation which turned upon his difference with his brother, he returned into his castle. He repeated the same visit two or three times, in hopes by that civility to gain upon Pompey, and induce him to decide in his favour. But for fear of accident, he did not omit to put good garrisons into his strong places, and to make all other preparations for a vigorous defence, in case Pompey should decide against him. Pompey, who had advice of his proceedings, the last time he came to him, obliged him to put them all into his hands, by way of sequestration, and made him sign orders for that purpose to all the commanders of those places,

Aristobulus, incensed at the violence which had been offered

him, as soon as he was released, made all haste to Jerusalem, and prepared every thing for the war. His resolutions to keep the crown, made him the sport of two different passions, hope and fear. When he saw the least appearance that Pompey would decide in his favour, he made use of all the arts of complaisance to incline him to it. When, on the contrary, he had the least reason to suspect that he would declare against him, he observed a directly opposite conduct. This was the cause of the contrariety visible in the different steps he took throughout this affair.

Pompey followed him close. The first place where he encamped in his way to Jerusalem, was Jericho; there he received the news of Mithridates's death, as we shall see in the following book.

He continued his march towards Jerusalem. When he approached, Aristobulus, who began to repent of what he had done, came out to meet him, and endeavoured to bring him to an accommodation, by promising an entire submission, and a great sum of money to prevent the war. Pompey accepted his offers, and sent Gabinius, at the head of a detachment, to receive the money: but when that lieutenant-general arrived at Jerusalem, he found the gates shut against him; and, instead of receiving the money, he was told from the top of the walls, that the city would not stand to the agreement. Pompey thereupon, not being willing that they should deceive him with impunity, ordered Aristobulus, whom he had kept with him, to be put in irons, and advanced with his whole army against Jerusalem. The city was extremely strong by its situation and the works which had been made; and had it not been for the dissensions that prevailed within it, was capable of making a long defence.

Aristobulus's party was for defending the place; especially when they saw that Pompey kept their king prisoner. But the adherents of Hyrcanus were determined to open the gates to that general. And as the latter were much the greater number, the other party retired to the mountain of the temple, to defend it, and caused the bridges of the ditch and valley which surrounded it to be broken down. Pompey, to whom the city immediately opened its gates, resolved to besiege the temple. The place held out three whole months, and would have done so three more, and perhaps obliged the Romans to abandon their enterprise, but for the superstitious rigour with which the besieged observed the sabbath. They believed, indeed, that they might defend themselves when attacked, but not that they might prevent the works of the enemy, or make any for themselves. The Romans knew how to take advantage of this inaction upon the sabbath-days. They did not attack the Jews

upon them, but filled up the fosses, made their approaches, and fixed their engines without opposition. They threw down at length a great tower, which carried along with it so great a part of the wall, that the breach was large enough for an assault. The place was carried sword in hand, and a terrible slaughter ensued, in which more than 12,000 persons were killed.

During the whole tumult, the cries, and disorder of this slaughter, history observes that the priests, who were at that time employed in divine service, continued it with surprising calmness, notwithstanding the rage of their enemies, and their grief to see their friends and relations massacred before their eyes. Many of them saw their own blood mingle with that of the sacrifices they were offering, and the sword of the enemy make themselves the victims of their duty; happy and worthy of being envied, if they had been as faithful to the spirit as the letter of it!

Pompey, with many of his superior officers, entered the temple, and not only into the sanctuary, but into the holy of holies, into which, by the law, the high-priest alone was permitted to enter once a year, upon the solemn day of expiation. This was what most keenly afflicted the Jews, and enraged that people so bitterly against the Romans.

Pompey did not touch the treasures of the temple, which consisted principally in sums that had been deposited there by private families for their better security. Those sums amounted to 2000 talents in specie,<sup>a</sup> without reckoning the gold and silver vessels, which were innumerable, and of infinite value. It was not,<sup>b</sup> says Cicero, out of respect for the majesty of the God adored in that temple, that Pompey behaved in this manner; for, according to him, nothing was more contemptible than the Jewish religion, more unworthy the wisdom and grandeur of the Romans, nor more opposite to the institutions of their ancestors. Pompey in this noble disinterestedness had no other motive than to deprive malice and calumny of all means of attacking his reputation. Such were the thoughts of the most learned of the Pagans, with respect to the only religion of the true God. They blasphemed what they knew not.

It hath been observed, that till then Pompey had been successful in all things, but that after this sacrilegious curiosity, his good fortune abandoned him, and that the advantage gained over the Jews was his last victory.

<sup>a</sup> Three hundred thousand pounds sterling.

<sup>b</sup> Cn. Pompeius, captis Hierosolymis, victor ex illo fano nihil attigit. In primis hoc, ut multa alia, sapienter, quod in tam suspiciosa ac maledica civitate locum sermoni obrectatorum non reliquit. Non enim credo religionem et Judæorum et hostium impedimento præstantissimo imperatori, sed pudorem fuisse—istorum religio sacrorum à splendore hujus imperii, gravitate nominis vestri, majorum institutis abhorrebat. *Cic. pro Flac. n. 67—69.*

## SECT. V.

Reign of Hyrcanus II. which continued twenty-four years.

**A. M. 3941.**  
**Ant. J. C. 63.** Pompey having thus put an end to the war, caused the walls of Jerusalem to be demolished, re-established Hyrcanus, and sent Aristobulus, with his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, prisoners to Rome. He dismembered several cities from the kingdom of Judæa, which he united with the government of Syria, imposed a tribute upon Hyrcanus, and left the administration of affairs to Antipater, who was at the court of Hyrcanus, and one of his principal ministers. Alexander made his escape upon the way to Rome, and returned into Judæa, where he afterwards excited new troubles.

**A. M. 3947.**  
**Ant. J. C. 57.** Hyrcanus finding himself too weak to take the field against him, had recourse to the arms of the Romans. Gabinius, governor of Syria, after having overthrown Alexander in a battle, went to Jerusalem, and reinstated Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood.<sup>d</sup> He made great alterations in the civil government; for instead of monarchical, as it had been, he changed it into aristocratical; but those innovations were but of short duration.

**A. M. 3950.**  
**Ant. J. C. 54.** Crassus, upon his march against the Parthians, always intent upon gratifying his insatiable avarice, stopped at Jerusalem, where he had been told great treasures were laid up. He plundered the temple of all the riches in it, which amounted to the sum of 10,000 talents; that is to say, about 1,500,000*l.* sterling.

**A. M. 3957.**  
**Ant. J. C. 47.** Cæsar,<sup>e</sup> after his expedition into Egypt, being arrived in Syria, Antigonus, who had made his escape from Rome with his father Aristobulus, came to throw himself at his feet, begged him to re-establish him upon the throne of his father, who was lately dead, and made great complaints against Antipater and Hyrcanus. Cæsar had too great obligations to both, to do any thing contrary to their interests; for, as we shall see in the sequel, without the aid he had received from them, his expedition into Egypt would have miscarried. He decreed that Hyrcanus should retain the dignity of high-priest of Jerusalem, and the sovereignty of Judæa, to himself and his posterity after him for ever, and gave Antipater the office of procurator of Judæa under Hyrcanus. By this decree, the aristocracy of Gabinius was abolished, and the government of Judæa re-established upon the ancient footing.

<sup>d</sup> Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 10. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 6.

<sup>e</sup> Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 15. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 8.

Antipater<sup>f</sup> caused the government of Jerusalem to be given to Phasaël his eldest son, and that of Galilee to Herod his second son.

Cæsar, at Hyrcanus's request,<sup>g</sup> and in consideration of the services he had rendered him in Egypt and Syria, permitted him to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, which Pompey had caused to be demolished. Antipater, without losing time, began the work, and the city was soon fortified as it had been before the demolition. Cæsar was killed this same year.

During the civil wars, Judæa as well as all the other provinces of the Roman empire, was agitated by violent troubles.

Pacorus,<sup>h</sup> son of Orodes, king of Parthia, had entered Syria, with a powerful army. From thence he sent a detachment into Judæa, with orders to place Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, upon the throne, who on his side had also raised troops. Hyrcanus, and Phasaël, Herod's brother, upon the proposal of an accommodation, had the imprudence to go to the enemy, who seized them and put them in irons. Herod escaped from Jerusalem the moment before the Parthians entered it to seize him also.

Having missed Herod, they plundered the city and country, placed Antigonus upon the throne, and delivered Hyrcanus and Phasaël in chains into his hands. Phasaël, who well knew that his death was resolved, dashed out his brains against the wall of his prison, to avoid the hands of the executioner. As for Hyrcanus, his life was granted him; but, to render him incapable of the priesthood, Antigonus caused his ears to be cut off; for according to the Levitical law,<sup>i</sup> it was requisite that the high-priest should be perfect in all his members. After having thus mutilated him, he gave him back to the Parthians, that they might carry him into the East, from whence it would not be possible for him to embroil affairs in Judea.<sup>k</sup> He continued a prisoner at Seleucia in Babylonia, till the accession of Phraates to the crown, who caused his chains to be taken off, and gave him entire liberty to see and converse with the Jews of that country, who were very numerous. They looked upon him as their king and high-priest, and raised him a revenue sufficient to support his rank with splendour. The love of his native country made him forget all those advantages. He returned the year following to Jerusalem, whither Herod had invited him to come; but some years afterwards he caused him to be put to death.

Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 17. de Bell. Jud. i. 8.

<sup>g</sup> Id. Antiq. xiv. 17.

<sup>h</sup> Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 24. 26. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 11.

<sup>i</sup> Levit. xxi. 16—24.

<sup>k</sup> Joseph. Antiq. xv. 2.

Herod had at first taken refuge in Egypt, from whence he went to Rome. Antony was then in the high degree of power which the triumvirate had given him. He took Herod under his protection, and even did more in his favour than he expected. For instead of what he proposed, which was at most to obtain the crown for Aristobulus,<sup>1</sup> to whose sister Mariamne he had for some time been betrothed, with the view only of governing under him, as Antipater had done under Hyrcanus; Antony caused the crown to be conferred upon him, contrary to the usual maxim of the Romans in like cases. For it was not their custom to violate the rights of the royal houses, which acknowledged them for protectors, and to give the crown to strangers. Herod was declared king of Judea by the senate, and conducted by the consuls to the capitol, where he received the investiture of the crown, with the ceremonies usual upon such occasions.

Herod passed only seven days at Rome in negotiating this great affair, and returned speedily into Judea. He had employed no more time than three months in his journeys by sea and land.

## SECT. VI.

Reign of Antigonus, of only two years' duration.

A. M. 3965. It was not so easy for Herod to establish him-  
Ant. J. C. 39. self in the possession of the kingdom of Judea,  
as it had been to obtain his title from the Romans.

Antigonus was not at all inclined to resign a throne which had cost him so much pains and money to acquire. He disputed it with him very vigorously for almost two years.

A. M. 3966. Herod,<sup>m</sup> who during the winter had made great  
Ant. J. C. 38. preparations for the following campaign, opened it  
at length with the siege of Jerusalem, which he  
invested at the head of a fine and numerous army. Antony  
had given orders to Sosius, governor of Syria, to use his utmost  
endeavours to reduce Antigonus, and to put Herod into full  
possession of the kingdom of Judæa. Whilst the works neces-  
sary for the siege were carrying on, Herod made a tour to Sa-  
maria, and at length consummated his marriage with Mariamne.  
They had been contracted for years to each other: but the un-  
foreseen troubles which had befallen him, had prevented their  
consummating the marriage till then. She was the daughter of

<sup>1</sup> Aristobulus was the son of Alexandra, Hyrcanus's daughter; and his father was Alexander, son of Aristobulus, brother of Hyrcanus; so that the right of both brothers to the crown was united in his person.

<sup>m</sup> Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 27. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 13.



Alexander the son of king Aristobulus, and Alexandra the daughter of Hyrcanus the second, and thereby grand-daughter to those two brothers. She was a princess of extraordinary beauty and virtue, and possessed in an eminent degree all the other qualities that adorn the sex. The attachment of the Jews to the Asmonæan family, made Herod imagine, that, by espousing her, he should find no difficulty in gaining their affection, which was one of his reasons for consummating his marriage at that time.

On his return to Jerusalem, Sosius and he, having joined their forces, pressed the siege in concert with the utmost vigour, and with a very numerous army, which amounted to at least 60,000 men. The place, however, held out against them many months with exceeding resolution; and if the besieged had been as expert in the art of war and the defence of places, as they were brave and resolute, it would not perhaps have been taken. But the Romans, who were much better skilled in those things than they, carried the place at length, after a siege of something more than six months.

The Jews being driven from their posts, the enemy entered on all sides, and made themselves masters of the city. And to revenge the obstinate resistance they had made, and the fatigue they had suffered during so long and difficult a siege, they filled all quarters of Jerusalem with blood and slaughter, plundered and destroyed all before them, though Herod did his utmost to prevent both the one and the other.

Antigonus, seeing all was lost, came and threw himself at the feet of Sosius in the most submissive and most abject manner. He was put in chains, and sent to Antony as soon as he arrived at Antioch. He designed at first to have reserved him for his triumph: but Herod, who did not think himself safe as long as that remnant of the royal family survived, would not let him rest till he had obtained the death of that unfortunate prince, for which he even gave a large sum of money.<sup>n</sup> He was proceeded against in form, condemned to die, and had the sentence executed upon him in the same manner as common criminals, with the rods and axes of the lictor, and was fastened to a stake; a treatment with which the Romans had never used any crowned head before.

Thus ended the reign of the Asmonæans, after a duration of 129 years, reckoning from the beginning of the government of Judas Maccabæus. Herod entered by this means upon the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Judæa.

This singular, extraordinary, and, till then, unexampled event, by which the sovereign authority over the Jews was given to

<sup>n</sup> Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 27. Plut. in Anton. p. 932. Dion. Cass. l. xlix. p. 406.

a stranger, an Idumæan, ought to have opened their eyes, and rendered them attentive to a celebrated prophecy, which had foretold it in clear terms ; and had given it as the certain mark of another event, in which the whole nation was interested, which was the perpetual object of their vows and hopes, and distinguished them by a peculiar characteristic from all the other nations of the world, that had an equal interest in it, but without knowing or being apprized of it. This was the prophecy of Jacob, who at his death foretold to his twelve sons, assembled round his bed, what would happen in the series of time to the twelve tribes, of which they were the chiefs, and after whom they were called. Amongst the other predictions of that patriarch concerning the tribe of Judah, there is this of which we now speak ; *The sceptre shall not depart from Judah,<sup>o</sup> nor a law-giver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him shall the gathering of the people be.* The sceptre, or rod, (for the Hebrew signifies both,) implies here the authority and superiority over the other tribes.

All the ancient Jews have explained this prediction to denote the Messiah : the fact is therefore incontestable, and is reduced to two essential points. The first is, that as long as the tribe of Judah shall subsist, it shall have pre-eminence and authority over the other tribes : the second, that it shall subsist, and form a body of a republic, governed by its laws and magistrates, till the Messiah comes.

The first point is verified in the series of the history of the Israelites, wherein that pre-eminence of the tribe of Judah appears evidently. This is not the proper place for proofs of this kind ; those who would be more fully informed, may consult the explanation of Genesis lately published.<sup>p</sup>

For the second point, we have only to consider it with the least attention. When Herod, the Idumæan, and in consequence a stranger, was placed upon the throne, the authority and superiority which the tribe of Judah had over the other tribes, began to be taken from it. This was an indication that the time of the Messiah's coming was not far off. The tribe of Judah had no longer the supremacy ; it no longer subsists as a body, from which the magistrates are taken. It is manifest, therefore, that the Messiah is come. But at what time did that tribe become like the rest, and was confounded with them ? In the time of Titus and Adrian, who finally exterminated the remnant of Judah. It was therefore before those times that the Messiah came.

How wonderful does God appear, in the accomplishment of his prophecies ! Would it be making a right use of history, not to dwell a few moments upon facts like this, when we meet

<sup>o</sup> Gen. xlix. 10.

<sup>p</sup> By F. Babuty, Rue St. Jacques.

them in the course of our subject? Herod, reduced to quit Jerusalem, takes refuge at Rome. He has no thoughts of demanding the sovereignty for himself, but for another. It was the grossest injustice to give it to a stranger, whilst there were princes of the royal family in being. It was contrary to the laws, and even contrary to the usual practice, of the Romans. But it had been decreed from all eternity, that Herod should be king of the Jews. Heaven and earth should sooner pass away than that decree of God not be fulfilled. Antony was at Rome, and in possession of sovereign power, when Herod arrived there. How many events were necessary to the conducting of things to this point! But is there any thing too hard for the Almighty?

## ARTICLE II.

Abridgment of the history of the Parthians, from the establishment of that empire to the defeat of Crassus, which is related at large.

The Parthian empire was one of the most powerful and most considerable that ever was in the East. Very weak in its beginnings, as is common, it extended itself by little and little over all Upper Asia, and made even the Romans tremble. Its duration is generally allowed to be 474 years; of which 254 years were before Jesus Christ, and 220 after him. Arsaces was the founder of that empire, from whom all his successors were called Arsacidæ. Artaxerxes, by birth a Persian, having overcome and slain Artabanus, the last of those kings, transferred the empire of the Parthians to the Persians, in the fifth year of the emperor Alexander, the son of Mammæa. I shall only speak here of the affairs of the Parthians before Jesus Christ, and shall treat them very briefly, except the defeat of Crassus, which I shall relate in all its extent.

I have observed elsewhere what gave Arsaces  
 A. M. 3754. I.<sup>a</sup> occasion to make Parthia revolt, and to ex-  
 Ant. J. C. 250. pel the Macedonians, who had been in possession of it from the death of Alexander the Great; and in what manner he had caused himself to be elected king of the Parthians. Theodotus at the same time made Bactriana revolt, and took that province from Antiochus, surnamed Theos.

Some time after, Seleucus Callinicus,<sup>r</sup> who  
 A. M. 3768. succeeded Antiochus, endeavoured in vain to  
 Ant. J. C. 236. subdue the Parthians. He fell into their hands himself, and was made prisoner: this happened in the reign of Tiridates, called otherwise Arsaces II. brother of the first.

Antiochus, surnamed the Great, was more  
 A. M. 3792. successful than his predecessor.<sup>s</sup> He marched  
 Ant. J. C. 212. into the East, and repossessed himself of Media,

<sup>a</sup> See vol. v.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid.

which the Parthians had taken from him. He also entered Parthia, and obliged the king to retire into Hyrcania, from whence he returned soon after with an army of 100,000 foot and 20,000 horse.<sup>t</sup> As the war was of a tedious duration, Antiochus made a treaty with Arsaces, by which he left him Parthia and Hyrcania, upon condition that he should assist him in reconquering the other revolted provinces. Antiochus marched afterwards against Euthydemus king of Bactria, with whom he was also obliged to come to an accommodation.

**PRIAPATIUS**, the son of Arsaces II. succeeded his father; and after having reigned fifteen years, left the crown at his death to **PHRAATES I.** his eldest son.

**Phraates** left it to **MITHRIDATES**, whom he preferred before his own issue, upon account of his extraordinary merit. In fact, he was one of the greatest kings the Parthians ever had. He carried his arms farther than Alexander the Great. It was he who made **Demetrius Nicator** prisoner.

**PHRAATES II.** succeeded Mithridates his father. Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, marched against him at the head of a powerful army, under pretence of delivering his brother Demetrius, who had been long kept in captivity. After having defeated Phraates in three battles, he was himself overthrown and killed in the last, and his army entirely cut to pieces. Phraates in his turn, at the time he had formed the design of invading Syria, was attacked by the Scythians, and lost his life in a battle.

**ARTABANUS** his uncle reigned in his stead, and died soon after.

His successor was **MITHRIDATES II.** of whom Justin says,<sup>a</sup> that his great actions acquired him the surname of Great.

He declared war against the Armenians, and by a treaty of peace which he made with them, he obliged their king to send him his son Tigranes as a hostage.

The latter was afterwards set upon the throne of Armenia by the Parthians themselves, and joined with Mithridates, king of Pontus, in the war against the Romans.

**Antiochus Eusebes** took refuge with Mithridates, who re-established him in the possession of part of the kingdom of Syria two years after.

<sup>t</sup> The Abbé Longuerue, in his Latin Dissertation upon the Arsacidæ, ascribes what is here said to Artabanus, whom he places between Arsaces II. and Priapatus. Justin says nothing of him. <sup>a</sup> Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3.

**A. M. 3914.**  
**Ant. J. C. 90.** It was the same Mithridates, as we shall see hereafter, who sent Orobazus to Sylla, to demand the amity and alliance of the Romans, and who caused him to be put to death on his return, for having given precedence to Sylla.

**A. M. 3915.**  
**Ant. J. C. 89.** Demetrius Eucherus,<sup>b</sup> who reigned at Damascus, besieging Philip his brother in the city of Beræa, was defeated and taken by the Parthian troops sent to the aid of Philip, and carried prisoner to Mithridates, who treated him with all possible honours. He died there of a disease.

**A. M. 3915.**  
**Ant. J. C. 89.** Mithridates II. died,<sup>c</sup> after having reigned forty years, generally regretted by his subjects. The domestic troubles with which his death was followed, considerably weakened the Parthian empire, and made his loss still more sensibly felt. Tigranes re-entered upon all the provinces which he had given up to the Parthians, and took several others from them. He passed the Euphrates, and made himself master of Syria and Phœnicia.

During these troubles, the Parthians elected MNASKIRES, and after him, SINATROCCES, kings, of whom scarcely any thing more is known than their names.

**A. M. 3935.**  
**Ant. J. C. 69.** PHRAATES, the son of the latter, was he who caused himself to be surnamed the God.

He sent ambassadors to Lucullus, after the great victory which the Romans had obtained over Tigranes. He held at the same time secret intelligence with the latter. It was at that time Mithridates wrote to him the letter which Sallust has preserved.

**A. M. 3938.**  
**Ant. J. C. 66.** Pompey having been appointed in the place of Lucullus, to terminate the war against Mithridates, engaged Phraates in the party of the Romans.

The latter joins Tigranes the younger against his father, and breaks with Pompey.

**A. M. 3948.**  
**Ant. J. C. 66.** After Pompey's return to Rome, Phraates is killed by his own children. MITHRIDATES his eldest son takes his place.

Tigranes king of Armenia dies almost at the same time. Artavasdes his son succeeds him.

Mithridates,<sup>d</sup> expelled his kingdom either by his own subjects, to whom he had rendered himself odious, or by the ambition of his brother Orodes, applies to Gabinius, who commanded in Syria, to re-establish him upon the throne; but

<sup>b</sup> Joseph Antiq. xiii. 22.

<sup>c</sup> Strab. l. xi. p. 532. Plut. in Lucul. p. 500, &c.

<sup>d</sup> Justin. l. xlii. c. 4.

A. M. 3949. without effect. He takes up arms in his own defence. Besieged in Babylon, and warmly pressed, he surrenders to Orodes, who, considering him only as an enemy, and not as a brother, causes him to be put to death ; by which means Orodes becomes peaceable possessor of the throne.

But he found enough to employ him abroad,<sup>c</sup> that he had no reason to expect. Crassus had lately been created consul at Rome, for the second time, with Pompey. On the partition of the provinces, Syria fell to Crassus, who was exceedingly rejoiced upon that account : because it favoured the design he had formed of carrying the war into Parthia. When he was in company, even with people whom he scarce knew, he could not moderate his transports. Amongst his friends, with whom he was under less restraint, he even burst out into rhodomontades unworthy of his age and character, and seemed to be no longer the same man. He did not confine his views to the government of Syria, nor to the conquest of some neighbouring provinces, nor even to that of Parthia. He flattered himself with doing such things as should make the great exploits of Lucullus against Tigranes, and those of Pompey against Mithridates, appear like child's play in comparison with his. He had already overrun, in imagination, Bactriana and the Indies, and penetrated as far as the remotest seas, and the extremities of the East. However, in the instructions and powers which were given him, war against Parthia was in no manner included ; but all the world knew his design against it was his darling passion. Such a beginning forebodes no success.

His departure had besides something more inauspicious in it. One of the tribunes, named Ateius, threatened to oppose his going ; and was joined by many people, who could not suffer him to set out, merely through wantonness, to make war against people who had done the Romans no injury, and were their friends and allies. That tribune, in consequence, having in vain opposed the departure of Crassus, made haste to the gate of the city through which he was to pass, and set a chafing-dish full of fire before him ; and as soon as Crassus came to the place, he threw perfumes, and poured libations into the pan, uttering over them the most terrible imprecations, which could not be heard without making all present shudder with horror, and of which the misfortunes of Crassus have been regarded by many writers as the accomplishment.

Nothing could stop him. Superior to all opposition, he continued his march, arrived at Brundisium ; and, though the sea was very tempestuous, embarked, and lost many of his ships in

<sup>c</sup> Plut. in Crass. p. 552. 554.

his passage. When he arrived at Galatia, he had an interview with king Dejotarus, who, though far advanced in years, was at that time employed in building a new city. Upon which Crassus rallied him to this effect: *King of the Galatians, you begin full late to build a city at the twelfth hour of the day.*"—And you, my lord, replied Dejotarus, *are not over early in setting out to make war against the Parthians.* For Crassus was at that time upwards of sixty years old, and his countenance made him look still older than he was.

He had been informed that there were considerable treasures in the temple of Jerusalem, \* which Pompey had not ventured to touch. He believed it well worth his while to go a little out of his way to make himself master of them. He therefore marched thither with his army. Besides the other riches, which amounted to very considerable sums, in the temple there was a beam of gold, enclosed and concealed in another of wood, made hollow for that purpose: this was known only to Eleazar, the priest, who kept the treasures of the sanctuary. This beam of gold weighed 300 minæ, each of which weighed two pounds and a half. Eleazar, who was apprised of the motive of Crassus's march to Jerusalem, in order to save the other riches, which were almost all of them deposited in the temple by private persons, discovered the golden beam to Crassus, and suffered him to take it away, after having made him take an oath not to meddle with the rest. Was he so ignorant as to imagine any thing sacred in the eyes of avarice? Crassus took the beam of gold; and notwithstanding, plundered the rest of the treasures, which amounted to about 1,500,000*l*. He then continued his route.

Every thing succeeded at first as happily as he could have expected. He built a bridge over the Euphrates, without any opposition, passed it with his army, and entered the Parthian territories. He invaded them without any other real motive for the war, than the insatiable desire of enriching himself by the plunder of a country which was supposed to be extremely opulent. The Romans, under Sylla, and afterwards under Pompey, had made peace and several treaties with them. There had been no complaint of any infraction of these treaties, nor of any other enterprise that could give a just pretext for a war. So that the Parthians expected nothing less than such an invasion; and not being upon their guard, had made no preparations for their defence. Crassus, in consequence, was master of the field, and overran without opposition the greatest part of Mesopotamia. He took also several cities, without resistance; and had he known how to take advantage of the occasion, it had been easy for him to have penetrated as far as Seleucia and Ctesi-

\* The twelfth hour was the end of the day.

\* Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 12.

phon, to have seized them, and made himself master of all Babylonia, as he had done of Mesopotamia. But instead of pursuing his point, in the beginning of autumn, after having left 7000 foot and 1000 horse, to secure the cities which had surrendered to him, he repassed the Euphrates, and put his troops into winter-quarters in the cities of Syria, where his sole employment was to amass money, and to plunder temples.

He was joined there by his son, whom Cæsar sent to him out of Gaul, a young man who had already been honoured with several of the military crowns, which were given by generals to such as distinguished themselves by their valour. He brought with him 1000 chosen horse.

Of all the faults committed by Crassus in this expedition, which were all very considerable, the greatest undoubtedly, after that of having undertaken this war, was his hasty return into Syria. For he ought to have gone on without stopping, and to have seized Babylon and Seleucia, cities always at enmity with the Parthians, instead of giving his enemies time to make preparations by his retreat, which was the cause of his ruin.

Whilst he was re-assembling all his troops from their winter-quarters, ambassadors from the king of Parthia arrived, who opened their commission in few words. They told him, that if that army was sent by the Romans against the Parthians, the war could not be terminated by any treaty of peace, and could only be brought to a conclusion by the final ruin of the one or the other empire. That if, as they had been informed, it was only Crassus, who, contrary to the opinion of his country, and to satiate his private avarice, had taken arms against them, and entered one of their provinces, the king their master was well disposed to act with moderation in the affair, to take pity on the age of Crassus, and to suffer the Romans in his dominions, who were rather shut up, than keeping possession of cities, to depart with their lives and rings safe. They spoke, no doubt, of the garrisons which Crassus had left in the conquered places. Crassus answered this discourse only with a rhodomontade. He told them, *They should have his answer in the city of Seleucia.* Upon which the most ancient of the ambassadors, Vahises, made answer, laughing, and showing him the palm of his hand: *Crassus, you will sooner see hair grow in the palm of my hand, than you will see Seleucia.* The ambassadors retired, and went to give their king notice that he must prepare for war.

As soon as the season would permit, Crassus took the field.<sup>a</sup> The Parthians had time during the winter to assemble a very great army to

A. M. 3951.  
Ant. J. C. 53.

<sup>a</sup> Plut. in Crass. p. 554.



make head against him. Orodes their king divided his troops, and marched in person with one part of them to the frontiers of Armenia : he sent the other into Mesopotamia, under the command of Surena. That general, upon his arrival there, retook several of the places of which Crassus had made himself master the year before.

About the same time some Roman soldiers, who with exceeding difficulty had escaped out of the cities of Mesopotamia, where they had been in garrison, of which the Parthians had already retaken some, and were besieging the rest, came to Crassus, and related things to him highly capable of disquieting and alarming him. They told him, that they had seen with their own eyes the incredible numbers of the enemy, and they had also been witnesses of their terrible valour in the bloody attacks of the cities they besieged. They added, that they were troops not to be escaped when they pursued, nor overtaken when they fled ; that their arrows, of an astonishing weight, and at the same time of an astonishing rapidity, were always attended with mortal wounds, against which it was impossible to guard.

This discourse infinitely abated the courage and boldness of the Roman soldiers ; who had imagined, that the Parthians differed in nothing from the Armenians and Cappadocians, whom Lucullus had so easily overthrown ; and flattered themselves, that the whole difficulty of the war would consist in the length of the way, and the pursuit of the enemy, who would never dare to come to blows with them. They now saw, contrary to their expectation, that they were to undergo great battles and great dangers. This discouragement rose so high, that many of the principal officers were of opinion that it was necessary for Crassus, before he advanced farther, to assemble a council, in order to deliberate again upon the whole enterprise. But Crassus listened to no other advice than that of those who pressed him to begin his march, and to make all possible expedition.

What encouraged him the most, and confirmed him in that resolution, was the arrival of Artabasu king of Armenia. He brought with him a body of 6000 horse, which were part of his guards ; adding that, besides these, he had 10,000 cuirassiers, and 30,000 foot, at his service. But he advised him to take great care not to march his army into the plains of Mesopotamia, and told him, that he must enter the enemy's country by the way of Armenia ; the reasons with which he enforced this advice, were, that Armenia, being a mountainous country, the Parthian cavalry, in which the greatest strength of their army consisted, would be rendered entirely useless to them : that if they took this route he should be in a condition to supply the

army with all necessaries ; instead of which, if they marched by the way of Mesopotamia, convoys would fail, and he would have a powerful army in his front on all the marches it would be necessary for him to take, before he could penetrate to the centre of the enemy's dominions ; that in those plains, the horse would have all possible advantages against him ; and, lastly, that he must cross several sandy deserts, where the troops might be in great distress for want of water and provisions. The advice was excellent, and the reason unanswerable ; but Crassus, blinded by Providence, who intended to punish the sacrilege he had committed in plundering the temple of Jerusalem, despised all that was said to him. He only desired Artabasus, who was returning into his dominions, to bring him his troops as soon as possible.

I have said, that Providence blinded Crassus, which is self-evident in a great measure. But a Pagan writer makes the same remark : this is Dion Cassius, a very judicious historian, and at the same time a military man. He says, that the Romans, under Crassus, *had no salutary view, and were either ignorant upon all occasions of what was necessary to be done, or in no condition to execute it ; so that one would have thought, that, condemned and persecuted by some divinity, they could neither make use of their bodies nor minds.* That Divinity was unknown to Dion. It was He whom the Jewish nation adored, and who avenged the injury done to his temple.

Crassus made haste, therefore, to set forward. He had seven legions of foot, near 4000 horse, and as many light-armed soldiers and archers, which amounted in all to more than 40,000 men ; that is to say, one of the finest armies the Romans ever set on foot. When his troops were passing the bridge he had laid over the river Euphrates, near the city of Zeugma, a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning drove in the face of the soldiers, as if to prevent them from going on. At the same time a black cloud, out of which burst an impetuous whirlwind, attended with thunder-claps and lightning, fell upon the bridge and broke down a part of it. The troops were seized with fear and sadness. He endeavoured to reanimate them as well as he was able, promising them with an oath, that they should march back by the way of Armenia ; and concluded his discourse with assuring them, that not one of them should return that way. Those last words, which were ambiguous, and had escaped him very imprudently, threw the whole army into the greatest trouble and dismay. Crassus well knew the bad effect they had produced : but out of a spirit of obstinacy and haughtiness, he neglected to remedy it, by explaining the sense of those words, to reassure the timorous.

He made his troops advance along the Euphrates. His

scouts, whom he had sent out for intelligence, shortly returned, and reported, that there was not a single man to be seen in the country, but that they had found the marks of horses which seemed to have fled suddenly, as if they had been pursued.

Upon this advice, Crassus confirmed himself in his hopes ; and his soldiers began to despise the Parthians, as men that would never have courage to stand a charge, and come to an engagement with them. Cassius advised him at least to approach some town, where they had a garrison, in order to rest the army a little, and have time to learn the true number of the enemies, their force, and what designs they had in view ; or, if Crassus did not approve that counsel, to march along the Euphrates towards Seleucia ; because, by always keeping upon the banks of that river, he would put it out of the power of the Parthian cavalry to surround him ; and that with the fleet which might follow him, provisions might be always brought from Syria, and all other things of which the army might stand in need. This Cassius was Crassus's quæstor, and the same who afterwards killed Cæsar.

Crassus, after having considered this advice, was upon the point of complying with it, when a chief of the Arabians, named Ariamnes, came in unexpectedly, and had the address to make him approve a quite different plan. That Arab had formerly served under Pompey, and was known by many of the Roman soldiers, who looked upon him as a friend. Surena found him, from this circumstance, admirably qualified to play the part he gave him. Accordingly, when he was conducted to Crassus, he informed him, that the Parthians would not look the Roman army in the face ; that its name alone had already spread a universal terror among their troops ; and that there wanted no more for the obtaining a complete victory, than to march directly up to them, and give them battle. He offered to be their guide himself, and to carry them the shortest way. Crassus, blinded by his flattery, and deceived by a man who knew how to give a specious turn to what he proposed, fell into the snare, notwithstanding the pressing entreaties of Cassius, and some others, who suspected that impostor's design.

Crassus would hearken to nobody. The traitor Ariamnes, after having persuaded him to draw off from the banks of the Euphrates, conducted him across the plain by a way at first level and easy, but which at length became difficult, from the deep sands in which the army found itself engaged, in the midst of a vast country all bare and parched, where the eye could discover neither end nor boundary where the troops might hope to find rest and refreshment. If thirst, and the fatigue of the way, discouraged the Romans, the prospect of the country alone threw them into a despair still more terrible : for they

could perceive neither near them, nor at a distance, the least tree, plant, or brook ; not so much as a hill, nor a single blade of grass ; nothing was to be seen all round but heaps of burning sand.

This gave just reason to suspect some treachery, of which the arrival of couriers from Artabasis ought to have fully convinced them. That prince informed Crassus, that king Orodes had invaded his dominions with a great army ; that the war he had to maintain, prevented him from sending the aid he had promised ; but that he advised him to approach Armenia, in order that they might unite their forces against the common enemy : that, if he would not follow that advice, he cautioned him at least to avoid, in his marches and encampments, the open plains, and such places as were commodious for the horse, and to keep always close to the mountains. Crassus, instead of giving ear to these wise counsels, inveighed against those that gave them ; and without vouchsafing to write an answer to Artabasis, he only told his couriers, *I have not time at present to consider the affairs of Armenia ; I shall go thither soon, and shall then punish Artabasis for his treachery.*

Crassus was so infatuated with his Arab, and so blinded by his artful suggestions, that he had continued to follow him without the least distrust, notwithstanding all the advice that was given him, till he had brought him into the sandy desert we have mentioned. The traitor then made his escape, and went to give Surena an account of what he had done.

After a march of some days in a desert and enemy's country, where it was difficult to have any intelligence, the scouts came in full speed to inform Crassus, that a very numerous army of the Parthians was advancing with great order and boldness to attack him immediately. That news threw the whole camp into great trouble and consternation. Crassus was more affected with it than the rest. He made all possible haste to draw up his army in battle. At first, following the advice of Cassius, he extended his infantry as far as he could, that it might take up the more ground, and make it difficult for the enemy to surround him ; and he posted all his cavalry upon the wings. But afterwards he changed his opinion, and drawing up his foot in close order, he made them form a large hollow square, facing on all sides, of which each flank had twelve cohorts in front.<sup>b</sup> Every cohort had a company of horse near it, in order that, each part being equally sustained by the cavalry, the whole body might charge with greater security and boldness. He gave one of the wings to Cassius, the other to his son the younger Crassus, and posted himself in the centre.

<sup>b</sup> The Roman cohort was a body of infantry consisting of 5 or 600 men, and differed very little from what is now called a battalion.

They advanced in this order to the banks of a brook which had not much water, but was however highly grateful to the soldiers, from the exceeding drouth and excessive heat.

Most of the officers were of opinion, that it was proper to encamp in this place, to give the troops time to recover from the extraordinary fatigues they had undergone in a long and painful march, and to rest there during the night; that in the mean time, all possible endeavours should be used to get intelligence of the enemy, and that when their number and disposition were known, they should attack them the next day. But Crassus, suffering himself to be carried away by the ardour of his son, and of the cavalry under his command, who pressed him to lead them against the enemy, gave orders that all who had occasion, should take their refreshment under arms in their ranks; and scarce allowing them time for that purpose, he commanded them to march, and led them on, not slowly and halting sometimes, but with rapidity, and as fast as they could move, till they came in view of the enemy. Contrary to their expectation, they did not appear either so numerous or so terrible, as they had been represented, which was a stratagem of Surena's. He had concealed the greatest part of his battalions behind the advanced troops, and to prevent their being perceived by the brightness of their arms, he had given them orders to cover themselves with their vests or with skins.

When they approached and were ready to charge, the Parthian general had no sooner given the signal of battle than the whole field resounded with dreadful cries, and the most horrid noise. For the Parthians did not excite their troops to battle with horns or trumpets, but made use of a great number of hollow instruments, covered with leather, and having bells of brass round them, which they struck violently against each other; and the noise made by these instruments was harsh and terrible, and seemed like the roaring of wild beasts, joined with claps of thunder. Those Barbarians had well observed, that of all the senses none disorders the soul more than the hearing: that it strikes upon, and affects it the most immediately, and is the most sudden in making it in a manner confused and distracted.

The trouble and dismay into which this noise had thrown the Romans, were quite different, when the Parthians, throwing off on a sudden the covering of their arms, appeared all on fire, from the exceeding brightness of their helmets and cuirasses, which were of burnished steel, and glittered like sun-beams, and to which the furniture and armour of their horses added not a little. At their head appeared Surena, handsome, well made, of an advantageous stature, and of a much greater reputation for valour than the effeminacy of his mien seemed to pro-

mise. For he was painted after the fashion of the Medes, and, like them, wore his hair curled and dressed with art; whereas the other Parthians still persevered in wearing theirs after the manner of the Scythians, much neglected, and such as nature gave them, in order to appear more terrible.

At first the Barbarians were for charging the Romans with their pikes, and endeavoured to penetrate and break the front ranks: but having observed the depth of the hollow square so well closed and even, in which the troops stood firm, and supported each other successfully, they fell back and retired in a seeming confusion, as if their order of battle were broken. But the Romans were much astonished to see on a sudden their whole army surrounded on all sides. Crassus immediately gave orders for his archers and light-armed foot to charge them; but they could not execute those orders long; for they were compelled by a shower of arrows to retire, and cover themselves behind their heavy-armed foot.

Their disorder and dismay now began, when they experienced the rapidity and force of those arrows, against which no armour was proof, and which penetrated alike whatever they hit. The Parthians dividing, applied themselves on all sides to shooting at a distance, without its being possible for them to miss, even though they had endeavoured it, so close were the Romans embattled. They did dreadful execution, and made deep wounds, because as they drew their bows to the utmost, the strings discharged their arrows, which were of an extraordinary weight, with an impetuosity and force that nothing could resist.

The Romans, attacked in this manner on all sides by the enemy, knew not in what manner to act. If they continued firm in their ranks, they were wounded mortally, and if they quitted them to charge the enemy, they could do them no hurt, and suffered no less than before. The Parthians fled before them, and kept a continual discharge as they retired; for of all nations in the world they were the most expert in that exercise after the Scythians: an operation in reality very wisely conceived; since by flying they saved their lives, and by fighting avoided the infamy of flight.

As long as the Romans had hopes that the Barbarians, after having exhausted all their arrows, would either give over the fight, or come to blows with them hand to hand, they supported their distress with valour and resolution; but when they perceived that in the rear of the enemy there were camels laden with arrows, whither those who had exhausted their quivers wheeled about to replenish them, Crassus, losing almost all courage, sent orders to his son to endeavour, whatever it cost him, to join the enemy, before he was entirely surrounded by

them ; for they were principally intent against him, and were wheeling about to take him in the rear.

Young Crassus, therefore, at the head of 1300 horse, 500 archers, and eight cohorts armed with round bucklers,<sup>i</sup> wheeled about against those who endeavoured to surround him. The latter, whether they were afraid to stand the charge of a body of troops that came on with so good an aspect, or whether they designed to draw off young Crassus as far as they could from his father, immediately faced about and fled. Young Crassus upon that, crying out as loud as he could, *They don't stand us*, pushed on full speed after them. The foot, animated by the example of the horse, piqued themselves upon not staying behind, and followed them at their heels, carried on by their eagerness, and the joy which the hopes of victory gave them. They firmly believed they had conquered, and had nothing to do but to pursue, till being at a great distance from their main body, they discovered the stratagem ; for those who had seemed to fly, faced about, and being joined by many other troops came on to charge the Romans.

Young Crassus thereupon made his troops halt, in hopes that the enemy, upon seeing their small number, would not fail to attack them, and come to close fight. But those Barbarians contented themselves with opposing him in front with their heavy-armed horse, and sent out detachments of their light horse, that wheeled about, and surrounding them on all sides without joining them, poured in a perpetual flight of arrows upon them. At the same time, by stirring up the heaps of sand, they raised so thick a dust, that the Romans could neither see nor speak to one another ; and being pent up in a narrow space, and keeping close order, they were a mark for every arrow shot at them, and died by a slow but cruel death. For finding their entrails pierced, and not being able to support the pain they suffered, they rolled themselves upon the sands with the arrows in their bodies, and expired in that manner in exquisite torments ; or endeavouring to tear out by force the bearded points of the arrows, which had penetrated through their veins and nerves, they only made their wounds the larger, and increased the pain.

Most of them died in this manner ; and those who were still alive were no longer in any condition to act. For when young Crassus exhorted them to charge the heavy-armed horse, they showed him their hands nailed to their bucklers, and their feet pierced through and through, and riveted to the ground ; so that it was equally impossible for them either to defend themselves or fly. Putting himself therefore at the head of his horse, he made a vigorous charge upon that heavy-armed body

<sup>i</sup> These formed 4 or 5000 men.

covered with iron, and threw himself boldly amongst the squadrons, but with great disadvantage, as well in attacking as defending. For his troops with weak and short javelins struck against armour either of excellent steel, or very hard leather; whereas the Barbarians charged the Gauls, who were either naked or lightly armed, with good and strong spears. These Gauls were troops in whom young Crassus placed the greatest confidence, and with whom he did most wonderful exploits. For those troops took hold of the spears of the Parthians, and closing with them, seized them by the neck, and threw them off their horses upon the ground, where they lay without power to stir, from the exceeding weight of their arms. Several of the Gauls quitting their horses, crept under those of the enemy, and thrust their swords into their bellies. The horses, wild with the pain, plunged and reared, and throwing off their riders, trampled them under foot as well as the enemy, and fell dead upon both.

But what gave the Gauls most trouble, was the heat and thirst; for they were not accustomed to support them. They also lost the greater part of their horses, which, running precipitately upon that heavy-armed body, killed themselves upon their spears. They were obliged therefore to retire to their infantry, and to carry off young Crassus, who had received several dangerous wounds.

Upon their way they saw, at a small distance, a rising bank of sand, to which they retired. They fastened their horses in the centre, and made an enclosure with their bucklers, by way of intrenchment, in hopes that it would assist them considerably in defending themselves against the Barbarians; but it happened quite otherwise. For in a level spot, the front covered the rear, and gave it some relaxation; whereas upon this hill, the inequality of the ground showing them over each other's heads, and those in the rear most, they were all exposed to the enemy's shot. So that, unable to avoid the arrows which the Barbarians showered continually upon them, they were all equally struck with them, and deplored their unhappy destiny in perishing thus miserably, without being able to make use of their arms, or to give the enemy proofs of their valour.

Young Crassus had two Greeks with him, who had settled in that country, in the city of Carræ. Those two young men, touched with compassion to see him in so bad a condition, pressed him to make off with them, and to retire into the city of Ischnes, which had espoused the party of the Romans, and was at no great distance. But he replied, *that no fear of any death, however cruel, could induce him to abandon so many brave men, who died through love for him.* A noble sentiment in a young nobleman! He ordered them to make off as



fast as they could, and embracing them, dismissed them the service. For himself, not being able to make use of his hand, which was shot through with an arrow, he commanded one of his domestics to thrust his sword through him, and presented his side to him. The principal officers killed themselves, and many of those that remained were slain, fighting with exceeding valour. The Parthians made only about 500 prisoners; and after having cut off young Crassus's head, marched immediately against his father.

The latter, after having ordered his son to charge the Parthians, and received advice that they were put to the rout, and were pursued vigorously, had resumed some courage, and the more, because those who opposed him, seemed to abate considerably of their ardour; for the greatest part of them were gone with the rest against young Crassus. Wherefore, drawing his army together, he retired to a small hill in his rear, in hopes that his son would speedily return from the pursuit.

Of a great number of officers, sent successively by his son to inform him of the danger he was in, the greatest part had fallen into the hands of the Barbarians, who had put them to the sword. Only the last, who had escaped with great difficulty, got to his presence, and declared to him that his son was lost if he did not send him directly a powerful reinforcement. Upon this news, Crassus was struck with such a diversity of afflicting thoughts, and his reason thereby so much disturbed, that he was no longer capable of seeing or hearing any thing. However the desire of saving his son and the army, determined him to go to his aid, and he ordered the troops to march.

At that very instant the Parthians, who were returning from the defeat of young Crassus, arrived with great cries and songs of victory, which from far apprized the wretched father of his misfortune. The Barbarians, carrying the head of young Crassus upon the head of a spear, approached the Romans, and insulting them with the most scornful bravadoes, asked them of what family that young Roman was, and who were his relations; *For, said they, it is impossible that a young man of such extraordinary valour and bravery should be the son of so base and cowardly a father as Crassus.*

This sight exceedingly dispirited the Romans, and instead of exciting the height of anger, and the desire of revenge in them, as might have been expected, froze them with terror and dismay. Crassus, however, showed more constancy and courage on his disgrace than he had done before; and running through the ranks, he cried out, *Romans, this mournful spectacle concerns me alone. The fortune and glory of Rome are still invulnerable and invincible, whilst you continue firm and*

*intrepid. If you have any compassion for a father who has now lost a son whose valour you admired, let it appear in your rage and resentment against the Barbarians. Deprive them of their insolent joy, punish their cruelty, and do not suffer yourselves to be cast down by my misfortune. There is a necessity for experiencing some loss, when we aspire to great achievements. Lucullus did not defeat Tigranes, nor Scipio Antiochus, without its costing them some blood. It is after the greatest defeats that Rome has acquired the greatest victories. It is not by the favour of fortune she has attained to so high a degree of power, but by her patience and fortitude in supporting herself with vigour against adversity.*

Crassus endeavoured by remonstrances of this kind to reanimate his troops ; but when he had given them orders to raise the cry of battle, he perceived the general discouragement of his army even in that cry itself, which was faint, unequal, and timorous ; whereas that of the enemy was bold, full, and strenuous.

The charge being given, the light horse of the Parthians dispersed themselves upon the wings of the Romans, and taking them in flank, overwhelmed them with their arrows, whilst the heavy cavalry attacked them in front, and obliged them to close up in one compact body ; except those who, to avoid the arrows, the wounds of which occasioned a long and painful death, had the courage to throw themselves upon the horse, like men in despair. Though they did not do them much hurt, their audacity was attended with this advantage ; it occasioned their dying immediately, by the large and deep wounds they received. For the Barbarians thrust their lances through their bodies with such force and vigour, that they often pierced two at once.

After having fought in that manner the remainder of the day, when night came on the Barbarians retired ; saying, they would grant Crassus only that night to lament for his son, unless he should find it more expedient to consult his own safety, and prefer going voluntarily to their king Arsaces to being dragged before him. They then encamped in the presence of the Roman army, in the firm expectation that the next day they should meet with little or no difficulty in completing its defeat.

This was a terrible night for the Romans. They had no thoughts either of interring their dead, or of dressing their wounded, of whom the greatest part died in the most horrible torments. Every man was solely intent upon his own particular distress. For they all saw plainly that they could not escape, whether they waited for day in camp, or ventured during the night to throw themselves into that immense plain of which they saw no end. Besides which, in the latter choice, their wound-

ed gave them great trouble. For to carry them off would be very difficult, and extremely retard their flight; and if they were left behind, it was not to be doubted but they would discover the departure of the army by their cries and lamentations.

Though they were perfectly sensible that Crassus alone was the cause of all their misfortunes, they however were unanimous in desiring to see his face, and to hear his voice. But he, lying upon the ground in an obscure corner, with his head covered in his cloak, was to the vulgar, says Plutarch, a great example of the instability of fortune; to wise and considerate persons, a still greater instance of the pernicious effects of temerity and ambition, which had blinded him to such a degree, that he could not bear to be less at Rome than the first and greatest of so many millions of men, and thought himself low and mean, because there were two above him, Cæsar and Pompey.

Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Cassius approached him, and endeavoured to make him rise, and to console and encourage him: but seeing him entirely depressed with the weight of his affliction, and deaf to consolation and remonstrance, they assembled the principal officers, and held a council of war directly; and it being their unanimous opinion, that it was necessary to retire immediately, they decamped without sound of trumpet. This was done at first with great silence. But soon after, the sick and wounded who could not follow, perceiving themselves abandoned, filled the camp with tumult and confusion, cries, shrieks, and horrible lamentations; so that the troops who marched foremost were seized with trouble and terror, imagining the enemy were coming on to attack them. By frequently turning back, and drawing up again in order of battle, or busying themselves in setting the wounded, who followed them, upon the beasts of burden, and in dismounting such as were less sick, they lost considerable time. There were only 300 horse, under the command of Ignatius, who did not stop, and arrived about midnight at the city of Carræ. Ignatius called to the sentinels upon the walls, and when they answered, bade them go to Coponius, who commanded in the place, and tell him that Crassus had fought a great battle with the Parthians; and without saying any more, or letting them know who he was, he pushed on with all possible expedition to the bridge which Crassus had laid over the Euphrates, and saved his troops by that means. But he was very much blamed for having abandoned his general.

However, the message he had sent to Coponius by those guards, was of great service to Crassus. For that governor, wisely conjecturing from the manner in which the unknown

person had given him that intelligence, that it implied some disaster, gave orders immediately for the garrison to stand to their arms. And when he was informed of the way Crassus had taken, he marched out to meet him, and conducted him and his army into the city. The Parthians, though well informed of his flight, would not pursue him in the dark. But early the next morning, they entered the camp, and put all the wounded who had been left there, to the number of 4000, to the sword; and their cavalry being dispersed over the plain after those who fled, took great numbers of them, whom they found straggling on all sides.

One of Crassus's lieutenants, named Vargunteius, having separated in the night from the main body of the army with four cohorts, missed his way, and was found the next morning upon a small eminence by the Barbarians, who attacked him. He defended himself with great valour, but was at length overpowered by multitudes, and all his soldiers killed, except twenty, who with sword in hand fell on the enemy in despair, in order to open themselves a passage through them. The Barbarians were so much astonished at their bravery, that out of admiration of it they opened and gave them a passage. They arrived safe at Carræ.

At the same time Surena received false advice, that Crassus had escaped with his best forces, and that those who had retired to Carræ were only a body of troops collected from all quarters, that were not worth the trouble of pursuing. Surena, believing the reward of his victory lost, but still uncertain whether it was or was not, desired to be better informed, in order that he might resolve, either to besiege Carræ, if Crassus was there, or to pursue him if he had quitted it. He therefore despatched one of his interpreters, who spoke both languages perfectly well, with orders to approach the walls of Carræ, and in the Roman language to desire to speak with Crassus himself, or Cassius, and to say that Surena demanded a conference with them.

The interpreter having executed his orders, Crassus accepted the proposal with joy. Soon after some Arabian soldiers came from the Barbarians, who knew Crassus and Cassius by sight, from having seen them in the camp before the battle. Those soldiers approached the place, and seeing Cassius upon the walls, they told him, that Surena was inclined to treat with them, and permit them to retire, upon condition that they would continue in amity with the king his master, and abandon Mesopotamia to him: that this proposal was more advantageous for both parties, than to proceed to the last extremities.

Cassius acceded to this offer, and demanded that the time and place for an interview between Surena and Crassus should

immediately be fixed. The Arabians assured him that they would go and do their utmost to that effect, and withdrew.

Surena, overjoyed with keeping his prey in a place from whence it could not escape, marched thither the next day with his Parthians, who talked at first with extreme haughtiness, and declared that if the Romans expected any favourable terms from them, they must previously deliver up Crassus and Cassius bound hand and foot into their hands. The Romans, enraged at such flagrant deceit, told Crassus that it was necessary to renounce all remote and vain hopes of aid from the Armenians, and fly that very night, without losing a moment's time. It was highly important that not one of the inhabitants of Carræ should know of this design, till the instant of its execution. But Andromachus, one of the citizens, was informed of it first, and by Crassus himself, who confided it to him, and chose him for his guide, relying very injudiciously upon his fidelity.

The Parthians consequently were not long before they were fully apprised of the whole plan by means of that traitor. But as it was not their custom to engage in the night, the impostor, to prevent Crassus from getting so much ground as might make it impossible for the Parthians to come up with him, led the Romans sometimes by one way and sometimes by another, and at length brought them into deep marshy grounds, and places intersected with great ditches, where it was very difficult to march, and necessary to make a great many turnings and windings to extricate themselves out of that labyrinth.

There were some who, suspecting that it was with no good design that Andromachus made them go backwards and forwards in that manner, refused at last to follow him, and Cassius himself returned towards Carræ. By hasty marches, he escaped into Syria, with 500 horse. Most of the rest, who had trusty guides, gained the pass of the mountains, called the *Sinnachian* mountains, and were in a place of safety before the break of day. The latter might be about 5000 men under the command of Octavius.

As for Crassus, the day overtook him, whilst he was still embarrassed, by the contrivance of the perfidious Andromachus, in those marshy and difficult places. He had with him four cohorts of foot armed with round bucklers, a few horse, and five lictors who carried the fasces before him.

He at length came into the main road, after abundance of trouble and difficulty, when the enemy were almost upon him, and he had no more than twelve stadia to march in order to join the troops under Octavius. All he could do was to gain as soon as possible another summit of those mountains less impracticable to the horse, and in consequence not so secure. This was under that of the *Sinnachian* mountains, to which it

was joined by a long chain of mountains, that filled up all the space between them. Octavius therefore saw plainly the danger that threatened Crassus, and descended first himself from those eminences with a small number of soldiers to his aid. But he was soon followed by all the rest, who reproaching themselves for their cowardice, flew to his assistance. Upon their arrival they charged the Barbarians so roughly, that they obliged them to abandon the hill. After that they placed Crassus in the midst of them, and forming a kind of rampart for him with their bucklers, they declared fiercely that not an arrow of the enemy should approach their general's body till they were all dead round him fighting in his defence.

Surena, seeing that the Parthians, already repulsed, went on with less vigour to the attack, and that if the night came on, and the Romans should gain the mountains, it would be impossible for him to take them, had again recourse to stratagem to amuse Crassus. He gave secret orders, that some prisoners should be set at liberty, after having posted a number of his soldiers around them, who, seeming in discourse together, said, as the general report of the army, that the king was much averse to continuing the war with the Romans; that, on the contrary, his design was to cultivate their amity, and to give them proofs of his favourable inclinations, by treating Crassus with great humanity. And that their deed might agree with their words, as soon as the prisoners were released, the Barbarians retired from the fight; and Surena, advancing peaceably with his principal officers towards the hill, with his bow unstrung, and arms extended, invited Crassus to come down and treat of an accommodation. He said, with a loud voice, that contrary to the king his master's will, and through the necessity of a just defence, he had made them experience the force and power of the Parthian arms; but that at present he was disposed to treat them with mildness and favour, by granting them peace, and giving them liberty to retire with entire security on his part. We have observed, on more than one occasion, that the peculiar characteristic of these Barbarians was to promote the success of their designs by fraud and treachery, and to make no scruple of breaking through their engagements upon such occasions.

The troops of Crassus lent a willing ear to this discourse of Surena's, and expressed exceeding joy at it: but Crassus, who had experienced nothing but deceit and perfidy from the Barbarians, and to whom so sudden a change was very suspicious, did not easily give in to it, and deliberated with his friends. The soldiers began to call out to him, and to urge him to accept the interview. From thence they proceeded to outrage and reproaches; and went so far as to accuse him of cowardice;

charging him with exposing them to be slaughtered by enemies with whom he had not so much as the courage to speak, when they appeared unarmed before him.

Crassus at first had recourse to entreaties, and remonstrated to them, that by maintaining their ground for the rest of the day, upon the eminences and difficult places where they then were, they might easily escape when night came on: he even showed them the way, and exhorted them not to frustrate such hopes of their approaching safety. But seeing they grew outrageous, that they were ready to mutiny, and, by striking their shields, even menaced him; apprehending that commotion, he began to descend, and turning about, he said only these few words: *Octavius, and you, Petronius, with all the officers and captains here present, you see the necessity I am under of taking a step I would willingly avoid, and are witnesses of the indignities and violence I suffer. But I beg you, when you have retired in safety, that you will tell all the world, for the honour of Rome our common mother, that Crassus perished, deceived by the enemy, and not abandoned by his citizens.* Octavius and Petronius could not resolve to let him go alone, but went down the hill with him, when Crassus dismissed his lieutenants, who would have followed him.

The first persons the Barbarians sent to him were two Greeks, who, dismounting from their horses, saluted him with profound respect, and told him in the Greek tongue, that he had only to send some of his attendants, and Surena would satisfy them, that himself, and those with him, came without arms, and with all the fidelity and good intentions possible. Crassus replied, that had he set the least value upon his life, he should not have come to put himself into their hands; and sent two brothers, named Roscius, to know only upon what foot they should treat, and in what number.

Surena caused those two brothers to be seized and kept prisoners; and advancing on horseback, followed by the principal officers of his army, as soon as he perceived Crassus, *What do I see?* said he, *What! the general of the Romans on foot, and ourselves on horseback? Let a horse be brought for him immediately.* He imagined that Crassus appeared in that manner before him out of respect. Crassus replied, *that there was no reason to be surprised that they came to an interview each after the custom of his own country.*<sup>a</sup>—*Very good,* returned Surena; *from henceforth let there be a treaty of peace between king Orodes and the Romans: but we must go to prepare and sign the articles of it upon the banks of Euphrates. For you Romans,* added he, *do not always remember your conventions.*

<sup>a</sup> Amongst the Romans the consul always marched on foot, at the head of the infantry.

At the same time he held out his hand to him. Crassus would have sent for a horse; but Surena told him there was no occasion for it, and that the king made him a present of that.

A horse was immediately presented to him which had a golden bit; and the king's officers taking him round the middle set him upon it, surrounded him, and began to strike the horse to make him go forwards faster. Octavius was the first, who, offended at such behaviour, took the horse by the bridle. Petronius seconded him, and afterwards all the rest of his attendants, who came round him, and endeavoured to stop the horse, and to make those retire by force who pressed close on Crassus. At first they pushed against each other with great tumult and disorder, and afterwards came to blows. Octavius, drawing his sword, killed a groom of one of those Barbarians. At the same time another of them gave Octavius a great stroke with his sword behind, which laid him dead upon the spot. Petronius, who had no shield, received a stroke upon his cuirass, and leaped from his horse without being wounded. Crassus at the same moment was killed by a Parthian. Of those who were present, some were killed fighting around Crassus, and others had retired in good time to the hill.

The Parthians soon followed them thither, and told them, that Crassus had suffered the punishment due to his treachery; but as for them, that Surena let them know they had only to come down with confidence, and gave them his word that they should suffer no ill-treatment. Upon this promise some went down and put themselves into the hands of the enemy; others took the advantage of the night, and dispersed on all sides. But of the latter very few escaped; all the rest were pursued the next day by the Arabians, who came up with them, and put them to the sword.

The loss of this battle was the most terrible blow the Romans had received since the battle of Cannæ. They had 20,000 men killed in it, and 10,000 taken prisoners. The rest made their escape by different ways into Armenia, Cilicia, and Syria; and out of these ruins another army was afterwards formed in Syria, of which Cassius took upon him the command, and with it prevented that country from falling into the hands of the victor.

This defeat must, in one sense, have been more affecting to them than that of the battle of Cannæ, because they had reason to expect it. When Hannibal was victorious at Cannæ, Rome was in a state of humiliation. She had already lost many battles, and had no thought but of defending herself, and repulsing the enemy from her territory. At this time Rome was triumphant, respected and dreaded by all nations: she was mistress of the most potent kingdoms of Europe, Asia, and Africa; lately victorious over one of the most formidable



enemies she ever had; yet in the most exalted height of her greatness, she saw her glory suddenly fall to the ground, in an attack upon a people, formed out of the assemblage of the eastern nations, whose valour she despised, and whom she reckoned already amongst her conquests. So complete a victory showed those haughty conquerors of the world a rival in a remote people, capable of making head against, and disputing the empire of the universe with them; and not only of setting bounds to their ambitious projects, but of making them tremble for their own safety. It showed that the Romans might be overthrown in a pitched battle, and fighting with all their forces; that that power, which till then, like the inundation of a mighty sea, had overflowed all the country in its way, might at length receive bounds, and be restrained for the future within them.

The check received by Crassus from the Parthians was a blot on the Roman name, which the victories gained over them some time after by Ventidius were not capable of effacing. The standards of the vanquished legions were always shown by them as sights. The prisoners<sup>b</sup> taken in that fatal day were kept there in captivity, and the Romans, citizens or allies, contracted ignominious marriages, to the shame of Rome, as Horace emphatically describes it, and grew old in tranquillity, upon the lands, and under the standards, of Barbarians. It was not till thirty years after, in the reign of Augustus, that the king of the Parthians, without being compelled to it by arms, consented to restore their standard and prisoners to the Romans, which was looked upon by Augustus and the whole empire as a most glorious triumph; so much were the Romans humbled by the remembrance of that defeat, and so much did they believe it incumbent on them to efface it, if possible, to the least trace. For themselves, they never could forget it. Cæsar was upon the point of setting out against the Parthians, to avenge the affront which Rome had received from them, when he was killed. Antony formed the same design, which turned to his disgrace. The Romans, from that time, always regarded the war with the Parthians as the most important of their wars. It was the object of the application of the most warlike emperors, Trajan, Septimius Severus, &c. The surname of Parthicus was the title of which they were fondest, and which most sensibly flattered their ambition. If the Romans sometimes

<sup>b</sup> Milesne Crassi conjuge barbarâ  
Turpis maritus vixit? et hostium  
(Proh Curia, inversique mores!)  
Consenuit socerorum in armis,  
Sub rege Medo, Marsus and Appulus,  
Anciliorum, et nominis, et togæ  
Oblitus, æternæque Vestæ,  
Incolumi Jove et urbe Roma?

passed the Euphrates, to extend their conquest beyond it, the Parthians in their turn did the same, to carry their arms and devastations into Syria and even into Palestine. In a word, the Romans could never subject the Parthians to their yoke; and that nation was like a wall of brass, which with impregnable force resisted the most violent attacks of their power.

When the battle of Carræ was fought, Orodes was in Armenia, where he had lately concluded a peace with Artabasus. The latter, upon the return of the expresses he had sent to Crassus, perceiving by the false measures he had taken that the Romans were infallibly lost, entered into an accommodation with Orodes; and by giving one of his daughters to Pacorus, son of the Parthian king, he cemented by that alliance the treaty he had lately made. Whilst they were celebrating the nuptials, the head and hand of Crassus were brought to them, which Surena had caused to be cut off, and sent to the king as a proof of his victory. Their joy was exceedingly augmented by that sight; and it is said that orders were given to pour molten gold into the mouth of that head, in mockery of the insatiable thirst which Crassus always had for that metal.

Surena did not long enjoy the pleasure of his victory. His master, jealous of his glory, and of the credit it gave him, caused him to be put to death soon after. There are princes, near whom too shining qualities are dangerous; who take umbrage at the virtues they are forced to admire, and cannot bear to be served by superior talents, capable of eclipsing their own. Orodes was of this character. He perceived,<sup>c</sup> as Tacitus observes of Tiberius, that with all his power he could not sufficiently repay the service his general had lately done him. Now, where a benefit is above all return, ingratitude and hatred take the place of acknowledgment and affection.

Surena was a general of extraordinary merit. At thirty years of age he possessed consummate ability, and surpassed all the men of his time in valour. He was, besides that, perfectly well made, and of the most advantageous stature. For riches, credit, and authority, he had also more than any man; and was, undoubtedly, the greatest subject the king of Parthia had. His birth gave him the privilege of putting the crown upon the king's head at his coronation, and that right had appertained to his family from the establishment of the empire. When he travelled, he had always 1000 camels to carry his baggage, 200 chariots for his wives and concubines, and for his guard, 1000 horse completely armed, besides a great num

<sup>c</sup> Destrui per hæc fortunam suam Cæsar, imparemque tanto merito rebatur. Nam beneficia eò usque læta sunt, dum videntur exsolvi posse; ubi multum antevenere, pro gratiâ odium redditur. *Tacit. Annal. l. 4 c. 18.*

ber of light-armed troops and domestics, which in all did not amount to less than 10,000 men.

The Parthians expecting, after the defeat of the Roman army, to find Syria without defence, marched to conquer it. But Cassius, who had formed an army out of the ruins of the other, received them with so much vigour, that they were obliged to repass the Euphrates shamefully, without effecting any thing.

The next year to the consuls,<sup>d</sup> M. Calpurnius Bibulus, and M. Tullius Cicero, were assigned the provinces of Syria and Cilicia. Cicero repaired immediately to the latter, which had been allotted him; but Bibulus amusing himself at Rome, Cassius continued to command in Syria. And that was much to the advantage of the Romans; for the affairs of that country required a man of a quite different capacity from Bibulus. Pacorus, son of Orodes king of the Parthians, had passed the Euphrates, in the beginning of the spring, at the head of a numerous army, and had entered Syria. He was too young to command alone, and was therefore accompanied by Orsaces, an old general, who regulated every thing. He marched directly to Antioch, which he besieged. Cassius had shut himself up in that place with all his troops. Cicero, who had received advice of his condition in his province, by the means of Antiochus, king of Comagena, assembled all his forces, and marched to the eastern frontier of his province, which bordered upon Armenia, to oppose an invasion on that side, should the Armenians attempt it, and at the same time to be at hand to support Cassius in case of need. He sent another body of troops towards the mountain Amanus, with the same view. That detachment fell in with a large body of the Parthian cavalry, which had entered Cilicia, and entirely defeated it, so that not a single man escaped.

The news of this success and that of Cicero's approach to Antioch, extremely encouraged Cassius and his troops to make a good defence, and so much abated the ardour of the Parthians, that, despairing to carry the place, they raised the siege, and went to form that of Antigonias, which was not far from thence. But they were so little skilled in attacking towns, that they miscarried again before this, and were compelled to retire. We are not to be surprised at this, as the Parthians made their principal force consist in cavalry, and applied themselves most to engagements in the field, which suited their genius best. Cassius, who was apprized of the route they would take, laid an ambuscade for them, which they did not fail to fall into.

<sup>d</sup> Cic. ad famil. l. ii. Epist. 10. 17. iii. 2. xii. 19. xv. 1—4. Ad Attic. l. v. 18. 20. 21. vi. 1. 8. vii. 2.

He defeated them entirely, and killed a great number of them, amongst whom was their general Orsaces. The remains of their army repassed the Euphrates.

When Cicero saw the Parthians removed, and Antioch out of danger, he turned his arms against the inhabitants of mount Amanus, who, being situated between Syria and Cilicia, were independent of, and at war with, both those provinces. They made continual incursions into them, and gave them great trouble. Cicero entirely subjected those mountaineers, and took and demolished all their castles and forts. He afterwards marched against another barbarous nation, a kind of savages, who called themselves free Cilicians,<sup>e</sup> and pretended to have never been subjected to the empire of any of the kings who had been masters of the countries round about. He took all their cities, and made such dispositions in the country as very much pleased all their neighbours, whom they used perpetually to harass.

It is Cicero himself who acquaints us with these circumstances in several of his letters. There are two, among the rest, which may be looked upon as perfect models of the manner in which a general or commander ought to give a prince, or his ministry, an account of a military expedition; with such simplicity, perspicuity, and precision, in which the proper character of writings and relations of this kind consists, are they expressed. The first is addressed to the senate and people of Rome, and to the principal magistrates; it is the second of his fifteenth book of his familiar epistles; the other is written particularly to Cato. This last is a masterpiece, wherein Cicero, who passionately desired the honour of a triumph for his military expeditions, employs all the art and address of eloquence to engage that grave senator in his favour. Plutarch tells us,<sup>f</sup> that after his return to Rome, the senate offered him a triumph, and that he refused it upon account of the civil war then ready to break out between Cæsar and Pompey; not believing that it became him to celebrate a solemnity which breathed nothing but joy, at a time when the state was upon the point of falling into the greatest calamities. His refusal to triumph in the midst of the apprehensions and disorders of a bloody civil war, evinces in Cicero a great love for the public good and his country, and does him much more honour than a triumph itself could have done.

During the civil war between Pompey and Cæsar, and those that followed, the Parthians declaring sometimes for one, and sometimes for the other party, made several irruptions into Syria and Palestine. But those are events which particularly

<sup>e</sup> Eleuthero-Cilices,

<sup>f</sup> Plut. in Cic. p. 879.

relate to the Roman or Jewish histories, and therefore do not enter into my plan.

I shall conclude this abridgment of that of the Parthians, with the deaths of Pacorus and Orodes his father. Ventidius, who commanded the Roman armies, under the authority of Antony the triumvir, did not a little contribute to the re-establishing the honour of the nation. He was a soldier of fortune, who, from the lowest condition of life,<sup>g</sup> had raised himself by his merit to the highest dignities of the republic. In the war against the allies of Rome, who attempted to extort the freedom of the city by force, he was taken when an infant, with his mother, in Asculum, the capital of the Picenians, by Strabo, the father of Pompey the Great, and led in triumph before that general. Supported by the influence of C. Cæsar, under whom he had served in Gaul, and who had raised him through all the degrees of the service, he became prætor and consul. He was the only person till the time of Trajan that triumphed for his exploits against the Parthians, and the only one who obtained that honour, after having been led in a triumph himself,

I have said that Ventidius contributed very much to make the Romans amends for the affront they had received at the battle of Carræ. He had begun to revenge the defeat of Crassus and his army, by two successive victories gained over those terrible enemies. A third, still greater than the former, completed the work, and was obtained in this manner.

That general,<sup>a</sup> apprehending the Parthians, whose preparations were far advanced, would get the start of him, and pass the Euphrates before he had time to draw all his troops together out of their different quarters, had recourse to this stratagem. There was a petty eastern prince in this camp, under the name of an ally, whom he knew to be entirely in the interest of the Parthians, and that he held secret intelligence with them, and gave them advice of all the designs of the Romans which he could discover. He resolved to make this man's treachery the means of drawing the Parthians into a snare he had laid for them.

With that view he contracted a more than ordinary intimacy with this traitor. He conversed frequently with him upon the operations of the campaign. Affecting at length to open himself to him with great confidence, he observed that he was much afraid, from advices he had received, that the Parthians designed to pass the Euphrates not at Zeugma, as usual, but a great way lower. For, said he, if they pass at Zeugma, the country on this side is so mountainous, that the

<sup>g</sup> Vell. Patere. l. ii. c. 65. Valer. Max. l. vi. c. 9. Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 4.

<sup>a</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 24. Plut. in Anton. p. 931. Appian. in Parth. p. 156. Dion. Cass. l. xlix. p. 403, 404. Justin. l. xlii. c. 4.

cavalry, in which the whole force of their army consists, can do us no great hurt. But if they pass below, there are nothing but plains, where they will have all manner of advantages against us, and it will be impossible for us to make head against them. As soon as he had imparted this secret to him, the spy did not fail, as Ventidius had rightly foreseen, to communicate it to the Parthians, with whom it had all the effect he could desire. Pacorus, instead of going to Zeugma, immediately took the other route, lost abundance of time in consequence of the great compass he was obliged to take, and in the preparations necessary for passing the river there. Ventidius got forty days by this means, which he employed in making Silon join him from Judæa, with the legions which were quartered on the other side of mount Taurus, and found himself in a condition to give the Parthians a good reception when they entered Syria.

As they saw that they had not been attacked either in passing the river, or afterwards, they attributed that inactivity to terror and cowardice, and marched directly to charge the enemy in their camp, though situated very advantageously upon an eminence, not doubting but they should soon make themselves masters of it, and that without much resistance. They were mistaken. The Romans quitted their camp, fell on them with impetuosity, and pushed them with the utmost vigour upon the declivity; and as they had the advantage of the ground, and their light-armed troops from the top of the hill poured showers of darts upon the Parthians, they soon put them into disorder, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance they made at first. The slaughter was very great. Pacorus was killed in the battle, and his death was followed immediately with the flight of his whole army. The vanquished made haste to regain the bridge, in order to return into their own country; but the Romans prevented them, and cut the greatest part of them in pieces. Some few escaping by flight, retired to Antiochus king of Comagena. History observes, that this celebrated battle, which so well revenged the defeat of Crassus, was fought exactly on the same day with the battle of Carræ fourteen years before.

Orodes was so struck with the loss of this battle,<sup>b</sup> and the death of his son, that he was almost out of his senses. For several days, ~~he~~ neither opened his mouth, nor took any nourishment. When the excess of his grief was a little abated, and would permit him to speak, nothing was heard from him but

<sup>b</sup> Orodes, repente filii morte et exercitus clade auditâ, ex dolore in furorem vertitur. Multis diebus non alloqui quenquam, non cibum sumere, non vocem mittere, ita ut etiam mutus factus videretur. Post multos deinde dies, ubi dolor vocem laxaverit, nihil aliud quàm Pacorum vocabat. Pacorus illi videri, Pacorus audiri videbatur: cum illo loqui, cum illo consistere. Interdum quasi amissum flebiliter dolebat. *Justin.*

the name of Pacorus. He imagined that he saw him, and called to him ; he seemed to discourse with him as if he were living to speak to him, and hear him speak. At other times he remembered that he was dead, and shed a torrent of tears.

Never was grief more just. This was the most fatal blow for the Parthian monarchy it had ever received ; nor was the loss of the prince less than that of the army itself. For he was the most excellent character the house of the Arsacidæ had ever produced, for justice, clemency, valour, and all the qualities which constitute the truly great prince. He had made himself so much beloved in Syria, during the little time he resided there, that never did the people express more affection for any of their native sovereigns, than for the person of this foreign prince.

When Orodes had a little recovered the dejection into which the death of his dear son Pacorus had thrown him, he found himself extremely embarrassed about the choice of his successor out of his other children. He had thirty by different women, each of whom solicited him in favour of her own, and made use of all the ascendancy she had over a mind impaired by age and affliction. At last he determined, however, to follow the order of birth, and nominated PHRAATES, the eldest, and also most vicious of them all. He had scarce taken

A. M. 3967.

Ant. J. C. 37.

possession of the throne, when he caused all his brothers, whom his father had by the daughter of Antiochus Eusebes, king of Syria, to be murdered, and that only because their mother was of a better family than his, and they had more merit than himself. The father, who was still alive, not being able to avoid professing extreme displeasure upon that occasion, that unnatural son ordered him also to be put to death. He treated the rest of his brothers in the same manner, and did not spare his own son, from the apprehension that the people would set him upon the throne in his stead. It was this prince, so cruel towards all his own family, that treated Hyrcanus, king of the Jews, with peculiar favour and clemency.

### ARTICLE III.

Abridgment of the history of the kings of Cappadocia, from the foundation of that kingdom to the time when it became a province of the Roman empire.

I have spoken in several parts of this history of the kings of Cappadocia, according as I had occasion, but without mentioning either their beginning or succession. I shall here unite in one point of view all that relates to that kingdom.

Cappadocia is a great country of Asia Minor. ° The Per-

° Strab. l. xii. p. 533, 534.

sians, under whose dominion it was at first, had divided it into two parts, and established two satrapies or governments in it. The Macedonians, into whose possession it fell, suffered those two governments to be changed into kingdoms. The one extended towards mount Taurus, and was properly called Cappadocia, or Cappadocia Major; the other towards Pontus, and was called Cappadocia Pontica, or Cappadocia Minor: they were at length united into one kingdom.

Strabo says, that Ariarathes was the first king of Cappadocia, but does not mention at what time he began to reign. It

is probable, that it was about the time that Philip, father of Alexander the Great, began to reign in Macedonia, and Ochus in Persia.

Upon this supposition the kingdom of Cappadocia continued three hundred threescore and sixteen years, before it was reduced into a province of the Roman empire under Tiberius.

It was governed at first by a long succession of kings, named Ariarathes; then by kings called Ariobarzanes, who did not exceed the third generation; and at length by the last, Archelaus. According to Diodorus Siculus, there had been many kings of Cappadocia before Ariarathes; but as their history is almost entirely unknown, I shall make no mention of it in this place.

**ARIARATHES I.** He reigned jointly with his brother Holophernes, for whom he had a particular affection.

Having joined the Persians in the expedition against Egypt, he acquired great glory, and returned home laden with honours by king Ochus.

**ARIARATHES II.**<sup>d</sup> son of the former, had lived at peace in his dominions, during the wars of Alexander the Great, who out of impatience to come to blows with Darius, was unwilling to be delayed by the conquest of Cappadocia, and had contented himself with some instances of submission.

After that prince's death, Cappadocia, in the partition made of the provinces of his empire by his generals, fell to Eumenes. Perdiccas, to put him into possession of it, conducted him thither at the head of a powerful army. Ariarathes on his side prepared for a vigorous defence. He had 30,000 foot and a numerous cavalry. They came to a battle. Ariarathes was defeated and taken prisoner. Perdiccas caused him, with his principal officers, to be crucified, and put Eumenes into possession of his dominions.

**ARIARATHES III.** After the death of his father, he escaped into Armenia.

<sup>d</sup> Plut. in Eumen. p. 548. Diod. l. xviii. p. 599



As soon as he was apprized of the death of  
 A. M. 3689. Perdiccas and Eumenes, and the employment  
 Ant. J. C. 315. which other wars gave Antiochus and Seleucus,  
 he entered Cappadocia with troops lent him by Ardoates king  
 of Armenia. He defeated Amyntas, general of the Macedo-  
 nians, drove him out of the country, and re-ascended the throne  
 of his ancestors.

ARIAMNES, his eldest son, succeeded him.  
 A. M. 3720. He entered into an alliance with Antiochus  
 Ant. J. C. 284. Theos, king of Syria, and married his eldest son  
 to Stratonice, the daughter of the same Antiochus. He had  
 so great an affection for this son, that he made him his colleague  
 in the kingdom.

ARIARATHES IV. having reigned alone after the death of  
 his father, left his dominions, when he died, to his son of the  
 same name with himself, who was at that time very young.

ARIARATHES V. He married Antiochis,  
 A. M. 3814. daughter of Antiochus the Great, an artful  
 Ant. J. C. 190. princess, who, finding herself barren, had re-  
 course to imposture. She deceived her husband, and made him  
 believe that she had two sons, one of whom was called Ariara-  
 thes, and the other Holophernes.\* Her barrenness ceasing  
 some time after, she had two daughters, and then one son, who  
 was named Mithridates. She confessed the fraud to her hus-  
 band, and sent the elder of the supposititious children to be  
 brought up at Rome, with a small train, and the other in Ionia.  
 The legitimate son took the name of Ariarathes, and was edu-  
 cated after the manner of the Greeks.

Ariarathes V. supplied his father-in-law, Antiochus king of  
 Syria, with troops, in the war which he undertook against the  
 Romans. Antiochus having been defeated, Ariarathes sent  
 ambassadors to Rome,<sup>f</sup> to ask pardon of the senate, for having  
 been obliged to declare against the Romans in favour of his  
 father-in-law. This was granted him, but not till after he had  
 been condemned to pay, by way of expiation of his fault, 200  
 talents, that is to say, 200,000 crowns. The senate afterwards  
 abated him half that sum, at the request of Eumenes king of  
 Pergamus, who had lately married his daughter.

Ariarathes afterwards entered into an alliance with his son-  
 in-law Eumenes, against Pharnaces king of Pontus. The Ro-  
 mans, who had rendered themselves arbiters of the kings of the  
 East, sent ambassadors to negotiate a treaty between those three  
 princes; but Pharnaces rejected their mediation. However,  
 two years after, he was obliged to treat with Eumenes and Ari-  
 arathes upon conditions sufficiently hard.

\* He is so called by Polybius, and Orophernes by Diodorus Siculus.

<sup>f</sup> Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 50. l. xxxviii. n. 37 et 39.

The latter had a son of his own name, who loved him in the most tender manner, which occasioned his being surnamed Philopator; for whom he had no less affection. He desired to give him proofs of it by resigning the kingdom to him, and placing him upon the throne during his life. The son, who had the utmost affection and respect for a father who so well deserved both, could not resolve to accept an offer so advantageous in the vulgar opinion of men, but one which aimed a mortal wound at so good a heart as his; and represented to his father, that he was not one of those who could consent to reign during the life of him to whom he owed his being. Such examples of moderation, generosity, disinterestedness, and sincere affection for a father, are the more extraordinary, and the more to be admired, as in the times of which we are now relating the history, inordinate ambition respected nothing, and boldly violated the most sacred ties of nature and religion.

**ARIARATHES VI.**<sup>ε</sup> surnamed Philopator, A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 168. reigned after his father's death, and was an excellent prince. As soon as he ascended the throne, he sent an embassy to Rome to renew the alliance his father had contracted with the Romans, which he found no difficulty to obtain. He applied himself very closely to the study of philosophy, from whence Cappadocia, which, till then, had been unknown to the Greeks, became the residence of many learned men.

Dementrius, king of Syria, had a sister whom Ariarathes refused to espouse, lest that alliance should give offence to the Romans. The refusal extremely prejudiced Demetrius against the king of Cappadocia. He soon found an occasion to be revenged, by supplying Holophernes with troops, who pretended to be the brother of Ariarathes,<sup>h</sup> expelled him from the throne, and after that violence reigned tyrannically. He put many to death, confiscated the estates of the greatest noblemen, and even plundered a temple of Jupiter, which had been revered by the people from time immemorial, and had never suffered such a violation before. Apprehending a revolution, which his cruelty gave him reason to expect, he deposited 400 talents<sup>i</sup> with the inhabitants of Priene, a city of Ionia. Ariarathes had taken refuge at Rome, to implore aid of the Romans. The usurper sent his deputies thither also. The senate, according to the usual motives of their policy, decreed that the kingdom should be divided between the two brothers.

Ariarathes found a more ready and more effectual protector in the person of Attalus, king of Pergamus, who signalized the beginning of his

<sup>ε</sup> Diod. in Eclog. l. xxxi. p. 865.

<sup>h</sup> Diod. in Excerpt. p. 334 et 326.

<sup>i</sup> Four hundred thousand crowns.

reign by re-establishing this unfortunate prince upon the throne of his ancestors. Ariarathes, to revenge himself on the usurper, wished to compel the inhabitants of Priene to deliver into his hands the 400 talents Holophernes had left with them. They opposed that demand, with pleading the inviolable faith of deposits, which would not admit their giving up that sum to any one whomsoever, during the life of the person who had confided it to their keeping. Ariarathes had no regard to so just a representation, and laid waste their lands without mercy; notwithstanding which, so considerable a loss did not induce them to violate the fidelity they thought themselves obliged to observe in regard to him, who had confided that deposit with them.

Holophernes had retired to Antioch,<sup>k</sup> where he joined in a conspiracy with the inhabitants of that city against Demetrius his benefactor, whose place he had conceived hopes of supplying. The conspiracy was discovered, and Holophernes imprisoned. Demetrius would have put him to death directly, if he had not judged it more advisable to reserve him, in order to make use of him afterwards in the pretensions he had upon Cappadocia, and the design he had formed of dethroning and destroying Ariarathes; but he was prevented by the plot contrived against him by the three kings of Egypt, Pergamus, and Cappadocia, who set Alexander Bala upon the throne in his stead.

A. M. 3975. Ariarathes aided the Romans against Aristonicus,<sup>l</sup> who had possessed himself of the kingdom of Pergamus, and perished in that war.  
Ant. J. C. 129.

He left six children, whom he had by Laodice. The Romans, in gratitude for the father's services, added Lycaonia and Cilicia to their dominions. Laodice, who was regent during the minority of those six princes, apprehending the loss of her authority when they should be of age to reign, poisoned five of them the same year their father died. She would have treated the sixth in the same manner, if the vigilance of relations had not removed him from the fury of that unnatural mother. The people set him upon the throne, after having destroyed that cruel murderess of her children.

ARIARATHES VII. He married another  
A. M. 3913. Laodice,<sup>m</sup> sister of Mithridates Eupator, and  
Ant. J. C. 91. had two sons by her, ARIARATHES VIII. and  
ARIARATHES IX. His brother-in-law caused him to be murdered by Gordius, one of his subjects. Laodice afterwards married Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who immediately took possession of Cappadocia. Mithridates sent an army thither, drove out the garrisons of Nicomedes, and restored the king-

<sup>k</sup> Justin. l. xxxv. c. 1.    <sup>l</sup> Id. l. xxxvii. c. 1.    <sup>m</sup> Id. l. xxxviii. c. 1.

dom to his nephew, the son of the same Ariarathes whom he had caused to be assassinated.

**ARIARATHES VIII.** had scarce ascended the throne, when Mithridates pressed him to recall Gordius from banishment, with design to rid himself of the son by the same assassin who had killed the father. That young prince shuddered at the proposal, and raised an army to oppose the violence of his uncle. Mithridates being unwilling to decide his measures by the hazard of a battle, chose rather to draw Ariarathes to a conference, in which he assassinated him, with a dagger concealed for that purpose, in the view of the armies. He set his own son of only eight years of age in his place, caused him to be called Ariarathes, and gave him Gordius for his governor.<sup>n</sup> The Cappadocians, not being able to bear the oppression of the lieutenants of Mithridates, rose in arms, called in Ariarathes, the late king's brother, from Asia, and placed him upon the throne.

**ARIARATHES IX.** Soon after his return, Mithridates attacked, overthrew, and expelled him the kingdom. That young prince's grief brought a disease on him, of which he died soon after. Mithridates had re-established his son upon the throne.

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, apprehending that Mithridates, being in possession of Cappadocia, might fall upon his dominions, set up an infant of eight years of age, to whom he also gave the name of Ariarathes, and sent deputies to the Romans to demand the kingdom of his father in his name. Queen Laodice, his wife, went expressly to Rome to support the imposture, and to testify that she had had three sons by **ARIARATHES VII.**, of whom this, which she produced, was the last. Mithridates, on his side, ventured to have assurances made by Gordius, that this son, whom he had placed upon the throne, was the son of that Ariarathes who had been killed in the war against Aristonicus. What times were these ! what a series is here of frauds and impostures ! The Roman people saw through them ; and in order not to support them on either side, decreed that Mithridates should renounce Cappadocia, which for the future should enjoy its liberty, and govern itself as it thought proper. But the Cappadocians sent to Rome to declare that liberty was insupportable to them, and to demand a king. We may justly be astonished at the taste of a people, who could prefer slavery to liberty. But there are nations to which the monarchical is better adapted than the republican government ; and there are few who are wise enough to make a moderate use of perfect and entire liberty. The Cappadocians elected, or rather

<sup>n</sup> Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 2.

received from the Romans, Ariobarzanes for their king whose family was extinct at the third generation.

**ARIOBARZANES I.** This new prince did not enjoy his dignity in peace.<sup>o</sup> Mithraas and Bagaoas, generals of Tigranes, drove him out of Cappadocia, and established there Ariarathes, son of Mithridates. The Romans caused Ariobarzanes to be re-instated. He was expelled some time after by an army sent by Mithridates into Cappadocia, in favour of his son. Sylla having obtained great advantages over Mithridates, compelled him to abandon Cappadocia. Some time after, at the instigation of that prince, Tigranes invaded that kingdom, and carried off 300,000 men, to whom he gave lands in Armenia, and placed a considerable number of them in the city of Tigranocerta. Ariobarzanes, who had escaped to Rome before the invasion, was not restored till Pompey had put an end to the war with Mithridates.

**ARIOBARZANES II.** Pompey had considerably enlarged the dominions of Ariobarzanes, when he replaced him on the throne of Cappadocia. His son succeeded to all that great inheritance, but did not keep it long. He was killed some time before Cicero went to command in Cilicia. The prince who reigned at that time was Ariobarzanes III. grandson of Ariobarzanes I.

**ARIOBARZANES III.<sup>p</sup>** Cicero, upon quitting Rome, had received orders to favour and protect Ariobarzanes with all possible care, as a prince whose welfare was dear to the senate and people; a glorious testimonial, which had never before been granted to any king. Cicero punctually executed the order of the senate. When he arrived in Cilicia, Ariobarzanes was menaced with being killed, as his father had been. A conspiracy was on foot against him, in favour of his brother Ariarathes. The latter declared to Cicero, that he had no part in that plot: that indeed he had been earnestly solicited to accept the kingdom, but that he had always been infinitely averse to such thoughts, during the life of his brother; who, it seems, had no issue. Cicero employed the authority of his office, and all the influence his high reputation gave him, to dispel the storm with which the king was threatened. His endeavours were successful;<sup>q</sup> he saved the king's life and crown by his resolution, and a generous disinterestedness, which rendered him inaccessible to all the attempts that were made to corrupt his integrity, and to seduce him. The

<sup>o</sup> Appian. in Mithrid. p. 176, &c. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Plut. in Sylla.

<sup>p</sup> Cic. Epist. 2 et 4. l. xv. ad Famil. et Epist. 20. l. v. ad Attic.

<sup>q</sup> Ariobarzanes operâ meâ vivit, regnat 'Εν παρόδῳ, consilio et auctoritate et quòd proditoribus ejus ἀπρόσδιόν με, non modò ἀδωροδόκητον πρæbui, regem regnumque servavi. Cic. Epist. 20. l. v. ad Attic.

greatest danger came from the high-priest of Comana. There were two principal cities of that name, the one in Cappadocia, and the other in the kingdom of Pontus.<sup>r</sup> They were consecrated to Bellona, and observed almost the same ceremonies in the worship of that goddess. The one was formed upon the model of the other; that of Pontus upon that of Cappadocia. It is of the latter we speak in this place. The temple of that goddess was endowed with great estates, and served by a vast number of persons, under the authority of a pontiff, a man of great influence, and so considerable, that the king alone was his superior: he was generally of the blood-royal. His dignity was for life. Strabo says, that in his time there were above 6000 persons consecrated to the service of the temple of Comana. It was that which made the high-priest so powerful; and in the time of which we speak,<sup>s</sup> might have occasioned a very dangerous war, and involved Ariobarzanes in great difficulties, had he thought proper to defend himself by force of arms, as it was believed he would; for he had troops, both horse and foot, ready to take the field, with great funds to pay and subsist them. But Cicero, by his prudence, prevailed upon him to retire out of the kingdom, and to leave Ariobarzanes in the peaceable possession of it.

During the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, Ariobarzanes marched with some troops to the latter, who were present at the battle of Pharsalia. This, no doubt, was the reason that Cæsar laid Ariobarzanes under contribution. It is certain that he exacted very considerable sums of money from him;<sup>t</sup> for that prince represented to him, that it would be impossible for him to pay them, if Pharnaces continued to plunder Cappadocia. Cæsar was then in Egypt, from whence he set out to reduce Pharnaces to reason. He passed through Cappadocia, and made such regulations there, as imply that Ariobarzanes and his brother kept up no very good understanding with each other, and entirely subjected the latter to the authority of the former. After Cæsar had conquered Pharnaces, <sup>u</sup> he gave part of Cilicia and Armenia to Ariobarzanes.

This mild treatment gave the murderers of  
 A. M. 3962. Cæsar reason to believe that the king of Cappa-  
 Ant. J. C. 42. docia would not favour their party.<sup>x</sup> He did not  
 openly declare against them; but he refused to enter into their

<sup>r</sup> Strab. l. xii. p. 535 et 557.

<sup>s</sup> Cùm magnum bellum in Cappadociâ concitaretur, si sacerdos armis se (quod facturus putabatur) defenderet, adolescens et equitatu et pediatu et pecuniâ paratus, et toto, iis qui novari aliquid volebant, perfecti ut è regno ille discederet; rexque sine tumultu ac sine armis, omni auctoritate aulæ communitâ, regnum cum dignitate obtineret. *Cic. Ep. lib. xv. ad Fam.*

<sup>t</sup> Cæs. de Bell. Civ. l. iii. Hist. de Bell. Alex.

<sup>u</sup> Dio. l. xlii. p. 183.

<sup>x</sup> Dio. l. xlvii. p. 346.

alliance. This conduct gave them a just distrust of him, so that Cassius thought it incumbent upon him not to spare him. He attacked him, and having taken him prisoner, put him to death.

**ARIARATHES X.** By the death of Ariobarzaues the kingdom of Cappadocia fell to his brother Ariarathes. The possession of it was disputed with him by Sisinna, the eldest son of Glaphyra, wife of Archelaus, high-priest of Bellona, at Comana, in Cappadocia. This Archelaus was the grandson of Archelaus, a Cappadocian by nation, and general of an army in Greece for Mithridates against Sylla. He abandoned the party of Mithridates in the second war, as we shall relate in the twenty-third book, and joined the Romans.<sup>y</sup> He left one son, named also Archelaus, who married Berenice, queen of Egypt, and was killed six months after in a battle. He had obtained a very honourable dignity from Pompey, which was the high-priesthood of Comana in Cappadocia. His son Archelaus possessed it after him. He married Glaphyra, a lady of extraordinary beauty, and had two sons by her, Sisinna and Archelaus. The first disputed the kingdom of Cappadocia with Ariarathes, who possessed it.<sup>z</sup> Mark Antony was the judge of this difference. And determined it in favour of Sisinna. What became of him is not known; history only tells us, that Ariarathes re-ascended the throne. Five or six years after, Mark Antony expelled him, and established Archelaus,<sup>a</sup> the second son of Glaphyra, in his stead.

**ARCHELAUS.<sup>b</sup>** That prince became very powerful. He expressed his gratitude to Mark Antony by joining him with good troops at the battle of Actium. He was so fortunate, notwithstanding that conduct, as to escape the resentment of Augustus. He was suffered to keep possession of Cappadocia, and was almost the only one treated with so much favour.

He assisted Tiberius to re-establish Tigranes in Armenia,<sup>c</sup> and obtained of Augustus, Armenia Minor, and a great part of Cilicia. Tiberius rendered him great services with Augustus, especially when his subjects brought accusations against him before that prince. He pleaded his cause himself, and was the occasion of his gaining it. Archelaus fixed his residence in the island of Eleusis, near the coast of Cilicia, and having married Pythodoris, the widow of Polemon king of Pontus, he considerably augmented his power. For as the sons of Polemon were infants at that

<sup>y</sup> Strab. l. xii. p. 558. Dio. l. xxxix. p. 116. <sup>z</sup> Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 675. <sup>a</sup> Dio. l. xlix. p. 411. <sup>b</sup> Plut. in Anton. 944.

<sup>c</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 5. Dio. l. liv. p. 526. Sueton. in Tib. c. viii. Dio. l. vii. p. 614. Strab. l. xiv. p. 671. et l. xii. p. 556.

time, he had undoubtedly the administration of their kingdom jointly with their mother.

His reign was very long and happy:<sup>d</sup> but his latter years were unfortunate, and his misfortunes were the consequence of Tiberius's revenge.

That prince, who saw with pain that Caius and Lucius, the sons of Agrippa, grandsons of Augustus, and his sons by adoption, were raised by degrees above him;<sup>e</sup> to avoid giving umbrage to the two young Cæsars, and to spare himself the mortification of being witness to their aggrandizement, demanded and obtained permission to retire to Rhodes, under pretext that he had need of repose for the re-establishment of his health. His retreat was considered as a real banishment, and people began to neglect him as a person in disgrace, and did not believe it safe to appear his friends. During his stay at Rhodes,<sup>f</sup> king Archelaus, who was not at a great distance from thence, residing generally at Eleusis,<sup>g</sup> paid him no honours, forgetting the great obligations he had to him. It was not, says Tacitus, out of pride or haughtiness, but by the advice of Augustus's principal friends, who believed the amity of Tiberius dangerous at that time. On the contrary, when young Caius

A. M. 4002.

Ant. J. C. 2.

Cæsar, appointed governor of the East, was sent into Armenia by Augustus, to appease the troubles of that country, Archelaus, who looked upon him as the future successor to the empire, paid him all kind of honours, and distinguished himself by the zeal with which he paid his court to him. Politicians are often mistaken in their conjectures, for want of a clear insight into futurity. It would have been more consistent with prudence and wisdom in Archelaus to have observed such a conduct as would have been agreeable to each of the princes, who might both arrive at the empire. Something of this nature is observed of Pompeius Atticus,<sup>h</sup> who during all the divisions with which the republic was torn at different times, always knew how to render himself agreeable to the heads of both parties.

<sup>d</sup> Dio. in Excerpt. p. 662. Sueton. in Tib. c. x. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 99.

<sup>e</sup> Ne fulgos suus orientum juvenum obstaret initiis, dissimulatâ causâ consilii sui, comineatum ab socero atque eodem vitrico acquiescendi à continuatione laborum petiit. *Patere*. l. ii. c. 99.

<sup>f</sup> Rex Archelaus quinquagesimum annum Cappadociâ potiebatur, invisus Tiberio, quòd, cum Rhodi egentum nullo officio coluisset. Nec id Archelaus per superbiam omiserat, sed ab intimis Augusti monitus: quia florente Caio Cæsare, missoque ad res Orientis, intuta Tiberii amicitia credebatur. *Tacit. Annal.* l. ii. c. 42.

<sup>g</sup> Eleusis was but six leagues distant from Rhodes. *Strab.* l. xiv. p. 65.

<sup>h</sup> Hoc quale sit, faciliùs existimabit is, qui judicare poterit quantæ sit sapientiæ, eorum retinere usum benevolentiamque, inter quos maximarum rerum non solum æmulatio, sed obtreectatio tanta intercedebat, quantum fuit incidere necesse inter Cæsarem atque Antonium, cum se uterque principem non solum urbis Romanæ sed orbis terrarum esse cuperet. *Corn. Nep. in Attic. c. xx.*



Tiberius never forgot the injurious preference that had been given to his rival, which was the more offensive to him, as it argued an ungrateful disposition in Archelaus.

A. M. 4020.

A. D. 16.

He made him highly sensible of this when he became master. Archelaus was cited to Rome, as having endeavoured to excite troubles in the province. Livia wrote to him, and without dissembling the emperor's anger, gave him hopes of pardon, provided he came in person to demand it. This was a snare laid for drawing him out of his kingdom. The king of Cappadocia either did not perceive it,<sup>i</sup> or dared not to act as if he did. He set out for Rome, was very ill received by Tiberius, and saw himself shortly after proceeded against as a criminal. Dion assures us, that Archelaus, depressed with age, was generally believed to have lost his reason; but that in reality he was perfectly in his senses, and counterfeited the madman, because he saw no other means of saving his life. The senate passed no sentence against him; but age, the gout, and, more than those, the indignity of the treatment he was made to suffer, soon occasioned his death. He reigned two-and-fifty years. After his death, Cappadocia was reduced into a province of the Roman empire.

The kingdom was very powerful. The revenues of Cappadocia were so considerable when Archelaus died, that Tiberius thought himself able, from his new acquisition, to abate the half of a tax he had caused to be levied. He even gave that province some relief, and would not exact from it all the duties it had paid the last king.

The kings of Cappadocia generally resided at Mazaca,<sup>k</sup> a city situate at the foot of the mountain Argea, and which was governed by the laws of Charondas.<sup>l</sup> This city was built upon the river Melas, which empties itself into the river Euphrates. A king of Cappadocia, whom Strabo calls simply Ariarathes, without mentioning the time when he lived, having filled up the mouths of this river, it overflowed all the neighbouring country: after which he caused small islands to be made in it, after the manner of the Cyclades, where he passed part of his life in puerile diversions. The river broke the dams of its mouths, and the waters returned into their channel. The Euphrates having received them, overflowed, and did incredible damage in Cappadocia. The Galatians, who inhabited Phrygia, suffered also great losses by that inundation, for which they in-

<sup>i</sup> Ille ignarus doli, vel, si intelligere videretur, vim metuens, in urbem properat: exceptusque immiti a principe, et mox accusatus a senatu; non ob crimina, quæ fingeantur, sed angore, simul fessus senio, et quia regibus æqua nedum infima, insolita sunt, finem vitæ sponte an fato implevit. *Tacit. Ann.* l. ii. c. 42.

<sup>k</sup> Strab. l. xii. p. 537. 539.

<sup>l</sup> This Charondas was a celebrated legislator of Græcia Major, of whom mention has been made.

sisted upon being made amends. They demanded 300 talents of the king of Cappadocia, and made the Romans their judges.

Cappadocia abounded with horses, asses, and mules.<sup>m</sup> It was from thence the horses were brought, so particularly allotted for the use of the emperors, that the consuls themselves were forbidden to have any of them. It furnished also a great number of slaves and false witnesses.<sup>n</sup> The Cappadocians were reported to accustom themselves to the bearing of torments from their infancy, and to put one another to the rack and other methods of torture, in order to inure themselves against the pains their false witness might one day expose them to suffer. This people exceeded the Greek nation in perjury, though the latter had carried that vice to a great height,<sup>o</sup> if we may believe Cicero, who ascribes to them the having made this manner of speaking common amongst them; *Lend me your evidence, and I will pay you with mine.*<sup>p</sup>

Cappadocia, generally speaking, was far from being a country of great geniuses and learned men. It has produced, however, some very celebrated authors. Strabo and Pausanias are of that number. It was believed especially, that the Cappadocians were very unfit for the profession of orators; and it became a proverb, that a rhetorician of that country was as hard to be found as a white raven or a flying tortoise.<sup>q</sup> S. Basil and S. Gregory Nazianzen are exceptions to that rule.

<sup>m</sup> Boch. Phaleg. l. iii. c. 11. Schol. Persii.

<sup>n</sup> Mancipiis locuples eget æris Cappadocum rex. *Horat.*

<sup>o</sup> Cic. pro. Flac. n. 9, 10

<sup>p</sup> Da mihi testimonium mutuum.

<sup>q</sup> Θᾶτρον ἔην λευκοῦς κοράκας πτηνάστε χιλόνας

Εὐοεῖν, ἣ δόκιμον ῥήτορα Καππαδόκην.

## BOOK XXII.

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THE

## HISTORY OF SYRACUSE.

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THIS twenty-second book contains the conclusion of the history of Syracuse. It may be divided into three parts. The first includes the long reign of **HIERO II.** The second, the short reign of his grandson, **HIERONYMUS**, the troubles of Syracuse occasioned by it, with the siege and taking of that city by **MARCELLUS**. The third is a concise abridgment of the history of Syracuse, with some reflections on the government and character of the Syracusans, and on **ARCHIMEDES**.

### ARTICLE I.

**SECT. I.** Hiero the Second chosen captain-general by the Syracusans, and soon after appointed king. He makes an alliance with the Romans in the beginning of the first Punic war.

**HIERO II.** was descended from the family of **A. M. 3700.** Gelon, who had formerly reigned in Syracuse.<sup>a</sup>  
**Ant. J. C. 304.** As his mother was a slave, his father, Hierocles, according to the barbarous custom of those times, caused him to be exposed soon after his birth; believing that the infant dishonoured the nobility of his race. If Justin's fabulous account may be believed, the bees nourished him several days with their honey. The oracle declaring, that so singular an event was a certain presage of his future greatness, Hierocles caused him to be brought back to his house, and took all possible care of his education.

The child derived from this education all the benefit that could be expected. He distinguished himself early above all those of his years, by his address in military exercises, and his courage in battle. He acquired the esteem of Pyrrhus, and received several rewards from his hands. He was of a beautiful aspect, tall stature, and robust complexion. In his conversation<sup>b</sup> he was affable and polite, in business just, and mo-

<sup>a</sup> Justin. l. xxiii. c. 4.

<sup>b</sup> In alloquio blandus, in negotio justus, in imperio moderatus: prorsus ut nihil ei regium deesse præter regnum, videretur. *Justin.*

derate in command ; so that he wanted nothing but the title of king, as he already possessed all the qualities that adorn that rank.

Discord having arisen between the citizens of  
 A. M. 3727. Syracuse and their troops,<sup>c</sup> the latter, who were  
 Ant. J. C. 277. in the neighbourhood, raised Artemidorus and Hiero to the supreme command, which comprehended all authority, civil and military. The latter was at that time very young, but displayed a prudence and maturity that gave promise of a great king. Honoured with this command, by the help of some friends he entered the city ; and having found means to bring over the adverse party, who were intent upon nothing but raising disorders, he behaved with so much mildness and greatness of mind, that the Syracusans, though highly dissatisfied with the liberty assumed by the soldiers, of choosing their officers, were, however, unanimous in conferring upon him the title and power of captain-general.

From his first measures it was easy to judge that the new magistrate aspired at something more than that office. In fact, observing that the troops no sooner quitted the city, than Syracuse was involved in new troubles by seditious spirits and lovers of innovation, he perceived how important it was, in the absence of himself and the army, to have somebody upon whom he might rely for keeping the citizens within the bounds of their duty. Leptines seemed very fit for that purpose, as being a man of integrity, and one who had great influence with the people. Hiero attached him to himself for ever, by espousing his daughter, and by the same alliance secured the public tranquillity, during the time he should be obliged to remove from Syracuse, and march at the head of the armies.

Another much bolder, though far less just, stroke of policy, established his security and repose. He had every thing to fear from the foreign soldiers, turbulent, malignant men, void of respect for their commanders, and of affection for a state of which they made no part, solely actuated by the desire of lucre, and always ready for a revolt ; who having been bold enough to assume a right in the election of magistrates, which did not belong to them, were capable, upon the least discontent, of attempting any thing against himself. He easily comprehended, that he should never have the mastery over them, as they were too well united amongst themselves ; that, if he undertook to punish the most criminal, their chastisement would not fail to provoke the rest ; and that the only means to put an end to the troubles they occasioned, was utterly to exterminate this factious body of troops, whose licentiousness and rebellious dis-

<sup>c</sup> Polyb. l. i. p. 8, 9.

position were only fit to corrupt others, and incline them to pernicious excesses. Deceived by a false zeal and blind love for the public good, and sensibly affected also with the prospect of the dangers to which he was perpetually exposed, he thought it incumbent on him, for the safety of his country and security of his person, to proceed to this cruel and sad extremity, very contrary to his natural character, but which seemed necessary to him in the present conjuncture. He therefore took the field under the pretext of marching against the Mamertines.<sup>d</sup> When he came within view of the enemy, he divided his army into two parts: on the one side he posted such of the soldiers as were Syracusans; on the other, the mercenaries. He put himself at the head of the first, as if he intended an attack; and left the others exposed to the Mamertines, who cut them in pieces; after which he returned quietly to the city with the Syracusan troops.

The army being thus purged of all who might excite disorders and sedition, he raised a sufficient number of new troops, and afterwards discharged the duties of his function in peace. The Mamertines, elate with their success, advancing into the country, he marched against them with the Syracusan troops, whom he had armed and disciplined well, and gave them battle in the plain of Mylæ. A great part of the enemies were left upon the field, and their generals made prisoners. At his return he was declared king by all the citizens of Syracuse, and afterwards by all the allies. This happened seven years after his being raised to the supreme authority.

A. M. 3733.  
Ant. J. C. 271.

It would be difficult to justify the manner in which he attained that eminence. Whether he put the foreign soldiers in motion himself, which seems probable enough, or only lent himself to their zeal, it was a criminal infidelity to his country and the public authority, to which his example gave a mortal wound. It is true, the irregularity of his entrance upon office was somewhat amended by the consent which the people and allies afterwards gave to it. But can we suppose, that in such a conjuncture their consent was perfectly free? As to his being elected king, there was nothing of compulsion in that: if his secret ambition had any part in it, that fault was well atoned for by his wise and disinterested conduct through the long duration of his reign and life.

The loss of the battle we have spoken of entirely disconcerted the affairs of the Mamertines. Some of them had recourse to the Carthaginians, to whom they surrendered their

<sup>d</sup> They were originally troops from Campania, whom Agathocles had taken into his pay, and who afterwards seized Messina, having first put the principal inhabitants to the sword.

citadel; others resolved to abandon the city to the Romans, and sent to desire their aid. Hence arose the first Punic war, as I have explained more at large elsewhere.\*

Appius Claudius the consul put to sea, in order to aid the Mamertines.<sup>f</sup> Not being able to pass the strait of Messina, of which the Carthaginians had possessed themselves, he made a feint of abandoning that enterprise, and of returning towards Rome with all the troops he had on board his fleet. Upon this news the enemy, who blocked up Messina on the side next the sea, having retired, as if there had been nothing farther to apprehend, Appius tacked about, and passed the strait without danger.

The Mamertines,<sup>g</sup> partly through menaces and partly through surprise, having driven out of the citadel the officer who commanded in it for the Carthaginians, called in Appius, and opened the gates of their city to him. The Carthaginians soon after formed the siege of it, and made a treaty of alliance with Hiero, who joined his troops to theirs. The Roman consul thought fit to venture a battle, and attack the Syracusans first. The fight was warm. Hiero showed all possible courage, but could not resist the valour of the Romans, and was obliged to give way, and retire to Syracuse. Claudius, having obtained a like victory over the Carthaginians, saw himself master of the field, advanced to the walls of Syracuse, and even designed to have besieged it.

When the news of Appius's good success arrived at Rome, it occasioned great joy.<sup>h</sup> In order to make the most of it, it was thought proper to use new efforts. The two consuls lately elected, Manius Otacilius and Manius Valerius, were ordered into Sicily. Upon their arrival, several of the Carthaginian and Syracusan cities surrendered at discretion.

The consternation of Sicily, joined to the number and force of the Roman legions, made Hiero conceive what was likely to be the event of this new war. That prince was sensible, that he might rely upon a more faithful and constant amity on the side of the Romans. He knew that the Carthaginians had not renounced the design they had anciently formed, of possessing themselves of all Sicily; and if they made themselves masters of Messina, he rightly judged his power would be very insecure in the neighbourhood of such dangerous and formidable enemies. He saw no other expedient for the preservation of his kingdom, than to leave the Carthaginians engaged with the Romans: well assured that the war would be long and obstinate between these two republics, whose strength was equal; and

\* Vol. i. History of the Carthaginians.

<sup>g</sup> Polyb. l. i. p. 10, 11.

<sup>f</sup> Frontin. Stratag. l. i. c. 4.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. p. 15, 16.

that as long as they should be contending, he should have no reason to apprehend being distressed either by the one or the other. He, therefore, sent ambassadors to the consuls to treat of peace and alliance. They were far from refusing those offers. They were too much afraid that the Carthaginians, being masters at sea, might cut off all passage for provisions; which fear was the better founded, as the troops who had first passed the strait had suffered extremely by famine. An alliance with Hiero secured the legions in that respect, and was immediately concluded. The conditions were, that the king should restore to the Romans, without ransom, all the prisoners he had taken from them, and pay them a hundred talents in money.<sup>i</sup>

From thenceforth Hiero, constantly attached to the Romans, to whom he sent supplies when occasion required, reigned peaceably at Syracuse, as a king who had no view nor ambition but the esteem and love of his people. No prince was ever more successful in that point, nor longer enjoyed the fruits of his wisdom and prudence. For more than fifty years that he lived after being elected king, whilst all things were in flames around him, occasioned by the cruel wars which the two most potent states of the world made against each other, he was so prudent and happy as to be no more than a spectator of them, and only to hear the noise of those arms which took all the neighbouring regions, whilst himself and his people retained a profound peace.

The Romans perceived,<sup>k</sup> on more than one occasion, during the first Punic war, and especially at the siege of Agrigentum, with which it was in a manner opened, the importance of their alliance with Hiero, who abundantly supplied them with provisions at times when the Roman army without his aid would have been exposed to excessive famine.

The interval between the end of the first Punic war and the commencement of the second, which was about five-and-twenty years, was a time of peace and tranquillity to Hiero, in which the actions of that prince are little spoken of.

Polybius<sup>l</sup> only informs us, that the Carthaginians, in the unhappy war they were obliged to support against the strangers, or mercenaries, which was called the African war, finding themselves extremely pressed, had recourse to their allies, and especially to king Hiero, who granted them all they asked of him. That prince perceived, that to support himself in Sicily, it was necessary that the Carthaginians should overcome in this war; lest the strangers, who had already obtained many advantages over the

A. M. 3763.  
Ant. J. C. 241.

<sup>i</sup> A hundred thousand crowns.

<sup>k</sup> Polyb. l. i. p. 18.

<sup>l</sup> Polyb. l. i. p. 84.

Carthaginians, in case of entire success, should find no farther obstacles to their projects, and should form designs of bringing their victorious arms into Sicily. Perhaps, also, as he was an excellent politician, he thought it incumbent on him to be upon his guard against the too great power of the Romans, who would become absolute masters, if the Carthaginians should be entirely ruined in the war against the revoltors.

Hiero's sole application during this long interval of peace, was to make his subjects happy, and to redress the evils which the unjust government of Agathocles, who preceded him some years, and the intestine divisions which ensued, had occasioned; an employment worthy of a king. There was a levity and inconstancy in the character of the Syracusans, which often inclined them to excessive and violent resolutions; but at bottom they were humane and equitable, and no enemies to a just and reasonable obedience. The proof of which is, that when they were governed with wisdom and moderation as by Timoleon, they respected the authority of the laws and magistrates, and obeyed them with joy.

Hiero was no sooner entered upon office, and had the supreme authority confided to him, than he showed his detestation for the wretched policy of the tyrants; who, considering the citizens as their enemies, had no other thoughts than to weaken and intimidate them, and reposed their whole confidence in the foreign soldiers, by whom they were perpetually surrounded. He began by putting arms into the hands of the citizens, formed them with care in the exercises of war, and employed them in preference to all others.

## SECT. II.

Hiero's pacific reign. He particularly favours agriculture. He applies the abilities of Archimedes his relation to the service of the public, and causes him to make an infinite number of machines for the defence of a besieged place. He dies very old and much regretted by the people.

When Hiero attained the sovereign authority, his great aim was to convince his subjects, less by his words than his actions, that he was infinitely remote from any design to the prejudice of their fortunes or liberty. He was not intent upon being feared, but upon being loved. He looked upon himself less as their master, than as their protector and father. Before his reign the state had been divided by two factions, that of the citizens and that of the soldiers; whose differences, supported on both sides with great animosity, had occasioned infinite misfortunes. He used his utmost endeavours to extinguish all remains of this division, and to eradicate from their minds all seeds of discord and misunderstanding. He seems to have



succeeded wonderfully in that respect, as during a reign of more than fifty years, no sedition or revolt disturbed the tranquillity of Syracuse.

What contributed most, without doubt, to this happy calm, was the particular care taken by Hiero to keep his subjects employed ; to banish luxury and idleness, the parent of all vices, and the usual source of all seditions, from his dominions ; to support and improve the natural fertility of his country ; and to reflect honour upon agriculture, which he considered as the certain means to render his people happy, and to diffuse abundance throughout his kingdom. The cultivation of lands, indeed, besides employing an infinite number of hands, which would otherwise remain idle and unprofitable, draws into a country, by the exportation of grain, the riches of the neighbouring nations, and turns the current into the houses of the people, by a commerce which is renewed every year, and which is the deserved fruit of their labour and industry. This is, and we cannot repeat it too often, what ought to be the peculiar attention of a wise government, as one of the most essential parts of wise and salutary policy, though unhappily too much neglected.

Hiero applied himself entirely to this end. He did not think it unworthy of the sovereignty to study and make himself thoroughly master of all the rules of agriculture. He even gave himself the trouble to compose books upon that subject, of which we ought much to regret the loss.<sup>m</sup> But he considered that object of his inquiries in a manner still more worthy of a king. The principal riches of the state, and the most certain fund of the prince's revenue, consisted in corn. He therefore believed it of the highest consequence, and what demanded his utmost care and application, to establish good order in that traffic to render the condition of the husbandmen, of whom the greatest part of the people were composed, safe and happy ; to ascertain the prince's dues, whose principal revenue rose from them ; to obviate such disorders as might get ground to the prejudice of his institutions ; and to prevent the unjust vexations which might possibly be attempted to be introduced in the sequel. To answer all these purposes, Hiero made regulations so wise, reasonable, equitable, and at the same time conformable to the people's and prince's interests, that they became in a manner the fundamental laws of the country, and were always observed as sacred and inviolable, not only in his reign, but in all succeeding times. When the Romans had subjected the city and dominions of Syracuse, they imposed no new tributes, and decreed that all things should be

<sup>m</sup> Plin. l. xviii. c. 3.

disposed according to *the laws of Hiero*:<sup>a</sup> in order that the Syracusans, in changing their masters, might have the consolation not to change their laws, and see themselves in some measure still governed by a prince, whose very name was always dear to them, and rendered those laws exceedingly venerable.

I have observed, that in Sicily the prince's principal revenue consisted in corn; the tenth being paid him. It was therefore his interest that the country should be well cultivated, that estimates should be made of the value of the lands: and that they should produce abundantly, as his revenue augmented in proportion to their fertility. The collectors of this tenth for the prince, which was paid in kind, and not in money, were called *Decumani*, that is to say, *farmers of the tenths*. Hiero, in the regulations he made upon this head, did not neglect his own interests, which is the mark of a wise prince and good economist. He knew very well there was reason to apprehend that the country people, who frequently consider the most legal and moderate imposts as intolerable burdens, might be tempted to defraud the prince of his dues. To spare them this temptation, he took such just and exact precautions,<sup>o</sup> that whether the corn were in the ear, on the floor to be thrashed, laid up in barns, or laden for carriage, it was not possible for the husbandman to secrete any part of it, or to defraud the collector of a single grain, without exposing himself to a severe penalty. Cicero acquaints us with these circumstances at much length. But he adds also, that Hiero had taken the same precautions against the avidity of the collectors, to whom it was equally impossible to extort any thing from the husbandmen beyond the tenth. Hiero seems to have been very much against the husbandman's being drawn from his home upon any pretext whatsoever. In fact, says Cicero, inveighing against Verres, who gave them great trouble by frequent and painful journeys, it is very hard and afflicting to the poor husbandmen, to be brought from their country to the city, from the plough to the bar, and from the care of tilling their lands to that of prosecuting lawsuits. *Miserum atque iniquum, ex agro homines traduci in forum, ab aratro ab subsellia, ab usu rerum rusticarum ad insolitam litem atque iudicium.*<sup>p</sup> And besides, can they flatter themselves, let their cause be ever so just, that they

<sup>a</sup> Decumas lege Hieronicâ semper vendendas censuerunt, ut iis jucundior esset muneris illius functio, si ejus regis, qui Siculis carissimus fuit, non solùm instituta, commutato imperio, verùm etiam nomen remaneret. *Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum.* n. 15.

<sup>o</sup> Hieronica lex omnibus custodiis subjectum aratorem decumano tradit ut neque in segetibus, neque in areis, neque in horreis, neque in amovendo, neque in asportando frumento, grano uno posset arator, sine maximâ pœnâ, fraudare decumanum. *Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum.* n. 20.

<sup>p</sup> *Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum.* n. 14.

shall carry it to the prejudice of the collectors? *Judici ut arator decumanum persequatur.*

Can there be any thing more to a king's praise than what we have now said? Hiero might undertake wars, for he did not want valour, gain battles, make conquests, and extend the bounds of his dominions, and upon these accounts might pass for a hero in the opinion of the generality of men. But with how many taxes must he have loaded his people! How many husbandmen must he have torn from their lands! How much blood would the gaining of those victories have cost him! and of what emolument would they have been to the state! Hiero, who knew wherein true glory consists, placed his in governing his people with wisdom, and in making them happy. Instead of conquering new countries by the force of arms, he endeavoured to multiply his own in a manner by the cultivation of the lands, by rendering them more fertile than they were, and in actually multiplying his people, wherein the real force and true riches of a state consist; and which can never fail to happen when the people of a country reap a reasonable advantage from their labour.

It was in the second Punic war that Hiero  
 A. M. 3786.  
 Ant. J. C. 218. gave distinguished proofs of his attachment to the Romans.<sup>a</sup> As soon as he received advice of Hannibal's arrival in Italy, he went with his fleet well equipped to meet Tiberius Sempronius, who was arrived at Messina, to offer that consul his services, and to assure him that, advanced in age as he was, he would show the same zeal for the Roman people as he had formerly done in his youth in the first war against the Carthaginians. He took upon him to supply the consul's legions, and the troops of the allies, with corn and clothes at his own expense. Upon the news received the same instant, of the advantage gained by the Roman over the Carthaginian fleet, the consul thanked the king for his advantageous offers, and made no use of them at that time.

Hiero's inviolable fidelity towards the Romans,<sup>r</sup> which is very remarkable in his character, appeared still more conspicuously after their defeat near the lake of Thrasymentus. They had already lost three battles against Hannibal, each more unfortunate and more bloody than the other. Hiero, in that mournful conjuncture, sent a fleet laden with provisions to the port of Ostia. The Syracusan ambassadors, when introduced to the senate, told them, *That Hiero their master had been as sensibly afflicted with their last disgrace, as if he had suffered it in his own person. That though he well knew that the grandeur of the Roman people was more worthy of admiration in times of adversity, than after the most signal success, he had sent*

<sup>a</sup> Liv. l. xxi. n. 50, 51.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. l. xxii. n. 37, 38.

*them all the aid that could be expected from a good and faithful ally, and earnestly desired the senate would not refuse to accept it. That they had particularly brought a Victory of gold, that weighed three hundred pounds, which the king hoped they would vouchsafe to receive as a favourable augury, and a pledge of the vows which he made for their prosperity. That they had also imported three hundred thousand bushels of wheat, and two hundred thousand of barley; and that if the Roman people desired a greater quantity, Hiero would cause as much as they pleased to be transported to whatever places they should appoint. That he knew the Roman people employed none in their armies but citizens and allies; but that he had seen light-armed strangers in their camp. That he had therefore sent them a thousand archers and slingers, who might be opposed successfully to the Baleares and Moors of Hannibal's army.*—They added to this aid a very salutary piece of advice, which was, that the prætor, who should be sent to command in Sicily, might despatch a fleet to Africa, in order to find the Carthaginians such employment in their own country, as might put it out of their power by that diversion to send any succours to Hannibal.

The senate answered the king's ambassadors in very obliging and honourable terms, *That Hiero acted like a very generous prince, and a most faithful ally: that from the time he had contracted an alliance with the Romans, his attachment for them had been constant and unalterable; in fine, that in all times and places he had powerfully and magnificently succoured them: that the people had a due sense of such generosity: that some cities of Italy had already presented the Roman people with gold, who, after having expressed their gratitude, had not thought fit to accept it: that the Victory was too favourable an augury not to be received: that they would place her in the Capitol, that is to say, in the temple of the most high Jupiter, in order that she might establish there her fixed and lasting abode.* All the corn and barley on board the ships, with the archers and slingers, were sent to the consuls.

Valerius Maximus\* makes an observation here, upon the noble and prudent liberality of Hiero; first, in the generous design he forms, of presenting the Romans with three hundred and twenty pounds weight of gold; then in the industrious precaution he uses, to prevent them from refusing to accept it. He does not offer them that gold in specie; he knew the ex-

\* Trecenta millia modiorum tritici, et ducenta millia hordei, aurique ducenta et quadraginta pondo urbi nostræ muneri misit. Neque ignarus verecundiæ majorum nostrorum, quid nollet accipere, in habitum id Victoriæ formavit, ut eos religione motos, munificentia suâ uti cogeret: voluntate mittendi prius, iterum providentiâ cavendi ne remitteretur, liberalis. *Val. Max. l. iv. c. 8.*

ceeding delicacy of the Roman people too well for that ; but under the form of a victory, which they dared not refuse, upon account of the good omen it seemed to bring along with it.

It is extraordinary to see a prince, whose dominions were situate as Syracuse was in regard to Carthage, from which it had every thing to fear, at a time when Rome seemed near her ruin, continue unalterably faithful, and declare openly for her interests, notwithstanding all the dangers to which so daring a conduct exposed him. A more prudent politician, to speak the usual language, would perhaps have waited the event of a new action, and not have been so hasty to declare himself without necessity, and at his extreme peril. Such examples are the more estimable for being rare and almost unparalleled.

I do not know, however, whether, even in good policy, Hiero ought not to have acted as he did. It would have been the greatest of all misfortunes for Syracuse, had the Carthaginians entirely ruined, or even weakened, the Romans too much. That city would have immediately felt all the weight of Carthage ; as it was situated over against it, and lay highly convenient for strengthening its commerce, securing to it the empire of the sea, and establishing it firmly in Sicily, by the possession of the whole island. It would therefore have been imprudent to suffer such allies to be ruined by the Carthaginians, who would not have been the better friends to the Syracusans for having renounced the Romans by force. It was therefore a decisive stroke, to fly immediately to the aid of the Romans ; and as Syracuse would necessarily fall after Rome, it was absolutely requisite to hazard every thing, either to save Rome, or fall with her.

If the facts which history has preserved of so long and happy a reign are few, they do not give us the less idea of this prince, and ought to make us exceedingly regret the want of more particular information concerning his actions.

The sum of a hundred talents (a hundred thousand crowns) which he sent to the Rhodians,<sup>1</sup> and the presents he made them after the great earthquake, which laid waste their island, and threw down their Colossus, are illustrious instances of his liberality and munificence. The modesty with which his presents were attended infinitely enhances the value of them. He caused two statues to be erected in the public square at Rhodes, representing the people of Syracuse placing a crown upon the head of the Rhodians ; as if, says Polybius, Hiero, after having made that people such magnificent presents, far from assuming any vanity from his munificence, believed himself their debtor upon that very account. And indeed the liberality and beneficence of a prince to strangers is rewarded with interest, in

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. l. v. p. 429.

the pleasure they give to himself, and the glory he acquires by them.

There is a pastoral of Theocritus (*Idyll.* 16.) which bears the name of the king we speak of, wherein the poet seems tacitly to reproach that prince with paying very ill for the verses made in honour of him. But the mean manner in which he claims, as it were, a reward for the verses he meditates, leaves room to conclude, that the imputation of avarice falls with more justice upon the poet than upon the prince, distinguished and esteemed, as we have seen, from his liberality.

It is to Hiero's just taste, and singular attention to every thing that concerned the public good, that Syracuse was indebted for those amazing machines of war, of which we shall soon see it make so great a use, when besieged by the Romans.<sup>a</sup> Though that prince seemed to devote his cares entirely to the tranquillity and domestic affairs of the kingdom, he did not neglect those of war; convinced, that the surest means to preserve the peace of his dominions, was to hold himself always in readiness to make war upon unjust neighbours, who should attempt to disturb it. He knew how to profit by the advantage he possessed of having in his dominions the most learned geometrician the world had ever produced; it is plain I mean Archimedes. He was illustrious, not only by his great ability in geometry, but his birth, as he was Hiero's relation. Sensible alone to the pleasures of the mind, and highly averse to the hurry and tumult of business and government, he devoted himself solely to the study of a science, whose sublime speculations on truths purely intellectual and spiritual, and entirely distinct from matter, have such attraction for the learned of the first rank, as scarce leaves them at liberty to apply themselves to any other objects.

Hiero had, however, sufficient influence over Archimedes, to engage him to descend from those lofty speculations to the practice of those mechanics which depend on the hand, but are disposed and directed by the head. He pressed him continually, not to employ his art always in soaring after immaterial and intellectual objects, but to bring it down to sensible and corporeal things, and to render his reasonings in some measure more evident and familiar to the generality of mankind, by joining them experimentally with things of use.

Archimedes frequently conversed with the king, who always heard him with great attention and extreme pleasure. One day, when he was explaining to him the wonderful effects of the powers of motion, he proceeded to demonstrate, *That with a certain given power any weight whatsoever might be moved.* And applauding himself afterwards on the force of his demonstration, he ventured to boast, that if there

<sup>a</sup> Plut. in Marcel. p. 305, 306.

were another world besides this we inhabit, by going to that he could remove this at pleasure. The king, surprised and delighted, desired him to put his position in execution, by removing some great weight with a small force.

Archimedes, preparing to satisfy the just and rational curiosity of his kinsman and friend, chose out one of the galleys in the port, caused it to be drawn on shore with great labour, and by abundance of men. He then ordered its usual lading to be put on board, and besides that, as many men as it could hold. Afterwards, placing himself at some distance, and sitting at his ease, without trouble, or exerting his strength in the least, by only moving with his hand the end of a machine, which he had provided with numerous cords and pulleys, he drew the galley to him upon the land, with as much ease, and as steadily, as if it had swam upon the water.

The king, upon the sight of so prodigious an effect of the powers of motion, was entirely astonished; and judging from that experiment of the efficacy of the art, he earnestly solicited Archimedes to make several sorts of machines and battering-engines for sieges and attacks, as well for the defence as assault of places.

It has been sometimes asked, whether the sublime knowledge of which we speak, be necessary to a king; and if the study of arts and sciences ought to form part of the education of a young prince? What we read here demonstrates their utility. If king Hiero had wanted taste, and curiosity, and employed himself solely in his pleasures, Archimedes had remained inactive in his closet, and all his extraordinary science been of no advantage to his country. What treasures of useful knowledge lie buried in obscurity, and in a manner hid under the earth, because princes set no value upon learned men, and consider them as persons useless to the state. But when, in their youth, they had imbibed some small tincture of arts and sciences, (for the study of princes ought to extend no farther in that point,) they esteem such as distinguish themselves by their learning, sometimes converse with them, and hold them in honour; and by so glorious a protection make way for valuable discoveries, of which the state soon reaps the advantage. Syracuse had this obligation to Hiero; which, without doubt, was the effect of his excellent education; for he had been bred with uncommon care and attention.

What has been said hitherto of Archimedes, and what we shall presently add, with respect to those admirable machines of war which were used during the siege of Syracuse, shows how wrong it is to despise those sublime and speculative sciences, whose only objects are simple and abstract ideas. It is true, that all mere geometrical or algebraical speculations do

not relate to useful things. But it is also as true, that most of those, which have not that relation, conduct or refer to those that have. They may appear unprofitable, as long as they do not deviate, if I may so say, from this intellectual world; but the mixed mathematics, which descend to matter, and consider the motions of the stars, the perfect knowledge of navigation, the art of drawing remote objects near by the assistance of telescopes, the increase of the powers of motion, the nice exactitude of the balance, and other similar objects, become more easy of access, and in a manner familiarize themselves with the vulgar. The labour of Archimedes was long obscure, and perhaps contemned, because he confined himself to simple and barren speculations. Ought we therefore to conclude that it was useless and unprofitable? It was from that very source of knowledge, buried till then in obscurity, that shot forth those brilliant lights and wonderful discoveries, which display from their birth a sensible and manifest utility, and inspired the Romans with astonishment and despair when they besieged Syracuse.

Hiero was great and magnificent in all things, in building palaces, arsenals, and temples. He caused an infinite number of ships of all burdens to be built for the exportation of corn: a traffic in which almost the whole wealth of the island consisted. We are told of a galley built by his order, under the direction of Archimedes, which was reckoned one of the most famous structures of antiquity.\* It was a whole year in building. Hiero passed whole days amongst the workmen, to animate them by his presence.

This ship had twenty benches of oars. The enormous pile was fastened together on all sides with huge nails of copper, which weighed each ten pounds and upwards.

The inside had in it three galleries or corridors, the lowest of which led to the hold by a flight of stairs, the second to apartments, and the first to soldiers' lodgings.

On the right and left side of the middle gallery, there were apartments to the number of thirty; in each of which were four beds for men. The apartment for the officers and seamen had fifteen beds, and three great rooms for eating; the last of which, that was at the stern, served for a kitchen. All the floors of these apartments were inlaid with small stones of different colours, representing stories taken from the *Iliad* of Homer. The ceilings, windows, and all the other parts, were finished with wonderful art, and embellished with all kinds of ornaments.

In the uppermost gallery there was a gymnasium, or place of exercise, and walks proportionate to the magnitude of the

\* Athen. l. v. p. 206—209.



ship. In them were gardens and plants of all kinds, disposed in wonderful order. Pipes, some of hardened clay, and others of lead, conveyed water all round to refresh them. There were also arbours of ivy and vines, that had their roots in great vessels filled with earth. These vessels were watered in the same manner as the gardens. The arbours served to shade the walks.

After these came the apartment of Venus, with three beds. This was floored with agates and other precious stones, the finest that could be found in the island. The walls and roof were of cypress-wood. The windows were adorned with ivory, paintings, and small statues. In another apartment was a library, at the top of which, on the outside, was fixed a sundial.

There was also an apartment with three beds for a bath, in which were three great brazen coppers, and a bathing-vessel, made of a single stone of various colours. This vessel contained two hundred and fifty quarts. At the ship's head was a great reservoir of water, which held a hundred thousand quarts.

All round the ship, on the outside, were Atlases of six cubits, or nine feet, in height, which supported the sides of the ship; these Atlases were at equal distances from each other. The ship was adorned on all sides with paintings, and had eight towers proportioned to its size: two at the head, two at the stern, and four in the middle, of equal dimensions. Upon these towers were parapets, from which stones might be discharged upon the ships of an enemy that should approach too near. Each tower was guarded by four young men completely armed, and two archers. The inside of them was filled with stones and arrows.

Upon the side of the vessel, well strengthened with planks, was a kind of rampart, on which was an engine to discharge stones, made by Archimedes: it threw a stone three hundred weight, and an arrow of twelve cubits (eighteen feet) the distance of a stadium, or a hundred and twenty-five paces from it.

The ship had three masts, at each of which were two machines to discharge stones. There also were the hooks and masses of lead to throw upon such as approached. The whole ship was surrounded with a rampart of iron to keep off those who should attempt to board it. All around were iron grapplings, (*corvi*,) which being thrown by machines, grappled the vessels of the enemy, and drew them close to the ship, from whence it was easy to destroy them. On each of the sides were sixty young men completely armed, and as many about the masts, and at the machines for throwing stones.

Though the hold of this ship was extremely deep, one man sufficed for clearing it of all water, with a machine made in the nature of a screw, invented by Archimedes. An Athenian poet of that name made an epigram upon this superb vessel, for which he was well paid. Hiero sent him a thousand *medimni* of corn as a reward, and caused them to be carried to the port of Piræus. The *medimnus*, according to Father Montfaucon, is a measure that contains six bushels. This epigram is come down to us. The value of verse was known at that time in Syracuse.

Hiero having found that there was no port in Sicily capable of containing this vessel, except some where it could not lie at anchor without danger, resolved to make a present of it to king Ptolemy,<sup>†</sup> and sent it to Alexandria. There was at that time a great dearth of corn throughout all Egypt.

Several other transports of less burden attended this great ship. Three hundred thousand quarters of corn were put on board them, with ten thousand great earthen jars of salted fish, twenty thousand quintals (or two millions of pounds) of salt meat, twenty thousand bundles of different clothes, without including the provisions for the ships' crews and officers.

To avoid too much prolixity, I have retrenched some part of the description which Athenæus has left us of this great ship. I could have wished, that, to have given us a better idea of it, he had mentioned the exact dimensions of it. Had he added a word upon the benches of oars, it would have cleared up and determined a question, which, without it, must for ever remain doubtful and obscure.

Hiero's fidelity was put to a very severe trial  
A. M. 3788.  
Ant. J. C. 216. after the bloody defeat of the Romans in the battle of Cannæ, which was followed by an almost universal defection of their allies.

But even the laying waste of his dominions by the Carthaginian troops, which their fleet had landed in Sicily, was not capable of shaking his resolution. He was only afflicted to see that the contagion had spread even to his own family.<sup>‡</sup> He had a son named Gelon, who married Nereis the daughter of Pyrrhus, by whom he had several children, and amongst others Hieronymus, of whom we shall soon speak. Gelon, despising his father's great age, and setting no value on the alliance of the Romans after their last disgrace at Cannæ, had declared openly for the Carthaginians. He had already armed the multitude, and solicited the allies of Syracuse to join him; and would<sup>§</sup> perhaps have occasioned great trouble in Sicily, if a

<sup>†</sup> There is reason to believe this was Ptolemy Philadelphus.

<sup>‡</sup> Liv. l. xxiii. n. 30.

<sup>§</sup> *Movissetque in Sicilia res, nisi mors, adeo opportuna ut patrem quoque*

sudden and unexpected death had not intervened. It happened so opportunely, that his father was suspected of having promoted it. He did not survive his son long, and died at the age of fourscore and ten years, infinitely regretted by his people, after having reigned fifty-four years.

## ARTICLE II.

SECT. 1. Hieronymus, grandson of Hiero, succeeds him, and causes him to be regretted by his vices and cruelty. He is killed in a conspiracy. Barbarous murder of the princesses. Hippocrates and Epicydes possess themselves of the government of Syracuse, and declare for the Carthaginians as Hieronymus had done.

THE death of Hiero occasioned great revolutions in Sicily. The kingdom was fallen into the hands of Hieronymus his grandson, a young<sup>b</sup> prince incapable of making a wise use of his independence, and far from possessing strength to resist the seducing allurements of sovereign power. Hiero's apprehensions, that the flourishing condition in which he left his kingdom would soon change under an infant king, suggested to him the thought and desire of restoring their liberty to the Syracusans. But his two daughters opposed that design with all their influence; from the hope, that the young prince would have only the title of king, and that they should have all the authority, in conjunction with their husbands, Andranodorus and Zoippus, who were to hold the first rank amongst his guardians.<sup>c</sup> It was not easy for an old man of ninety to hold out against the caresses and arts of those two women, who besieged him day and night, to preserve the freedom of his mind in the midst of their pressing and assiduous insinuations, and to sacrifice with courage the interests of his family to those of the public.

To prevent as far as possible the evils he foresaw, he appointed him fifteen guardians, who were to form his council; and earnestly desired them, at his death, never to depart from the alliance with the Romans, to which he had inviolably adhered for fifty years, and to teach the young prince to tread in his steps, and to follow the principles in which he had been educated till then.

The king dying after these arrangements, the guardians whom he had appointed for his grandson immediately summoned the assembly, presented the young prince to the people, and caused

*suspicionē adspargeret, armentem eum multitudinem sollicitantemque socios, absumpsisset. Liv.*

<sup>b</sup> Puerum, vixdum libertatem, nedum dominationem, modicè laturum. *Liv.*

<sup>c</sup> Non facile erat nonagesimum jam agentī annum, circumsesto dies noctesque muliebribus blanditiis, liberare animum, et convertere ad publicam privata curam. *Liv.*

the will to be read. A small number of people, expressly placed to applaud it, clapped their hands, and raised acclamations of joy. All the rest, in a consternation equal to that of a family who have lately lost a good father, kept a mournful silence, which sufficiently expressed their grief for their recent loss, and their apprehension of what was to come. His funeral was afterwards solemnized, and more honoured by the sorrow and tears of his subjects, than the care and regard of his relations for his memory.<sup>d</sup>

Andranodorus's first care was to remove all the other guardians, by telling them roundly, the prince was of age to govern for himself.

He was at that time near fifteen years old. So that Andranodorus, being the first to renounce the guardianship held by him in common with many colleagues, united in his own person all their power. The wisest arrangements made by princes at their deaths, are often little regarded, and seldom executed afterwards.

The best and most moderate prince in the world,<sup>e</sup> succeeding a king so well beloved by his subjects, as Hiero had been, would have found it very difficult to console them for the loss they had sustained. But Hieronymus, as if he strove by his vices to make him still more regretted, no sooner ascended the throne, than he made the people sensible how much all things were altered. While neither Hiero, nor Gelon his son, had ever distinguished themselves from the other citizens by their habits, or any outward ornaments, Hieronymus was presently seen in a purple robe, with a diadem on his head, and surrounded by a troop of armed guards. Sometimes he affected to imitate Dionysius, the Tyrant, in coming out of his palace in a chariot drawn by four white horses. All the rest of his conduct was suitable to this equipage :<sup>f</sup> a visible contempt for all the world, haughtiness and disdain in hearing, and affectation of saying disobliging things, so difficult of access, that not only strangers, but even his guardians, could scarce approach him ; a refinement of taste in discovering new methods of excess ; a cruelty so enormous, as to extinguish all sense of humanity in him : this odious disposition of the young king terrified the people to such a degree, that even some of his guardians, to escape

<sup>d</sup> *Funus fit regium, magis amore civium et caritate, quàm curà suorum celebre. Liv.*

<sup>e</sup> *Vix quidem ulli bono moderatoque regi facilis erat favor apud Syracusanos, succedenti tantæ caritati Hieronis. Verùm enimvero Hieronymus, velut suis vitiis desiderabilem efficere vellet avum, primo statim conspectu, omnia quàm disparia essent, ostendit. Liv.*

<sup>f</sup> *Hunc tam superbum apparatus habitumque convenientes sequebantur contemptus omnium hominum, superbæ aures, contumeliosa dicta, rari aditus, non alienis modo sed tutoribus etiam ; libidines novæ, inhumana crudelitas. Liv.*

his cruelty, either put themselves to death, or condemned themselves to voluntary banishment.

Only three men, Andranodorus and Zoippus, both Hiero's sons-in-law, and Thraso, had a great freedom of access to the young king. He paid little more notice to them than to others; but as the two first openly declared for the Carthaginians, and the latter for the Romans, that difference of sentiments, and very warm disputes, which were frequently the consequence of it, drew upon them that prince's attention.

About this time a conspiracy against the life of Hieronymus happened to be discovered. One of the principal conspirators, named Theodotus, was accused. Being put to the torture, he confessed the crime as far as it regarded himself; but all the violence of the most cruel torments could not make him betray his accomplices. At length, as if no longer able to support the pains inflicted on him, he accused the king's best friends, though innocent, amongst whom he named Thraso, as the ring-leader of the whole enterprise; adding, that they should never have engaged in it, if a man of his credit had not been at their head. The zeal he had always expressed for the Roman interests rendered the evidence probable, and he was accordingly put to death. Not one of the accomplices, during their companion's being tortured, either fled or concealed himself, so much they relied upon the fidelity of Theodotus, and such was his fortitude to keep the secret inviolable.

The death of Thraso, who was the sole support of the alliance with the Romans, left the field open to the partisans of Carthage. Hieronymus despatched ambassadors to Hannibal, who sent back a young Carthaginian officer, of illustrious birth, named also Hannibal, with Hippocrates and Epicydes, natives of Carthage, but descended from the Syracusans by their father. After the treaty with Hieronymus was concluded, the young officer returned to his general; the two others continued with the king by Hannibal's permission. The conditions of the treaty were, that after having driven the Romans out of Sicily, of which they fully assured themselves, the river Himera, which also divides the island, should be the boundary of their respective dominions. Hieronymus, puffed up by the praises of his flatterers, even demanded, some time after, that all Sicily should be given up to him, leaving the Carthaginians Italy for their part. The proposal appeared idle and rash; but Hannibal gave very little attention to it, having no other view at that time than of drawing off the young king from the party of the Romans.

Upon the first rumour of this treaty, Appius, prætor of Sicily, sent ambassadors to Hieronymus to renew the alliance made by his grandfather with the Romans. That proud prince received them with great contempt; asking them, with an air of raillery

and insult, what had passed at the battle of Cannæ; that Hannibal's ambassadors had related incredible things respecting it; that he was happy in an opportunity of knowing the truth from their mouths, that he might thence determine upon the choice of his allies. The Romans made answer, that they would return to him, when he had learnt to treat ambassadors seriously, and with respect; and, after having cautioned rather than desired him not to change sides too rashly, they withdrew.

At length his cruelty, and the other vices to which he blindly abandoned himself, drew upon him an unfortunate end. Those who had formed the conspiracy mentioned before, pursued their scheme; and having found a favourable opportunity for the execution of their enterprise, killed him in the city of the Leontines, on a journey he made from Syracuse into the country.

We here evidently see the difference between a king and a tyrant; and that it is not in guards or arms that the security of a prince consists, but in the affection of his subjects. Hiero, from being convinced that those who have the laws in their hands for the government of the people, ought always to govern themselves by the laws, behaved in such a manner, that it might be said the law and not Hiero reigned. He believed himself rich and powerful for no other end than to do good, and to render others happy. He had no occasion to take precautions for the security of his life: he had always the surest guard about him, the love of his people: and Syracuse was afraid of nothing so much as of losing him. Hence he was lamented at his death as the common father of his country. Not only their mouths but hearts were long after filled with his name, and incessantly blessed his memory. Hieronymus, on the contrary, who had no other rule of conduct than violence, who regarded all other men as born solely for himself, and valued himself upon governing them not as subjects but slaves, led the most wretched life in the world, if to pass his days in continual apprehension and terror, can be called living. As he trusted nobody, nobody placed any confidence in him. Those who were nearest his person were the most exposed to his suspicions and cruelty, and thought they had no other security for their own lives than by putting an end to his. Thus ended a reign of short duration, but abounding with disorders, injustice, and oppression.

Appius, <sup>§</sup> who foresaw the consequence of his death, gave the senate advice of all that had passed, and took the necessary precautions to preserve that part of Sicily which belonged to the Romans. They, on their side, perceiving the war in

<sup>§</sup> Liv. l. xxiv. n. 21—35.

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Sicily was likely to become important, sent Marcellus thither, who had been appointed consul with Fabius, in the beginning of the fifth year of the second Punic war, and had distinguished himself gloriously by his successes against Hannibal.

When Hieronymus was killed, the soldiers, less out of affection for him, than a certain natural respect for their kings, had thoughts at first of avenging his death upon the conspirators. But the grateful name of liberty by which they were flattered, and the hope that was given them of the division of the tyrant's treasures amongst them, and of additional pay, with the recital of his horrid crimes and shameful excesses, all together appeased their first heat, and changed their disposition in such a manner, that they left, without interment, the body of that prince for whom they had just before expressed so warm a regret.

As soon as the death of Hieronymus was known at Syracuse, Andranodorus seized the Isle, which was part of the city, with the citadel, and such other places as were most proper for his defence in it, putting good garrisons into them. Theodotus and Sosis, heads of the conspiracy, having left their accomplices with the army, to keep the soldiers quiet, arrived soon after at the city. They made themselves masters of the quarter Achradina, where, by showing the tyrant's bloody robe, with his diadem, to the people, and exhorting them to take arms for the defence of their liberty, they soon saw themselves at the head of a numerous body.

The whole city was in confusion. The next day, at sun-rise, all the people, armed and unarmed, ran to the quarter Achradina, where the senate was holden, which had neither assembled nor been consulted upon any affair since Hiero's death. Polyæus, one of the senators, spoke to the people with great freedom and moderation. He represented, *that having experienced the indignities and miseries of slavery, they were more sensibly affected with them; but that as to the evils occasioned by civil discord, they had rather heard them spoken of by their fathers, than been acquainted with them themselves: that he commended their readiness in taking arms, and should praise them still more, if they did not proceed to use them, till the last extremity: that at present it was his advice to send deputies to Andranodorus, and to let him know he must submit to the senate, open the gates of the Isle, and withdraw his garrisons: that if he persisted in his usurpation, it would be necessary to treat him with more rigour than Hieronymus had experienced.*

This deputation at first made some impression upon him; whether it were, that he still retained a respect for the senate,

and was moved with the unanimous concurrence of the citizens ; or whether the best fortified part of the Isle having been taken from him by treachery and surrendered to the Syracusans, that loss gave him just apprehensions. But his wife Demarata,<sup>h</sup> Hiero's daughter, a haughty and ambitious princess, having taken him aside, put him in mind of the famous saying of Dionysius the Tyrant, *That it was never proper to quit the saddle* (i. e. the tyranny) *till pulled off the horse by the heels ; that a great fortune might be renounced in a moment, but that it would cost abundance of time and pains to attain it : that it was therefore necessary to endeavour to gain time ; and whilst he amused the senate by ambiguous answers, to treat privately with the soldiers at Leontium, whom it would be easy to bring over to his interest by the attraction of the king's treasures in his possession.*

Andranodorus did not entirely reject this counsel, nor think proper to follow it without reserve. He chose a mean between both. He promised to submit to the senate, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity ; and the next day having thrown open the gates of the Isle, repaired to the quarter Achradina ; and there, after having excused his delay and resistance, from the fear he had entertained of being involved in the tyrant's punishment, as his uncle, he declared that he was come to put his person and interest into the hands of the senate. Then turning towards the tyrant's murderers, and addressing himself to Theodotus and Sosis, *You have done*, said he, *a memorable action. But, believe me, your glory is only begun, and has not yet attained its highest pitch. If you do not take care to establish peace and union among the citizens, the state is in great danger of expiring, and of being destroyed at the very moment she begins to taste the blessings of liberty.* After this discourse, he laid the keys of the Isle and of the king's treasures at their feet. The whole city was highly rejoiced on this occasion, and the temples were thronged during the rest of the day with infinite numbers of people, who went thither to return thanks to the gods for so happy a change of affairs.

The next day the senate being assembled according to the ancient custom, magistrates were appointed, amongst whom Andranodorus was elected one of the first, with Theodotus and Sosis, and some others of the conspirators who were absent.

On the other side, Hippocrates and Epicycles, whom Hieronymus had sent at the head of two thousand men, to endeavour

<sup>h</sup> Sed evocatum eum ab legatis Demaratis uxor, filia Hieronis, inflata adhuc regni animis ac muliebri spiritu, admonet sæpe usurpatæ Dionysii tyranni vocis : quæ, pedibus tractum, non insidentem equo, relinquere tyrannidem dixerit debere.



to excite troubles in the cities which continued to adhere to the Romans, seeing themselves, upon the news of the tyrant's death, abandoned by the soldiers under their command, returned to Syracuse, where they demanded to be escorted in safety to Hannibal, having no longer any business in Sicily, after the death of him to whom they had been sent by that general. The Syracusans were not sorry to part with those two strangers, who were of a turbulent, factious disposition, and well experienced in military affairs. There is in most affairs a decisive moment, which never returns after having been once let slip. The negligence in assigning the time for their departure, gave them an opportunity of insinuating themselves into the favour of the soldiers, who esteemed them upon account of their abilities, and of setting them against the senate, and the better inclined part of the citizens.

Andranodorus, whose wife's ambition would never let him rest, and who, till then, had covered his designs with smooth dissimulation, believing it a proper time for disclosing them, conspired with Themistus, Gelon's son-in-law, to seize the sovereignty. He communicated his views to a comedian named Ariston, from whom he kept nothing secret. That profession was not at all dishonourable among the Greeks, and was exercised by persons of no ignoble condition. Ariston believing it his duty, as it really was, to sacrifice his friend to his country, discovered the conspiracy. Andranodorus and Themistus were immediately killed, by order of the other magistrates, as they entered the senate. The people rose, and threatened to revenge their deaths; but were deterred from it by the sight of the dead bodies of the two conspirators, which were thrown out of the senate house. They were then informed of their pernicious designs; to which all the misfortunes of Sicily were ascribed, rather than to the wickedness of Hieronymus, who, being only a youth, had acted entirely upon their counsels. They insinuated that his guardians and tutors had reigned in his name; that they ought to have been cut off before Hieronymus, or at least with him; that impunity had carried them on to commit new crimes, and induced them to aspire to the tyranny: that not being able to succeed in their design by force, they had employed dissimulation and perfidy: that neither favours and honours had been capable of overcoming the wicked disposition of Andranodorus; nor the electing him one of the supreme magistrates amongst the deliverers of their country, him, who was the declared enemy of liberty: that as to the rest, they had been inspired with their ambition of reigning by the princesses of the blood royal, whom they had married, the one Hiero's the other Gelon's daughter.

At those words, the whole assembly cried out, that not one

of them ought to be suffered to live, and that it was necessary to extirpate entirely the race of the tyrants, without suffering any vestige to remain. Such is the nature of the multitude.<sup>1</sup> It either abjectly abandons itself to slavery, or domineers with insolence. But with regard to liberty, which holds the mean betwixt those extremes, it neither knows how to be without it, or to use it; and finds but too many flatterers always ready to enter into its passions, inflame its rage, and hurry it on to excessive violences, and the most inhuman cruelties, to which it is too much inclined of itself; as was the case at this time. At the request of the magistrates, which was almost sooner accepted than proposed, they decreed that the royal family should be entirely destroyed.

Demarata the daughter of Hiero, and Harmonia Gelon's daughter, the first married to Andranodorus, and the other to Themistus, were killed first. From thence they went to the house of Heraclea, wife of Zoippus; who having been sent on an embassy to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, remained there in voluntary banishment, to avoid being witness of the miseries of his country. Having been apprised that they were coming to her, that unfortunate princess had taken refuge with her two daughters in the most retired part of her house, near her household gods. There when the assassins arrived, with her hair loose and dishevelled, her face bathed in tears, and in a condition most proper to excite compassion, she conjured them, in a faltering voice, interrupted with sighs, in the name of Hiero her father and Gelon her brother, *Not to involve an innocent princess in the guilt and misfortunes of Hieronymus. She represented to them, that her husband's banishment had been to her the sole fruit of that reign: that not having had any share in the fortunes and criminal designs of her sister Demarata, she ought to have none in her punishment. Besides, what was there to fear, either from her, in the forlorn condition and almost widowhood to which she was reduced, or from her daughters, unhappy orphans, without credit or support? That if the royal family were become so odious to Syracuse, that it could not bear the sight of them, they might be banished to Alexandria, the wife to her husband, the daughters to their father.* When she saw them inflexible to her remonstrances, forgetting what concerned herself, she implored them at least to save the lives of the princesses her daughters, both of an age which inspires the most inveterate and furious of enemies with compassion; but her discourse made no impression upon the

<sup>1</sup> Hæc natura multitudinis est; aut servit humiliter, aut superbè dominatur: libertatem, quæ media est, nec spernere modice, nec habere sciunt. Et non ferme desunt irarum indulgentes ministri, qui avidos atque intemperantes plebeiorum animos ad sanguinem et cædes irritent. Liv.

minds of those barbarians. Having torn her in a manner from the arms of her household gods, they stabbed her in the sight of her two daughters, and soon after murdered them also, already stained and covered with the blood of their mother. What was still more deplorable in their destiny was, that immediately after their death, an order from the people came for sparing their lives.

From compassion, the people in a moment proceeded to rage and fury against those who had been so hasty in the execution, and had not left them time for reflection or repentance. They demanded that magistrates should be nominated in the room of Andranodorus, and Themistus. They were a long time in suspense upon this choice. At length, somebody in the crowd of the people happening to name Epicydes, another immediately mentioned Hippocrates. Those two persons were demanded with so much ardour by the multitude, which consisted of citizens and soldiers, that the senate could not prevent their being created.

The new magistrates did not immediately discover the design they had, of re-instating Syracuse in the interests of Hannibal. But they had seen with pain the measures which had been taken before they were in office. For immediately after the re-establishment of liberty, ambassadors had been sent to Appius, to propose renewing the alliance which had been broken by Hieronymus. He had referred them to Marcellus, who was lately arrived in Sicily, with an authority superior to his own. Marcellus, in his turn, sent deputies to the magistrates of Syracuse, to treat of peace.

Upon arriving there, they found the state of affairs much altered. Hippocrates and Epicydes, at first by secret practices, and afterwards by open complaints, had inspired every body with great aversion for the Romans ; giving out that designs were formed for putting Syracuse into their hands. The behaviour of Appius, who had approached the entrance of the port with his fleet, to encourage the party in the Roman interest, strengthened those suspicions and accusations so much, that the people ran tumultuously to prevent the Romans from landing, in case they should have that design.

In this trouble and confusion it was thought proper to summon the assembly of the people. In this meeting the opinions differed very much ; and the heat of the debate giving reason to fear some sedition, Apollonides, one of the principal senators, made a discourse very suitable to the present situation of affairs. He intimated, *that never city was nearer its destruction or preservation than Syracuse actually was at that time : that if they all with unanimous consent should join either the Romans or Carthaginians, their condition would be happy : that if they were divided, the war would neither be more warm*

*nor more dangerous between the Romans and Carthaginians, than between the Syracusans themselves against each other, as both parties must necessarily have within the circumference of their own walls their own troops, armies, and generals ; that it was therefore absolutely requisite to make agreement and union amongst themselves their sole care and application ; and that to know which of the two alliances was to be preferred was not now the most important question ; nevertheless, with respect to the choice of allies, the authority of Hiero, in his opinion, ought to prevail over that of Hieronymus ; and that the amity of the Romans, happily experienced for fifty years together, seemed preferable to that of the Carthaginians, upon which they could not much rely for the present, and with which they had had little reason to be satisfied formerly.* He added a last motive of no mean force, which was, *that in declaring against the Romans, they would have a war immediately upon their hands, which the Carthaginians were not able to carry on against them immediately.*

The less passionate this discourse appeared the more effect it had. It induced them to desire the opinion of the several bodies of the state ; and the principal officers of the troops, as well natives as foreigners, were requested to confer together. The affair was long discussed with great warmth. At length, as it appeared that there was no present means for supporting this war against the Romans, a peace with them was resolved, and ambassadors sent to conclude it.

Some days after this resolution had been taken, the Leontines sent to demand aid of Syracuse, for the defence of their frontiers. This deputation seemed to come very seasonably for ridding the city of a turbulent, unruly multitude, and removing their leaders, who were no less dangerous. Four thousand men were ordered to march under the command of Hippocrates, of whom they were glad to be rid, and who was not sorry himself for this opportunity which they gave him to embroil affairs. For he no sooner arrived upon the frontier of the Roman province, than he plundered it, and cut in pieces a body of troops sent by Appius to its defence. Marcellus complained to the Syracusans, of this act of hostility, and demanded that this stranger should be banished from Sicily with his brother Epicycles ; who, having repaired about the same time to Leontium, had endeavoured to embroil the inhabitants with the people of Syracuse, by exhorting them to resume their liberty as well as the Syracusans. The city of the Leontines was dependant on Syracuse, but pretended at this time to throw off the yoke, and to act independently of the Syracusans, as an entirely free city. When therefore the Syracusans sent to complain of the hostilities committed against the Romans, and to demand the expul-

sion of the two Carthaginian brothers, who were the authors of them, the Leontines replied, that they had not empowered the Syracusans to make peace for them with the Romans.

The deputies of Syracuse related to Marcellus this answer from the Leontines, who were no longer at the disposal of their city, and left him at liberty to declare war against them, without any infraction of the treaty made with them. He marched immediately to Leontium, and made himself master of it at the first attack. Hippocrates and Epicydes fled. All the deserters found in the place, to the number of two thousand, were put to the sword; but as soon as the city was taken, all the Leontines and other soldiers were spared, and even every thing taken from them was restored, except what was lost in the first tumult of a city carried by storm.

Eight thousand troops, sent by the magistrates of Syracuse to the aid of Marcellus, met a man on their march, who gave them an account of what had passed at the taking of Leontium; exaggerating with artful malice the cruelty of the Romans, who, he falsely affirmed, had put all the inhabitants to the sword, as well as the troops sent thither by the Syracusans.

This artful falsehood, which they took no steps to ascertain, inspired them with compassion for their companions. They expressed their indignation by their murmurs. Hippocrates and Epicydes, who were before well known to these troops, appeared at the very instant of this trouble and tumult, and put themselves under their protection, not having any other resource. They were received with joy and acclamations. The report soon reached the rear of the army, where the commanders Dinomenes and Sosis were. When they were informed of the cause of the tumult, they advanced hastily, blamed the soldiers for having received Hippocrates and Epicydes, the enemies of their country, and gave orders for their being seized and bound. The soldiers opposed this with great menaces; and the two generals sent expresses to Syracuse, to inform the senate of what had passed.

In the mean time, the army continued its march towards Megara, and upon the way met a courier prepared by Hippocrates, who was charged with a letter which seemed to be written by the magistrates of Syracuse to Marcellus. They praised him for the slaughter he had made at Leontium, and exhorted him to treat all the mercenary soldiers in the same manner, in order that Syracuse might at length be restored to its liberty. The reading of this forged letter enraged the mercenaries, of whom this body of troops was almost entirely composed. They were for falling upon the few Syracusans amongst them, but were prevented from that violence by Hippocrates and Epicy-

des ; not from motives of pity or humanity, but that they might not entirely lose their hopes of re-entering Syracuse. They sent a man thither, whom they had gained by bribes, who related the storming of Leontium, conformably to the first account. Those reports were favourably received by the multitude, who cried out that the gates should be shut against the Romans. Hippocrates and Epicydes arrived about the same time before the city, which they entered, partly by force, and partly by the intelligence they had within it. They killed the magistrates, and took possession of the city. The next day the slaves were made free, the prisoners set at liberty, and Hippocrates and Epicydes elected into the highest offices, in a tumultuous assembly. Syracuse, in this manner, after a short glimpse of liberty, sunk again into its former slavery.

## SECT. II.

The consul Marcellus besieges Syracuse. The considerable losses of men and ships occasioned by the dreadful machines of Archimedes, oblige Marcellus to change the siege into a blockade. He takes the city at length by means of his intelligence within it. Death of Archimedes, killed by a soldier who did not know him.

Affairs being in this state, <sup>k</sup> Marcellus thought  
A. M. 3790.  
 Ant. J. C. 214. proper to quit the country of the Leontines, and advance towards Syracuse. When he was near it, he sent deputies to let the inhabitants know, that he came to restore liberty to the Syracusans, and not with intent to make war upon them. They were not permitted to enter the city. Hippocrates and Epicydes went out to meet them ; and having heard their proposals, replied haughtily, that if the Romans intended to besige their city, they should soon be made sensible of the difference between attacking Syracuse and attacking Leontium. Marcellus, therefore, determined to besiege the place by sea and land ; <sup>l</sup> by land, on the side of the Hexapylum ; and by sea, on that of the Achradina, the walls of which were washed by the waves.

He gave Appius the command of the land forces, and reserved that of the fleet to himself. It consisted of sixty galleys of five benches of oars, which were full of soldiers armed with bows, slings, and darts, to scour the walls. There were a great number of other vessels, laden with all sorts of machines used in attacking places.

The Romans carrying on their attacks at two different places, Syracuse was in great consternation, and apprehensive that no-

<sup>k</sup> Liv. l. xxiv. n. 33, 34. Plut. in Marcel. p. 305—307. Polyb. l. viii. p. 515—518.

<sup>l</sup> The description of Syracuse may be seen in vol. iii.

thing could oppose so terrible a power, and such mighty efforts. And it had indeed been impossible to have resisted them, without the assistance of one single man, whose wonderful industry was every thing to the Syracusans : this was Archimedes. He had taken care to supply the walls with all things necessary to a good defence. As soon as his machines began to play on the land side, they discharged upon the infantry all sorts of darts, and stones of enormous weight, which flew with so much noise, force, and rapidity, that nothing could withstand their shock. They beat down and dashed to pieces all before them, and occasioned a terrible disorder in the ranks of the besiegers.

Marcellus succeeded no better on the side of the sea. Archimedes had disposed his machines in such a manner, as to throw darts to any distance. Though the enemy lay far from the city, he reached them with his larger and more forcible ballistæ and catapultæ. When they overshot their mark, he had smaller, proportioned to the distance ; which put the Romans into such confusion, as made them incapable of attempting any thing.

This was not the greatest danger. Archimedes had placed lofty and strong machines behind the walls, which suddenly letting fall vast beams, with an immense weight at the end of them, upon the ships, sunk them to the bottom. Besides this, he caused an iron grapple to be let out by a chain : and having caught hold of the head of a ship with this hook, by means of a weight let down within the walls, it was lifted up and set upon its stern, and held so for some time ; then by letting go the chain, either by a wheel or a pulley, it was let fall again, with its whole weight, either on its head or side, and often entirely sunk. At other times the machines dragging the ship towards the shore by cordage and hooks, after having made it whirl about a great while, dashed it to pieces against the points of the rocks, which projected under the walls, and thereby destroyed all within it. Galleys frequently seized and suspended in the air, were whirled about with rapidity, exhibiting a dreadful sight to the spectators, after which they were let fall into the sea, and sunk to the bottom with their crew.

Marcellus had prepared, at great expense, machines called *sambucæ*, from their resemblance to a musical instrument of that name. He appointed eight galleys of five benches for that purpose, from which the oars were removed, from half on the right, and from the other half on the left side. These were joined together, two and two, on the sides without oars. This machine consisted of a ladder of the breadth of four feet, which when erect was of equal height with the walls. It was laid at length upon the sides of the two galleys joined together, and extended considerably beyond their beaks ; and upon the masts

of these vessels were affixed cords and pulleys. When it was to work, the cords were made fast to the extremity of the machine, and men upon the stern drew it up by the help of the pulleys; others at the head assisted in raising it with levers. The galleys afterwards being brought forward to the foot of the walls, the machines were applied to them. The bridge of the *sambucæ* was then let down, (no doubt after the manner of a draw-bridge,) upon which the besiegers passed to the walls of the place besieged.

This machine had not the expected effect. Whilst it was at a considerable distance from the walls, Archimedes discharged a vast stone upon it that weighed ten quintals,<sup>m</sup> then a second, and immediately after a third; all of which striking against it with dreadful force and noise, beat down and broke its supports, and gave the galleys upon which it stood such a shock, that they parted from each other.

Marcellus, almost discouraged, and at a loss what to do, retired as fast as possible with his galleys, and sent orders to his land forces to do the same. He called also a council of war, in which it was resolved the next day, before sun-rise, to endeavour to approach the walls. They were in hopes, by this means, to shelter themselves from the machines, which, for want of a distance proportioned to their force, would be rendered ineffectual.

But Archimedes had provided against all contingencies. He had prepared machines long before, as we have already observed, that carried to all distances a proportionate quantity of darts and ends of beams, which, being very short, required less time for preparing them, and in consequence were more frequently discharged. He had besides made small chasms or loop-holes in the walls at little distances, where he had placed scorpions,<sup>n</sup> which, not carrying far, wounded those who approached, without being perceived but by their effect.

When the Romans had gained the foot of the walls, and thought themselves very well covered, they found themselves exposed either to an infinity of darts, or overwhelmed with stones, which fell directly upon their heads, there being no part of the wall which did not continually pour that mortal hail upon them. This obliged them to retire. But they were no sooner removed to some distance, than a new discharge of darts overtook them in their retreat; so that they lost great numbers of men, and almost all their galleys were disabled or beaten to pieces, without being able to revenge their loss in the least

<sup>m</sup> The quintal, which the Greeks called *τάλαντον*, was of several kinds. The least weighed a hundred and twenty-five pounds; the largest more than twelve hundred.

<sup>n</sup> The scorpions were machines in the nature of cross-bows, with which the ancients used to discharge darts and stones.



upon their enemies. For Archimedes had planted most of his machines in security behind the walls ; so that the Romans, says Plutarch, repulsed by an infinity of wounds, without seeing the place or hand from which they came, seemed to fight in reality against the gods.

Marcellus, though at a loss what to do, and not knowing how to oppose the machines of Archimedes, could not, however, forbear jesting upon them. *Shall we persist*, said he to his workmen and engineers, *in making war with this Briareus of a geometrician, who treats my galleys and sambucas so rudely? He infinitely exceeds the fabled giants, with their hundred hands, in his perpetual and surprising discharges upon us.* Marcellus had reason for complaining of Archimedes alone. For the Syracusans were really no more than members of the engines and machines of that great geometrician, who was himself the soul of all their powers and operations. All other arms were unemployed ; for the city at that time made use of none, either defensive or offensive, but those of Archimedes.

Marcellus at length perceiving the Romans so much intimidated, that if they saw upon the walls only a small cord, or the least piece of wood, they would immediately fly, crying out that Archimedes was going to discharge some dreadful machine upon them, renounced his hopes of being able to make a breach in the place, gave over his attacks, and turned the siege into a blockade. The Romans conceived that they had no other resource than to reduce the great number of people in that city by famine, in cutting off all provisions that might be brought to them either by sea or land. During the eight months in which they besieged the city, there were no kind of stratagems which they did not invent, nor any actions of valour left untried, except indeed the assault, which they never dared to attempt more. So much force, upon some occasions, have a single man and a single science, when rightly applied. Deprive Syracuse of only one old man, the great strength of the Roman arms must inevitably take the city ; his sole presence checks and disconcerts all their designs.

We here see, which I cannot repeat too often, how much interest princes have in protecting arts, favouring the learned, encouraging academies of science by honourable distinctions and actual rewards, which never ruin or impoverish a state. I say nothing in this place of the birth and nobility of Archimedes ; he was not indebted to them for the happiness of his genius and profound knowledge ; I consider him only as a learned man, and an excellent geometrician. What a loss would Syracuse have sustained, if, to have saved a small expense and pension, such a man had been abandoned to inaction and obscurity ! Hiero was careful not to act in this manner.

He knew all the value of our geometrician ; and it is no vulgar merit in a prince to understand that of other men. He paid it due honour : he made it useful ; and did not stay till occasion or necessity obliged him to do so ; it would then have been too late. By a wise foresight, the true character of a great prince and a great minister, in the very arms of peace <sup>o</sup> he provided all that was necessary for supporting a siege, and making war with success ; though at that time there was no appearance of any thing to be apprehended from the Romans, with whom Syracuse was allied in the strictest friendship. Hence were seen to arise in an instant, as out of the earth, an incredible number of machines, of every kind and size, the very sight of which was sufficient to strike armies with terror and confusion.

There are amongst these machines, some of which we can scarce conceive the effects, and the reality of which we might be tempted to call in question, if it were allowable to doubt the evidence of writers, such for instance as Polybius, an almost contemporary author, who treated on facts entirely recent, and such as were well known to all the world. But how can we refuse to give credit to the uniform consent of Greek and Roman historians, whether friends or enemies, in regard to circumstances of which whole armies were witnesses, and experienced the effects, and which had so great an influence in the events of the war ? What passed in the siege of Syracuse shows how far the ancients had carried their genius and art in besieging and supporting sieges. Our artillery, which so perfectly imitates thunder, has not more effect than the engines of Archimedes, if indeed they have so much.

A burning-glass is spoken of, by the means of which Archimedes is said to have burnt part of the Roman fleet. That must have been an extraordinary invention ; but as no ancient author mentions it, it is no doubt a modern tradition without any foundation. Burning-glasses were known to antiquity, but not of that kind, which indeed seem impracticable.

After Marcellus had resolved to confine himself to the blockade of Syracuse,<sup>p</sup> he left Appius before the place with two thirds of the army, advanced with the other into the island, and brought over some cities to the Roman interest.

At the same time Himilcon, general of the Carthaginians, arrived in Sicily with a great army, in hopes of re-conquering it, and expelling the Romans.

Hippocrates left Syracuse with ten thousand foot and five

<sup>o</sup> *In pace, ut sapiens, aptârit idonea bello.* Horat.

And wise in peace prepared the arms of war.

<sup>p</sup> Liv. l. xxiv. n. 35. 56.

hundred horse to join him, and carry on the war in concert against Marcellus. Epicydes remained in the city, to command there during the blockade.

The fleets of the two states appeared at the same time on the coast of Sicily; but that of the Carthaginians, seeing itself weaker than the other, was afraid to venture a battle, and soon sailed back for Carthage.

Marcellus had continued eight months before Syracuse with Appius, according to Polybius, when the year of his consulship expired. Livy places the expedition of Marcellus in Sicily, and his victory over Hippocrates, in this year, which must have been the second year of the siege. And indeed Livy has given us no account of this second year, because he had ascribed to the first what had passed in the second. For it is highly improbable that nothing memorable happened in it.

This is the conjecture of Mr. Crevier, professor of rhetoric in the college of Beauvais, who has published a new edition of Livy, with remarks, and with which I am convinced the public will be well pleased. The first volume of the said work contains a long preface, which is well worth reading.

Marcellus, therefore, employed a great part of the second year of the siege in several expeditions in Sicily. On his return from Agrigentum, upon which he had made an ineffectual attempt, he came up with the army of Hippocrates, which he defeated, and killed above eight thousand men. This advantage kept those in their duty who had entertained thoughts of going over to the Carthaginians. After the gaining of this victory, he returned against Syracuse; and having sent off Appius for Rome, who went thither to demand the consulship, he put Q. Crispinus into his place.

In the beginning of the third campaign,<sup>a</sup> Marcellus, almost absolutely despairing of being able to take Syracuse, either by force, because Archimedes continually opposed him with invincible obstacles, or by famine, as the Carthaginian fleet, which was returned more numerous than before, easily threw in convoys, deliberated whether he should continue before Syracuse to push the siege, or turn his endeavours against Agrigentum. But, before he came to a final determination, he thought it proper to try whether he could not make himself master of Syracuse by some secret intelligence. There were many Syracusans in his camp, who had taken refuge there in the beginning of the troubles. A slave of one of these secretly carried on an intrigue, in which fourscore of the principal persons of the city engaged, who came in companies to consult with him in his camp, concealed in barks under the nets of fishermen.

A. M. 3792.  
Ant. J. C. 212.

<sup>a</sup> Liv. l. xxv. n. 23. 31. Plut. in Marcel. 308, 309.

The conspiracy was on the point of taking effect, when a person named Attalus, through resentment for not having been admitted into it, discovered the whole to Epicydes, who put all the conspirators to death.

This enterprise having thus miscarried, Marcellus found himself in new difficulties. Nothing employed his thoughts but the grief and shame of raising a siege, after having consumed so much time, and sustained the loss of so many men and ships in it. An accident supplied him with a resource, and gave new life to his hopes. Some Roman vessels had taken one Dampippus, whom Epicydes had sent to negotiate with Philip, king of Macedon. The Syracusans expressed a great desire to ransom this man, and Marcellus was not averse to it. A place near port Trogilus was agreed on for the conferences concerning the ransom of the prisoner. As the deputies went thither several times, it came into a Roman soldier's thought to consider the wall with attention. After having counted the stones, and examined with his eye the measure of each of them, upon a calculation of the height of the wall he found it to be much lower than it was believed, and concluded that with ladders of a moderate size it might be easily scaled. Without loss of time he related the whole to Marcellus. The general is not always the only wise man in an army; a private soldier may sometimes furnish him with important hints. Marcellus did not neglect this advice, and assured himself of its reality with his own eyes. Having caused ladders to be prepared, he took the opportunity of a festival, that the Syracusans celebrated for three days in honour of Diana, during which the inhabitants gave themselves up entirely to rejoicing and good cheer. At the time of night when he conceived that the Syracusans, after their debauch, would begin to grow drowsy and fall asleep, he made a thousand chosen troops, in profound silence, advance with their ladders to the wall. When the first had got to the top without noise or tumult, others followed, encouraged by the boldness and success of their leaders. These thousand soldiers, taking advantage of the enemy's stillness, who were either drunk or asleep, soon scaled the wall. Having thrown down the gate of the Hexapylum, they took possession of the quarter of the city called Epipolkæ.

It was then no longer time to deceive, but terrify the enemy. The Syracusans, awakened by the noise, began to rouse, and to prepare for action. Marcellus made all his trumpets sound together, which so frightened and alarmed them, that all the inhabitants fled, believing every quarter of the city in the possession of the enemy. The strongest and best part, however, called Achradina, was not yet taken, because separated by its walls from the rest of the city.

Marcellus at day-break entered the new city,<sup>r</sup> by the quarter called Tyche. Epicydes having hastily drawn up some troops, which he had in the Isle, which was adjoining to Achradina, marched against Marcellus; but finding him stronger and better attended than he expected, after a slight skirmish he shut himself up in Achradina.

All the captains and officers with Marcellus congratulated him upon this extraordinary success. As to himself, when he had considered from an eminence the loftiness, beauty, and extent of that city, he is said to have shed tears, and to have deplored the unhappy condition it was upon the point of experiencing. He called to mind the two powerful Athenian fleets which had formerly been sunk before this city, and the two numerous armies cut in pieces, with the illustrious generals who commanded them: the many wars sustained with so much valour against the Carthaginians: the many famous tyrants and potent kings, Hiero particularly, whose memory was still recent, who had signalized himself by so many royal virtues, and still more, by the important services he had rendered the Roman people, whose interests had always been as dear to him as his own. Moved by that reflection, he believed it incumbent upon him, before he attacked Achradina, to send to the besieged to exhort them to surrender voluntarily, and prevent the ruin of their city. His remonstrances and exhortations had no effect.

To prevent being harassed in his rear, he then attacked a fort called Euryelus, which lay at the bottom of the new town, and commanded the whole country on the land side. After having carried it, and placed therein a strong garrison, he turned all his efforts against Achradina.

During these transactions, Hippocrates and Himilcon arrived. The first with the Sicilians having placed and fortified his camp near the great harbour, and given the signal to those who were in possession of Achradina, attacked the old camp of the Romans, in which Crispinus commanded: Epicydes, at the same time, made a sally upon the posts of Marcellus. Neither of these enterprises was successful. Hippocrates was vigorously repulsed by Crispinus, who pursued him as far as his intrenchments, and Marcellus obliged Epicydes to shut himself up in Achradina.

As it was then autumn, there happened a plague which killed great numbers in the city, and still more in the Roman and Carthaginian camps. The distemper was not excessive at first, and proceeded only from the heat of the season and the unwholesomeness of the soil: but afterwards the communication with the infected, and even the care taken of them, dispersed the

<sup>r</sup> The new city, or Neapolis, was Epipolæ, which in the latter times had been taken into the city and surrounded with walls.

contagion; from whence it happened, that some, neglected and absolutely abandoned, died of the violence of the malady, and others received help which became fatal to those who brought it. Death, and the sight of such as were buried, continually presented a mournful object to the eyes of the living. Nothing was heard night and day but groans and lamentations. At length the being accustomed to the evil had hardened their hearts to such a degree, and so far extinguished all sense of compassion in them, that they not only ceased to grieve for the dead, but left them without interment. Nothing was to be seen every where but dead bodies, exposed to the view of those who expected the same fate. The Carthaginians suffered much more from it than the others. As they had no place to retire to, they almost all perished, with their generals Hippocrates and Himilcon. Marcellus, from the first breaking out of the disease, had brought his soldiers into the city, where the roofs and shade were of great relief to them; but notwithstanding, he lost no inconsiderable number of men.

Bomilcar, in the mean time, who commanded the Carthaginian fleet, and had made a second voyage to Carthage to bring a new supply, returned with a hundred and thirty ships, and seven hundred transports. He was prevented by contrary winds from doubling the cape of Pachynus. Epicydes, who was afraid that if those winds continued, this fleet might be discouraged and return to Africa, left Achradina to the care of the generals of the mercenary troops, and went to Bomilcar, whom he persuaded to try the event of a naval battle, as soon as the weather would permit. Marcellus, seeing that the troops of the Sicilians increased every day, and that if he stayed, and suffered himself to be shut up in Syracuse, he should be very much pressed at the same time both by sea and land, resolved, though not so strong in ships, to oppose the passage of the Carthaginian fleet. As soon as the high winds had abated, Bomilcar stood out to sea, in order to double the cape; but when he saw the Roman ships advance towards him in good order, on a sudden, for what reason is not said, he took to flight; sent orders to the transports to regain Africa, and retired to Tarentum. Epicydes, who had been disappointed in such great hopes, and was apprehensive of returning into a city already half taken, made sail for Agrigentum, rather with the design of awaiting the event of the siege in that place than of making any new attempt from thence.

When it was known in the camp of the Sicilians, that Epicydes had quitted Syracuse, and the Carthaginians Sicily, they sent deputies to Marcellus, after having sounded the dispositions of the besieged, to treat upon the conditions on which Syracuse should surrender. It was agreed with unanimity

enough on both sides, that what had appertained to the kings, should appertain to the Romans ; that the Sicilians should retain all the rest, with their laws and liberty. After these preliminaries they demanded a conference with those to whom Epicydes had intrusted the government in his absence. They told them, they had been sent by the army to Marcellus, and the inhabitants of Syracuse, in order that all the Sicilians, as well within as without the city, might have the same fate, and that no separate convention might be made. Having been permitted to enter the city and to confer with their friends and relations, after having informed them of what they had already agreed with Marcellus, and giving them assurances that their lives would be safe, they persuaded them to begin by removing the three governors Epicydes had left in his place, which was immediately put in execution.

After which, having assembled the people, they represented, *That for whatever miseries they had suffered till then, or should suffer from thenceforth, they ought not to accuse fortune, as it depended upon themselves alone to put an end to them : that if the Romans had undertaken the siege of Syracuse, it was out of affection, not enmity, to the Syracusans : that it was not till after they had been apprised of the oppressions they suffered from Hippocrates and Epicydes, those ambitious agents of Hannibal, and afterwards of Hieronymus, that they had taken arms, and begun the siege of the city, not to ruin it, but to destroy its tyrants : that as Hippocrates was dead, Epicydes no longer in Syracuse, his lieutenant slain, and the Carthaginians dispossessed of Sicily, both by sea and land, what reason could the Romans now have for not inclining as much to preserve Syracuse, as if Hiero, the sole example of fidelity towards them, were still alive? That neither the city nor the inhabitants had any thing to fear but from themselves, if they let slip the occasion of renewing their amity with the Romans : that they never had so favourable an opportunity as the present, when they were just delivered from the violent government of their tyrants ; and that the first use they ought to make of their liberty was to return to their duty.*

This discourse was perfectly well received by every body. It was however judged proper to create new magistrates before the nomination of deputies ; the latter of whom were chosen out of the former. The deputy who spoke in their name, and who was instructed solely to use his utmost endeavours that Syracuse might not be destroyed, addressed himself to Marcellus to this effect : *It was not the people of Syracuse who first broke the alliance, and declared war against you, but Hieronymus, less criminal still towards Rome than toward his country : and afterwards, when peace was restored by his death, it was*

*not any Syracusan that infringed it, but the tyrant's instruments, Hippocrates and Epicydes. They were the enemies who have made war against you, after having made us slaves, either by violence, or fraud and perfidy; and it cannot be said that we have had any times of liberty, that have not also been times of peace with you. At present, as soon as we are become masters of ourselves by the death of those who held Sicily in subjection, we come that very instant to deliver up to you our arms, our persons, our walls, and our city, determined not to refuse any conditions you shall think fit to impose. For the rest, continued he, addressing himself still to Marcellus, your interest is as much concerned as ours. The gods have granted you the glory of having taken the finest and most illustrious city possessed by the Greeks. All we have ever achieved worthy of being recorded, either by sea or land, augments and adorns your triumph. Fame is not a sufficiently faithful chronicler to make known the greatness and strength of the city you have taken; posterity can only judge of them by its own eyes. It is necessary that we should show to all travellers, from whatever part of the universe they come, sometimes the trophies we have obtained from the Athenians, Carthaginians, and sometimes those you have acquired from us; and that Syracuse, thus placed for ever under the protection of Marcellus, may be a lasting and eternal monument of the valour and clemency of him who took and preserved it. It is unjust that the remembrance of Hieronymus should have more weight with you than that of Hiero. The latter was much longer your friend than the former your enemy. Permit me to say, you have experienced the good effects of the amity of Hiero; but the senseless enterprises of Hieronymus have fallen solely upon his own head.*

The difficulty was not to obtain what they demanded from Marcellus, but to preserve tranquillity and union amongst those in the city. The deserters, convinced that they should be delivered up to Romans, inspired the foreign soldiers with the same fear. Both the one and the other having therefore taken arms, whilst the deputies were still in the camp of Marcellus, they began by cutting the throats of the magistrates newly elected; and dispersing themselves on all sides, they put to the sword all they met, and plundered whatever fell in their way. That they might not be without leaders, they appointed six officers, three to command in Achradina, and three in the Isle. The tumult being at length appeased, the foreign troops were informed from all hands, that it was concluded with the Romans, that their cause should be entirely distinct from that of the deserters. At the same instant, the deputies who had been sent to Marcellus arrived, who fully undeceived them.



Amongst those who commanded in the Isle, there was a Spaniard named Mericus : means were found to corrupt him. He gave up the gate near the fountain Arethusa to soldiers sent by Marcellus in the night to take possession of it. At day-break the next morning, Marcellus made a false attack on the Achradina, to draw all the forces of the citadel, and the Isle adjoining to it, to that side, and to enable some vessels he had prepared to throw troops into the Isle, which would be unguarded. Every thing succeeded according to his plan. The soldiers, whom those vessels had landed in the Isle, finding almost all the posts abandoned, and the gates by which the garrison of the citadel had marched out against Marcellus still open, they took possession of them after a slight encounter. Marcellus, having received advice that he was master of the Isle, and of part of Achradina, and that Mericus, with the body under his command, had joined his troops, ordered a retreat to be sounded, that the treasures of the kings might not be plundered. They did not rise so high in their amount as was imagined.

The deserters having escaped, a passage being expressly left open for them, the Syracusans opened all the gates of Achradina to Marcellus, and sent deputies to him, with instructions to demand nothing farther from him than the preservation of the lives of themselves and their children. Marcellus having assembled his council, and some Syracusans who were in his camp, gave his answer to the deputies in their presence : *That Hiero, for fifty years, had not done the Roman people more good, than those who had been masters of Syracuse some years past had intended to do them harm ; but that their ill-will had fallen upon their own heads, and they had punished themselves for their violation of treaties in a more severe manner than the Romans could have desired : that he had besieged Syracuse during three years, not that the Roman people might reduce it into slavery, but to prevent the chiefs of the revoltors from continuing to hold it under oppression : that he had undergone many fatigues and dangers in so long a siege ; but that he thought he had made himself ample amends by the glory of having taken that city, and the satisfaction of having saved it from the entire ruin it seemed to deserve.* After having placed a body of troops to secure the treasury, and safe-guards in the houses of the Syracusans who had withdrawn into his camp, he abandoned the city to be plundered. It is reported, that the riches which were pillaged in Syracuse at this time exceeded all that could have been expected at the taking of Carthage itself.

An unhappy accident interrupted the joy of Marcellus, and gave him a very sensible affliction. Archimedes, at a time

when all things were in this confusion at Syracuse, shut up in his closet like a man of another world, who has no regard for what is passing in this, was intent upon the study of some geometrical figure, and not only his eyes, but the whole faculties of his soul, were so engaged in this contemplation, that he had neither heard the tumult of the Romans, universally busy in plundering, nor the report of the city's being taken. A soldier on a sudden comes in upon him, and bids him follow him to Marcellus. Archimedes desired him to stay a moment, till he had solved his problem and finished the demonstration of it. The soldier, who neither cared for his problem nor demonstration, enraged at this delay, drew his sword and killed him. Marcellus was exceedingly afflicted when he heard the news of his death. Not being able to restore him to life, of which he would have been very glad, he applied himself to honour his memory to the utmost of his power. He made a diligent search after all his relations, treated them with great distinction, and granted them peculiar privileges. As for Archimedes, he caused his funeral to be celebrated in the most solemn manner, and erected to him a monument amongst the great persons who had distinguished themselves most at Syracuse.

### ARTICLE III.

#### SECT. I. Tomb of Archimedes discovered by Cicero.

ARCHIMEDES, by his will, had desired his relations and friends to put no other epitaph on his tomb, after his death, than a cylinder circumscribed by a sphere, that is to say, a globe or spherical figure; and to set down at the bottom the proportion which those two solids, the containing and the contained, have to each other. He might have filled up the bases of the columns of his tomb with relievos, whereon the whole history of the siege of Syracuse might have been carved, and himself appeared like another Jupiter thundering upon the Romans. But he set an infinitely higher value upon a discovery, a geometrical demonstration, than upon all the so-much-celebrated machines which he had invented.

Hence he chose rather to do himself honour in the eyes of posterity, by the discovery he had made of the relation of a sphere to a cylinder of the same base and height; which is as two to three.

The Syracusans, who had been in former times so fond of the sciences, did not long retain the esteem and gratitude they owed a man who had done so much honour to their city. Less than a hundred and forty years after, Archimedes was so perfectly forgotten by his citizens, notwithstanding the great

services he had done them, that they denied his having been buried at Syracuse. It is Cicero who informs us of this circumstance.

At the time he was quæstor in Sicily,<sup>a</sup> his curiosity induced him to make a search after the tomb of Archimedes ; a curiosity worthy a man of Cicero's genius, and which merits the imitation of all who travel. The Syracusans assured him that his search would be to no purpose, and that there was no such monument amongst them. Cicero pitied their ignorance, which only served to increase his desire of making that discovery. At length, after several fruitless attempts, he perceived without the gate of the city facing Agrigentum, amongst a great number of tombs in that place, a pillar almost entirely covered with thorns and brambles, through which he could discern the figure of a sphere and cylinder. Those who have any taste for antiquities may easily conceive the joy of Cicero upon this occasion. He cried out, *that he had found what he had looked for.*<sup>b</sup> The place was immediately ordered to be cleared, and a passage opened to the column, on which they saw the inscription still legible, though part of the lines were obliterated by time. So that, says Cicero,<sup>c</sup> in concluding this account, the greatest city of Greece, and the most flourishing of old in the study of the sciences, would not have known the treasure it possessed, if a man, born in a country which it considered almost as barbarous, a man of Arpinum, had not discovered for it the tomb of its citizen, so highly distinguished by the force and penetration of his mind.

We are obliged to Cicero for having left us this curious and elegant account : but we cannot easily pardon him for the contemptuous manner in which he speaks at first of Archimedes. It is in the beginning, where, intending to compare the unhappy life of Dionysius the Tyrant with the felicity of one passed in sober virtue, and abounding with wisdom, he says, *I will not compare the lives of a Plato or an Archytas,<sup>x</sup> persons of consummate learning and wisdom, with that of Dionysius, the most horrid, the most miserable, and the most detestable, that can be imagined. I shall have recourse to a man of his own city, A LITTLE OBSCURE PERSON, who lived many years after him. I shall produce him from his dust,<sup>y</sup> and bring him upon the stage with his rule and compasses in his hand. I say no-*

<sup>a</sup> Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 64. 66.

<sup>b</sup> Εὕρηκα, adopting an expression of Archimedes.

<sup>c</sup> Ita nobilissima Græciæ civitas, quondam verò etiam doctissima, sui civis unius acutissimi monumentum ignorasset, nisi ab homine Arpinate didicisset.

<sup>x</sup> Non ergo jam cum hujus vitæ, quâ tetrius, miserius, detestabilius excogitare nihil possum, Platonis aut Archytæ vitam comparabo, doctorum hominum et planè sapientum. Ex eâdem urbe HUMILEM HOMUNCIONEM à pulvere et radio excitabo, qui multis annis pòst fuit, Archimedem.

<sup>y</sup> He means the dust used by geometers.

thing of the birth of Archimedes, his greatness was of a different class. But ought the greatest geometrician of antiquity, whose sublime discoveries have in all ages been the admiration of the learned, be treated by Cicero as a little and obscure person, as if he had been only a common artificer employed in making machines? unless it be, perhaps, that the Romans, with whom a taste for geometry and such speculative sciences never gained much ground, esteemed nothing great but what related to government and policy.

Orabunt causas melius, cœlique meatus  
Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent :  
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.—*Virg. Æn. vi.*

Let others better mould the running mass  
Of metals, and inform the breathing brass,  
And soften into flesh a marble face ;  
Plead better at the bar, describe the skies,  
And when the stars descend and when they rise ;  
But, Rome, 'tis thine alone with awful sway  
To rule mankind, and make the world obey ;  
Disposing peace and war thy own majestic way.—*Dryden.*

This is the Abbé Fraguier's reflection in the short dissertation he has left us upon this passage of Cicero.\*

## SECT. II.

### Summary of the history of Syracuse.

The island of Sicily, with the greatest part of Italy extending between the two seas, composed what was called Magna Græcia, in opposition to Greece, properly so called, which had peopled all those countries by its colonies.

Syracuse was the most considerable city of A. M. 3295. Sicily, and one of the most powerful of all Greece. It was founded by Archias the Corinthian, in the third year of the seventeenth Olympiad.

The first two ages of its history are very obscure, and therefore I pass over them in silence. It does not begin to be known till after the reign of Gelon, and furnishes in the sequel many great events, for the space of more than two hundred years. During all that time it exhibits a perpetual alternative of slavery under the tyrants, and liberty under a popular government; till Syracuse is at length subjected to the Romans, and makes part of their empire.

I have treated all these events, except the last, in the order of time. But as they are cut into different sections, and dispersed into different books, I have thought proper to unite them here in one point of view, that their series and connexion might

\* *Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions, vol. ii.*

be the more evident, from their being shown together and in general, and the places pointed out, where they are treated with due extent.

**GELON.** The Carthaginians, in concert with A. M. 3520. Xerxes, having attacked the Greeks who inhabited Sicily, whilst that prince was employed in making an irruption into Greece; Gelon who had made himself master of Syracuse, obtained a celebrated victory over the Carthaginians, the very day of the battle of Thermopylæ. Amilcar, their general, was killed in this battle. Historians speak differently of his death, which has occasioned my falling into a contradiction. For on one side I suppose, with Diodorus Siculus,<sup>a</sup> that he was killed by the Sicilians in the battle; and on the other I say, after Herodotus, that to avoid the shame of surviving his defeat, he threw himself into the pile, in which he had sacrificed many human victims.

Gelon, upon returning from his victory, repaired to the assembly without arms or guards, to give the people an account of his conduct. He was chosen king unanimously. He reigned five or six years, solely employed in the truly royal care of making his people happy. See vols. i. and ii.

**HIERO I.** Hiero, the eldest of Gelon's brothers, succeeded him. The beginning of his reign was worthy of great praise. Simonides and Pindar vied with each other in celebrating him. The latter part of it did not answer the former. He reigned eleven years. See vol. ii.

**THRASYBULUS.** Thrasybulus his brother A. M. 3543. succeeded him. He rendered himself odious to all his subjects by his vices and cruelty. They expelled him the throne and city, after a reign of one year. See vol. ii.

### *Times of Liberty.*

After his expulsion, Syracuse and all Sicily A. M. 3544. enjoyed their liberty for the space of almost sixty years.

An annual festival was instituted to celebrate the day upon which their liberty was re-established.

### *Syracuse attacked by the Athenians.*

**A. M. 3588.** During this interval, the Athenians, animated by the warm exhortations of Alcibiades, turned their arms against Syracuse: this was in the sixth year of the

<sup>a</sup> In the history of the Carthaginians.

Peloponnesian war. How fatal the event of this war was to the Athenians, may be seen in vol. iii.

A. M. 3598. **DIONYSIUS the elder.** The reign of this prince is famous for its length of thirty-eight years ; and still more for the extraordinary events with which it was attended. See vols. i. and iii.

A. M. 3632. **Dionysius the younger.** Dionysius, son of the elder Dionysius, succeeded him. He contracts a particular intimacy with Plato, and has frequent conversations with him ; who had come to his court at the request of Dion, the near relation of Dionysius. He did not long profit from the wise precepts of that philosopher, and soon abandoned himself to all the vices and excesses which attend tyranny.

A. M. 3644. Besieged by Dion, he escapes from the citadel, and retires into Italy.

A. M. 3646. Dion's excellent qualities. He is assassinated in his own house by Callippus.

A. M. 3647. Thirteen months after the death of Dion, Hipparinus, brother of Dionysius the younger, expels Callippus, and establishes himself in Syracuse. During the two years of his reign, Sicily is agitated by great commotions.

A. M. 3654. Dionysius the younger, taking advantage of those troubles, re-ascends the throne ten years after having quitted it.

A. M. 3657. At last, reduced by Timoleon, he retires to Corinth. See vols. i. and iii.

### *Times of Liberty.*

A. M. 3658. Timoleon restores liberty to Syracuse. He passes the rest of his life there in a glorious retirement, beloved and honoured by all the citizens and strangers. See vol. iii.

This interval of liberty was of no long duration.

A. M. 3685. **AGATHOCLES.** Agathocles, in a short time, makes himself tyrant of Syracuse. See vol. i.

He commits unparalleled cruelties.

He forms one of the boldest designs related in history ; carries the war into Africa ; makes himself master of the strongest places, and ravages the whole country.

After various events, he perishes miserably. He reigned about twenty-eight years.

### *Times of Liberty.*

A. M. 3713. Syracuse revived again for some time, and tasted with joy the sweets of liberty.

But she suffered much from the Carthaginians, who disturbed her tranquillity by continual wars.

She called in Pyrrhus to her aid. The rapid success of his arms at first gave them great hopes, which soon vanished. Pyrrhus by a sudden retreat plunged the Syracusans into new misfortunes. See vol. i.

**HIERO II.** They were not happy and in tranquillity till the reign of Hiero II. which was very long, and almost always pacific.

**HIERONYMUS.** He scarce reigned one year. His death was followed with great troubles, and the taking of Syracuse by Marcellus.

After that period, what passed in Sicily to its total reduction is little remarkable. There were still some remains of war fomented in it by the partisans of tyranny, and the Carthaginians who supported them ; but those wars were unproductive of any event of consequence, and Rome was soon absolute mistress of all Sicily. Half the island had been a Roman province ever since the treaty which put an end to the first Punic war. By that treaty, Sicily was divided into two parts ; the one continued in the possession of the Romans ; and the other under the government of Hiero ; which last part, after the surrender of Syracuse, fell also into their hands.

### SECT. III.

Reflections upon the government and character of the Syracusans.

By the taking of Syracuse, all Sicily became a province of the Roman empire : but it was not treated as the Spaniards and Carthaginians were afterwards, upon whom a certain tribute was imposed as the reward of the victors, and punishment of the vanquished : *Quasi victoriæ præmium, ac pœna belli*. Sicily, in submitting to the Roman people,<sup>b</sup> retained all her ancient rights and customs, and obeyed them upon the same conditions she had obeyed her kings. And she certainly well deserved that privilege and distinction. She was the first<sup>c</sup> of all the foreign nations that had entered into alliance and amity with

<sup>b</sup> Siciliæ civitates sic in amicitiam recepimus, ut eodem jure essent, quo fuissent ; eadem conditione populo R. parerent quâ suis antea paruissent. *Cic.*

<sup>c</sup> Omnium nationum exterarum princeps Sicilia se ad amicitiam fidemque populi R. applicuit : prima omnium, id quod ornamentum imperii est, provincia est appellata : prima docuit majores nostros, quàm præclarum esset, exteris gentibus imperare.—Itaque majoribus nostris in Africam ex hâc provinciâ gradus imperii factus est. Neque enim tam facîle opes Carthagini tantæ concidissent, nisi illud, et rei frumentariæ subsidium, et receptaculum classibus nostris pateret. Quare P. Africanus, Carthagine deletâ, Siculorum urbes signis monumentisque pulcherrimis exornavit ; ut, quos victoriâ populi R. lætari arbitrabatur, apud eos monumenta victoriæ plurima collocaret. *Cic. Verr. 3. n. 2, 3.*

the Romans ; the first conquest their arms had the glory to make out of Italy ; and the first country that had given them the grateful experience of commanding a foreign people. The greatest part of the Sicilian cities had expressed an unexampled attachment, fidelity, and affection for the Romans. The island was afterwards a kind of step for their troops to pass over into Africa ; and Rome would not so easily have reduced the formidable power of the Carthaginians, if Sicily had not served it as a magazine, abounding with provisions, and a secure retreat for their fleets. Hence, after the taking and ruin of Carthage, Scipio Africanus thought himself bound to adorn the cities of Sicily with a great number of excellent paintings and curious statues ; in order that a people who were so highly gratified with the success of the Roman arms, might be sensible of its effects, and retain illustrious monuments of their victories amongst them.

Sicily would have been happy in being governed by the Romans, if they had always given her such magistrates as Cicero, as well acquainted as he with the obligations of his function, and like him intent upon the due discharge of it. It is highly pleasing to hear him explain himself upon the subject ; which he does in his defence of Sicily against Verres.

After having invoked the gods as witnesses of the sincerity of the sentiments he is going to express, he says : *In all<sup>d</sup> the employments with which the Roman people have honoured me to this day, I have ever thought myself obliged, by the most sacred ties of religion, worthily to discharge the duties of them. When I was made quæstor, I looked upon that dignity, not as a gift conferred upon me, but as a deposit confided to my vigilance and fidelity. When I was afterwards sent to act in that office in Sicily, I thought all eyes were turned upon me, and that my person and administration were in a manner exhibited as a spectacle to the view of all the world : and in this thought, I not only denied myself all pleasures of an extraordinary kind, but even those which are authorized by nature and necessity. I am now intended for ædile. I call the gods*

<sup>d</sup> O dii immortales—Ita mihi meam voluntatem spemque reliquæ vitæ vestra populiq. R. existimatio comprobet, ut ego quos adhuc mihi magistratus populus R. mandavit, sic eos accepi, ut me omnium officiorum obstringi religione arbitrarer. Ita quæstor sum factus, ut mihi honorem illum non tam datum quam creditum ac commissum putarem. Sic obtinui quæsturam in provinciâ, ut omnium oculis in me unum conjectos arbitrarer : ut me quæsturamque meam quasi in aliquo orbis terræ theatro versari existimarem ; ut omnia semper, quæ jucunda videntur esse, non modò his extraordinariis cupiditatibus, sed etiam ipsi naturæ ac necessitati denegarem. Nunc sum designatus ædilis—Ita mihi deos omnes propitios esse velim, ut tametsi mihi jucundissimus est honos populi, tamen nequaquam tantum capio voluptatis, quantum solitudinis et laboris, ut hæc ipsa ædilitas, non quia necesse fuit alicui candidato data, sed quia sic oportuerit recte collocata, et judicio populi digno in loco posita esse videatur. *Cic. Verr. 7. n. 35—37.*



*to witness, that how honourable soever this dignity seems to me, I have too just a sense of its weight, not to have more solicitude and disquiet, than joy and pleasure, from it ; so much do I desire to make it appear, that it was not bestowed on me by chance, or the necessity of being filled up, but confided deservedly by the choice and discernment of my country.*

All the Roman governors were far from being of this character ; and Sicily, above all other provinces, experienced, as Cicero some lines after reproaches Verres,<sup>e</sup> that they were almost all of them like so many tyrants, who believed themselves attended by the fasces and axes, and invested with the authority of the Roman empire, only to exercise in their province an open robbery of the public with impunity, and to break through all the barriers of justice and shame in such a manner, that no man's estate, life, house, nor even honour, were safe from their violence.

Syracuse, from all we have seen of it, must have appeared like a theatre, on which many different and surprising scenes have been exhibited ; or rather like a sea, sometimes calm and untroubled, but oftener violently agitated by winds and storms, always ready to overwhelm it entirely. We have seen in no other republic such sudden, frequent, violent, and various revolutions ; sometimes enslaved by the most cruel tyrants, at others under the government of the wisest kings ; sometimes abandoned to the capricious will of a populace, without either curb or restriction ; sometimes perfectly docile and submissive to the authority of law, and the empire of reason, it passed alternately from the most insupportable slavery to the most grateful liberty, from a kind of convulsive and frantic emotion, to a wise, peaceable, and regular conduct. The reader will easily call to mind, on the one side, Dionysius the father and son, Agathocles, and Hieronymus, whose cruelties made them the object of the public hatred and detestation ; on the other, Gelon, Dion, Timoleon, the two Hieros, ancient and modern, universally beloved and revered by the people.

To what are such opposite extremes, and vicissitudes so contrary, to be attributed ? Undoubtedly, the levity and inconstancy of the Syracusans, which was their distinguishing characteristic, had a great share in them : but what, I am convinced, conduced the most to them, was the very form of their government, compounded of an aristocracy and a democracy ; that is to say, divided between the senate or elders, and the

<sup>e</sup> Nunquam tibi venit in mentem, non tibi idcirco fasces et secures, et tantam imperii vim, tantamque ornamentorum omnium dignitatem datam ; ut earum rerum vi et auctoritate omnia repagula juris, pudoris, et officii perfringeres ; ut omnium bona prædâ tuam duceres ; nullius res tuta, nullius domus clausa, nullius vita septa, nullius pudicitia munita, contra tuam cupiditatem et audaciam posset esse. *Cic. Ver. n. 39.*

people. As there was no counterpoise in Syracuse to balance those two bodies, when authority inclined either to the one side or the other, the government presently changed either into a violent and cruel tyranny, or an unbridled liberty, without order or regulation. The sudden confusion, at such times, of all orders of the state, made the way to sovereign power easy to the most ambitious of the citizens; to attract the affection of their country, and soften the yoke to their fellow-citizens, some exercised that power with lenity, wisdom, equity, and affability; and others, by nature less virtuously inclined, carried it to the last excess of the most absolute and cruel despotism, under pretext of supporting themselves against the attempts of their citizens, who, jealous of their liberty, thought every means for the recovery of it legitimate and laudable.

There were, besides, other reasons that rendered the government of Syracuse difficult, and thereby made way for the frequent changes it underwent. That city did not forget the signal victories it had obtained against the formidable power of Africa, and that it had carried its victories and the terror of its arms even to the walls of Carthage; and that not once only, as afterwards against the Athenians, but during several ages. The high idea its fleets and numerous troops suggested of its maritime power, at the time of the irruption of the Persians into Greece, occasioned its pretending to equal Athens in that respect, or at least to divide the empire of the sea with that state.

Besides which, riches, the natural effect of commerce, had rendered the Syracusans proud, haughty, and imperious, and at the same time had plunged them into a sloth and luxury that inspired them with a disgust for all fatigue and application. They generally abandoned themselves blindly to their orators, who had acquired an absolute ascendant over them. In order to make them obey, it was necessary either to flatter or reproach them.

They had naturally a fund of equity, humanity, and good-nature; and yet, when influenced by the seditious discourses of the orators, they would proceed to excessive violence and cruelties, of which they immediately after repented.

When they were left to themselves, their liberty, which at that time knew no bounds, soon degenerated into caprice, fury, violence, and, I might say, even frenzy. On the contrary, when they were subjected to the yoke, they became base, timorous, submissive, and grovelling, like slaves. But as this condition was constrained, and directly contrary to the character and disposition of the Greek nation, born and nurtured in liberty, the sense of which was not wholly extinguished in them, but merely lulled asleep, they waked from time to time

from their lethargy, broke their chains, and made use of them, if I may be admitted to use the expression, to beat down and destroy the unjust masters who had imposed them.

With the slightest attention to the whole series of the history of the Syracusans, it may easily be perceived, (as Galba afterwards said of the Romans,) that <sup>f</sup>they were equally incapable of bearing either entire liberty or entire servitude. So that the ability and policy of those who governed them, consisted in keeping the people to a wise medium between those two extremes, by seeming to leave them an entire freedom in their resolutions, and reserving only to themselves the care of explaining the utility, and facilitating the execution, of good measures. And in this the magistrates and kings we have spoken of were wonderfully successful, under whose government the Syracusans always enjoyed peace and tranquillity, were obedient to their princes, and perfectly submissive to the laws. And this induces me to conclude, that the revolutions of Syracuse were less the effect of the people's levity, than the fault of those that governed them, who had not the art of managing their passions, and engaging their affection, which is properly the science of kings, and of all who command others.

<sup>f</sup> Imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt, nec totam libertatem. *Tacit. Hist.* l. i. c. 16.

## BOOK XXIII.

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THE

## HISTORY OF PONTUS.

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### SECT. I.

Mithridates, at twelve years of age, ascends the throne of Pontus. He seizes Cappadocia and Bithynia, having first expelled their kings. The Romans re-establish them. He causes all the Romans and Italians in Asia Minor to be put to the sword in one day. First war of the Romans with Mithridates, who had made himself master of Asia Minor and Greece, and had taken Athens. Sylla is charged with this war. He besieges and retakes Athens. He gains three great battles against the generals of Mithridates. He grants that prince peace in the fourth year of the war. Library of Athens, in which were the works of Aristotle. Sylla causes it to be carried to Rome.

MITHRIDATES, king of Pontus, whose history I am now beginning to relate, and who rendered himself so famous by the war he supported, during almost thirty years, against the Romans, was surnamed Eupator. He was descended from a house which had given a long succession of kings to the kingdom of Pontus. The first, according to some historians, was Artabazus, one of the seven princes that slew the Magi, and set the crown of Persia upon the head of Darius Hystaspes, who rewarded him with the kingdom of Pontus. But, besides that we do not find the name of Artabazus amongst those seven Persians, many reasons induce us to believe, that the prince of whom we speak was the son of Darius, the same who is called Artabazanes, who was competitor with Xerxes for the throne of Persia, and was made king of Pontus either by his father or his brother, to console him for the preference given to Xerxes. His posterity enjoyed that kingdom during seventeen generations. Mithridates Eupator, of whom we are treating in this place, was the sixteenth from him.

He was but twelve years of age when he began to reign. His father, before his death, had appointed him his successor, and had given him his mother for guardian, who was to govern jointly with him. He

A. M. 3880.  
Ant. J. C. 124.

began his reign by putting his mother and brother to death ;<sup>a</sup> and the sequel corresponded but too well with such a beginning. Nothing is said of the first years of his reign<sup>b</sup> except that one of the Roman generals, whom he had corrupted with money, having surrendered, and put him into possession of Phrygia, it was soon after taken from him by the Romans, which gave birth to his enmity against them.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, being dead,

A. M. 3913.

Ant. J. C. 91.

Mithridates caused the two sons he had left behind him to be put to death, though their mother Laodice was his own sister, and placed one of his own sons, at that time very young, upon the throne, giving him the name of Ariarathes, and appointing Gordius his guardian and regent. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who was apprehensive that this increase of power would put Mithridates into a condition to possess himself also of his dominions in time, thought proper to set up a certain young man (who seemed very fit for acting such a part) as a third son of Ariarathes. He engaged Laodice, whom he had espoused after the death of her first husband, to acknowledge him as such, and sent her to Rome, to assist and support by her presence the claim of this pretended son, whom she carried thither along with her. The cause being brought before the senate, both parties were condemned ; and a decree passed, by which the Cappadocians were declared free. But they said they could not be without a king. The senate permitted them to choose whom they thought fit. They elected Ariobarzanes, a nobleman of their nation. Sylla, upon his quitting the office of prætor, was charged with the commission of establishing him upon the throne. That was the pretext assigned for this expedition ; but the real motive of it was, to check the enterprises of Mithridates, whose power daily augmenting, gave umbrage to the Romans. Sylla executed his

A. M. 3914.

Ant. J. C. 90.

commission the following year ; and after having defeated a great number of Cappadocians, and a much greater of Armenians, who came to their aid, he expelled Gordius, with the pretended Ariarathes, and set Ariobarzanes in his place.

Whilst Sylla was encamped upon the banks of the Euphrates, a Parthian, named Orobasus, arrived at his camp, deputed from king Arsaces,<sup>c</sup> to demand the alliance and amity of the Romans. Sylla, when he received him at his audience, caused three seats to be placed in his tent, one for Ariobarzanes, who was present, another for Orobasus, and that in the midst for himself. The Parthian king afterwards, offended at his deputy

<sup>a</sup> Memnon in excerptis Photii, c. xxxii.

<sup>b</sup> Appian. in Mithrid. 177, 178.

<sup>c</sup> This was Mithridates II.

for having acquiesced in this instance of Roman pride, caused him to be put to death. This is the first time the Parthians had any intercourse with the Romans.

Mithridates did not dare at that time to oppose the establishment of Ariobarzanes; but dissembling the mortification that conduct of the Romans gave him, he resolved to take an opportunity of being revenged upon them. In the mean while, he engaged in cultivating powerful alliances for the augmentation of his strength; and began with Tigranes, king of Armenia, a very powerful prince. Armenia<sup>d</sup> had at first appertained to the Persians; it came under the Macedonians afterwards; and upon the death of Alexander made part of the kingdom of Syria. Under Antiochus the Great, two of his generals, Artaxius and Zadriades, with that prince's permission, established themselves in this province, of which it is probable they were before governors. After the defeat of Antiochus, they adhered to the Romans, who acknowledged them as kings. They had divided Armenia into two parts. Tigranes, of whom we now speak, was descended from Artaxius. He possessed himself of all Armenia, subjected several neighbouring countries by his arms, and thereby formed a very powerful kingdom. Mithridates gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, and engaged him to enter so far into his projects against the Romans, that they agreed Mithridates should have the cities and countries they should conquer for his share, and Tigranes the people, with all the effects capable of being carried away.

The first enterprise and act of hostility was committed by Tigranes, who deprived Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, of which the Romans had put him into possession, and re-established Ariarathes, the son of Mithridates, in it. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, happening to die about this time, his eldest son, called also Nicomedes, ought naturally to have succeeded him, and was accordingly proclaimed king. But Mithridates set up his younger brother Socrates against him, who deprived him of the throne by force of arms. The two dethroned kings went to Rome, to implore aid of the senate, who decreed their re-establishment, and sent Manius Aquilius and M. Altinius to put that decree in execution.

They were both re-instated. The Romans advised them to make irruptions into the lands of Mithridates, promising them their support; but neither the one nor the other dared to attack so powerful a prince so near home. At length, however, Nicomedes, urged both by the ambassadors, to whom he had promised great sums for his re-establishment, and by his creditors, Roman citizens settled in Asia, who had lent him very consi-

<sup>d</sup> Strab. l. xi. p. 531, 532.

derable sums for the same purpose, could no longer resist their solicitations. He made incursions upon the lands of Mithridates, ravaged all the flat country as far as the city Amastris, and returned home laden with booty, which he applied in discharging part of his debts.

Mithridates was not ignorant by whose advice Nicomedes had committed this irruption. He might easily have repulsed him, as he had a great number of good troops on foot; but he did not take the field. He was glad to throw the blame on the side of the Romans, and to have a just cause for declaring war against them. He began by making remonstrances to their generals and ambassadors. Pelopidas was at the head of this embassy. He complained of the various contraventions of the Romans to the treaty of alliance subsisting between them and Mithridates, and in particular of the protection granted by them to Nicomedes, his declared enemy. The ambassadors of the latter replied, and made complaints on their side against Mithridates. The Romans, who were unwilling to declare themselves openly at present, gave the man answer in loose and general terms; that the Roman people had no intention that Mithridates and Nicomedes should injure each other.

Mithridates, who was not satisfied with this answer, made his troops march immediately into Cappadocia, expelled Ariobarzanes again, and set his son Ariarathes upon the throne, as he had done before. At the same time, he sent his ambassador to the Roman generals to make his apology, and to renew his complaints against them. Pelopidas declared to them, that his master was contented the Roman people should be umpire in the affair; and added, that he had already sent his ambassadors to Rome. He exhorted them not to undertake any thing till they had received the senate's orders, nor engage rashly in a war that might be attended with fatal consequences. For the rest, he gave them to understand, that Mithridates, in case justice were refused him, was in a condition to procure it for himself. The Romans, highly offended at so haughty a declaration, made answer, that Mithridates was immediately to withdraw his troops from Cappadocia, and not to continue to disturb Nicomedes or Ariobarzanes. They ordered Pelopidas to quit the camp that moment, and not return, unless his master obeyed. The other ambassadors were no better received at Rome.

The rupture was then inevitable, and the Roman generals did not wait till the orders of the senate and people arrived; which was what Mithridates wished. The design he had long formed of declaring war against the Romans, had occasioned his having made many alliances, and engaged many nations in his interest. Amongst his troops were reckoned twenty-two

nations, of as many different languages, all which Mithridates himself spoke with facility. His army consisted of 250,000 foot and 40,000 horse, without including 130 armed chariots and a fleet of 400 ships.

Before he proceeded to action,<sup>c</sup> he thought it necessary to prepare his troops for it, and made them a long discourse to animate them against the Romans.<sup>d</sup> He represented to them, *That the matter now in hand was not to examine whether war or peace were to be preferred; that the Romans, by attacking them first, had left them no room for deliberation; that their business was to fight and conquer: that he assured himself of success, if the troops persisted to act with the same valour they had already shown upon so many occasions, and very lately against the same enemies, whom they had put to flight and cut to pieces in Bithynia and Cappadocia: that there could not be a more favourable opportunity than the present, when the Marsi infested and ravaged the very heart of Italy; when Rome was torn in pieces by civil wars, and an innumerable army of the Cimbri from Germany overran all Italy: that the time was come for humbling those proud republicans, who were hostile to the royal dignity, and had sworn to pull down all the thrones of the universe. Then as to what remained,<sup>e</sup> *the war his soldiers were now entering upon was highly different from what they had sustained with so much valour in the horrid deserts and frozen regions of Scythia: that he should lead them into the most fruitful and temperate country of the world, abounding with rich and opulent cities, which seemed to offer themselves an easy prey: that Asia, abandoned to be devoured by the insatiable avarice of the proconsuls, the inexorable cruelty of tax-gatherers, and the flagrant injustice of corrupt judges, held the name of Roman in abhorrence, and impatiently expected them as her deliverers: that they followed him, not so much to a war, as to assured victory and certain spoils. The**

<sup>c</sup> Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3—7.

<sup>d</sup> I have abridged this discourse extremely, which Justin repeats at length, as it stood in Trogius Pompeius, of whom he is only the epitomiser. The discourse is a specimen of that excellent historian's style, and ought to make us very much regret the loss of his writings.

<sup>e</sup> *Nunc se diversam belli conditionem ingredi. Nam neque caelo Asia esse temperatius aliud, nec solo fertilius, nec urbium multitudine amœnius; magnamque temporis partem, non ut militiam, sed ut festum diem, acturos, bello dubium fucili magis an uberi—tantumque se avida expectat Asia, ut etiam vocibus vocet: adeo illis odium Romanorum incussit rapacitas proconsulum, sectio publicanorum, calumniæ litium.* Justin.—*Sectio publicanorum* in this passage properly signifies, the forcible sale of the goods of those who for default of payment of taxes and imposts had their estates and effects seized on and sold by the publicans. *Calumniæ litium* are the unjust quirks and chicanery, which served as pretexts for depriving the rich of their estates, either upon account of taxes, or under some other colour.



army answered this discourse with universal shouts of joy, and reiterated protestations of service and fidelity.

The Romans had formed three armies out of their troops in the several parts of Asia Minor. The first was commanded by L. Cassius, who had the government of the province of Pergamus: the second, by Manius Aquilius; the third, by Q. Oppius, proconsul, in his province of Pamphylia. Each of them had forty thousand men, including the cavalry. Besides these troops, Nicomedes had fifty thousand foot and six thousand horse. They began the war, as I have already observed, without waiting for orders from Rome, and carried it on with so much negligence and so little judgment, that they were all three defeated on different occasions, and their armies ruined. Aquilius and Oppius themselves were taken prisoners, and treated with all kinds of insults. Mithridates, considering Aquilius as the principal author of the war, treated him with the highest indignities. He made him pass in review before the troops, and presented him as a sight to the people, mounted on an ass, obliging him to cry out with a loud voice, that he was Manius Aquilius. At other times he obliged him to walk on foot with his hands fastened by a chain to a horse that drew him along. At last he caused molten lead to be poured down his throat, and put him to death with the most exquisite torments. The people of Mitylene had treacherously delivered him up to Mithridates at a time when he was sick, and had retired to their city for the recovery of his health.

Mithridates,<sup>h</sup> who was desirous of gaining the people's hearts by his reputation for clemency, sent home all Greeks he had taken prisoners, and supplied them with provisions for their journey. That instance of his goodness and lenity opened the gates of all the cities to him. The people came out to meet him every where with acclamations of joy. They gave him excessive praises, called him the preserver, the father of the people, the deliverer of Asia, and applied to him all the other names by which Bacchus was denominated, to which he had a just title, for he passed for the prince of his time<sup>i</sup> who could drink most without being disordered; a quality he valued himself upon, and thought much to his honour.

The fruits of these his first victories were, the conquest of all Bithynia, from which Nicomedes was driven; of Phrygia and Mysia, lately made Roman provinces, of Lycia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, and several other countries.

Having found at Stratonice a young maid of exquisite beauty, named Monima, he took her along with him in his train.

<sup>h</sup> Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 401. Athen. l. v. p. 213. Cic. Orat. pro Flacc. n. 60.

<sup>i</sup> Plut. Sympos. l. i. p. 624.

A. M. 3916.  
Ant. J. C. 88. Mithridates,<sup>k</sup> considering that the Romans, and all the Italians in general, who were at that time in Asia Minor upon different affairs, carried on secret intrigues much to the prejudice of his interests, sent private orders from Ephesus, where he then was, to the governors of the provinces, and magistrates of the cities of Asia Minor, to massacre them all upon a day fixed.<sup>l</sup> The women, children, and domestics, were included in this proscription. To those orders was annexed a prohibition to give interment to those who should be killed. Their estates and effects were to be confiscated for the use of the king and the murderers. A severe fine was laid upon such as should conceal the living, or bury the dead ; and a reward appointed for whoever discovered those who were hid. Liberty was given to the slaves who killed their masters ; and debtors forgiven half their debts, for killing their creditors. The repetition only of this dreadful order is enough to make one shudder with horror. What then must have been the desolation in all these provinces when it was put in execution ! Fourscore thousand Romans or Italians were butchered in consequence of it. Some make the slain amount to almost twice that number.

Being informed that there was a great treasure at Cos,<sup>m</sup> he sent people thither to seize it. Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, had deposited it there, when she undertook the war in Phœnicia against her son Lathyrus. Besides this treasure, they found eight hundred talents, (eight hundred thousand crowns,) which the Jews in Asia Minor had deposited there when they saw the war ready to break out.

All those who had found means to escape this general slaughter in Asia, had taken refuge in Rhodes,<sup>n</sup> which received them with joy, and afforded them a secure retreat. Mithridates laid siege to that city ineffectually, which he was soon obliged to raise, after having been in danger of being taken himself in a sea-fight, wherein he lost many of his ships.

When he had made himself master of Asia Minor,<sup>o</sup> Mithridates sent Archelaus, one of his generals, with an army of a hundred and twenty thousand men, into Greece. That general took Athens, and chose it for his residence, giving all orders from thence in regard to the war on that side. During his stay there, he engaged most of the cities and states of Greece in the interests of his master. He reduced Delos by force, which had revolted from the Athenians, and re-instat-

<sup>k</sup> Appian. p. 185. Cic. in Orat. pro lege Manil. n. 7.

Is uno die totâ Asiâ, tot in civitatibus, uno nuntio, atque unâ literarum significatione, cives Romanos necandos trucidandosque denotavit. Cic.

<sup>m</sup> Appian. p. 186. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12.

<sup>n</sup> Appian. p. 186—188. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 402.

<sup>o</sup> Plut. in Sylla, p. 458—461. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 188—197.

ed them in the possession of it. He sent them the sacred treasure, kept in that island by Aristion, to whom he gave two thousand men as a guard for the money. Aristion was an Athenian philosopher, of the sect of Epicurus. He employed the two thousand men under his command to secure to himself the supreme authority at Athens, where he exercised a most cruel tyranny, putting many of the citizens to death, and sending many to Mithridates, upon pretence that they were of the Roman faction.

Such was the state of affairs when Sylla was  
 A. M. 3917.  
 Ant. J. C. 87. charged with the war against Mithridates. He set out immediately for Greece, with five legions, and some cohorts and cavalry. Mithridates was at that time at Pergamus, where he distributed riches, governments, and other rewards, to his friends.

Upon Sylla's arrival, all the cities opened their gates to him, except Athens, which, subjected to the tyrant Aristion's yoke, was obliged unwillingly to oppose him. The Roman general, having entered Attica, divided his troops into two bodies, the one of which he sent to besiege Aristion in the city of Athens, and with the other he marched in person to the port Piræus, which was a kind of second city, where Archelaus had shut himself up, relying upon the strength of the place, the walls being almost sixty feet high, and entirely of hewn stone. The work was indeed very strong, and had been raised by the order of Pericles in the Peloponnesian war, when, the hopes of victory depending solely upon this port, he had fortified it to the utmost of his power.

The height of the walls did not amaze Sylla. He employed all sorts of engines in battering them, and made continual assaults. If he would have waited a little, he might have taken the higher city without striking a blow, which was reduced by famine to the last extremity. But, being in haste to return to Rome, and apprehending the changes that might happen there in his absence, he spared neither danger, attacks, nor expense, in order to hasten the conclusion of that war. Without enumerating the rest of the warlike stores and equipage, twenty thousand mules were perpetually employed in working the machines only. Wood happening to fall short, from the great consumption made of it in the machines, which were often broken and spoiled by the vast weight they carried, or burnt by the enemy, he did not spare the sacred groves. He cut down the beautiful avenues of the Academy and Lycæum, which were the finest walks in the suburbs, and planted with the finest trees; and caused the high walls that joined the port to the city to be demolished, in order to make use of the ruins in erecting his works, and carrying on his approaches.

As he had occasion for abundance of money in this war, and endeavoured to attach the soldiers to his interests, and to animate them by great rewards, he had recourse to the inviolable treasures of the temples, and caused the finest and most precious gifts, consecrated at Epidaurus and Olympia, to be brought from thence. He wrote to the Amphictyons assembled at Delphi, *That they would act wisely in sending him the treasures of the god, because they would be more secure in his hands; and that if he should be obliged to make use of them, he would return the value after the war.* At the same time he sent one of his friends, named Caphis, a native of Phocis, to Delphi, to receive all those treasures by weight.

When Caphis arrived at Delphi, he was afraid, through reverence for the god, to meddle with the consecrated gifts, and bewailed with tears, in the presence of the Amphictyons, the necessity imposed upon him. Upon which, some person there having said, that he heard the sound of Apollo's lyre from the inside of the sanctuary, Caphis, whether he really believed it, or was willing to take advantage of that occasion to strike Sylla with a religious awe, wrote him an account of what had happened. Sylla, deriding his simplicity, replied, *That he was surprised he should not comprehend, that singing was a sign of joy, and by no means of anger and resentment; and therefore, he had nothing to do but to take the treasures boldly, and be assured that the god saw him do so with pleasure, and gave them to him himself.*

Plutarch, on this occasion, notices the difference between the ancient Roman generals, and those of the times we now speak of. The former, whom merit alone had raised to office, and who had no other views from their employments but the public good, knew how to make the soldiers respect and obey them, without descending to use low and unworthy methods for that purpose. They commanded troops that were steady, disciplined, and well inured to execute the orders of their generals without reply or delay. Truly kings, says Plutarch,<sup>p</sup> in the grandeur and nobility of their sentiments, but simple and modest private persons in their train and equipage, they put the state to no other expense in the discharge of their offices than what was reasonable and necessary, conceiving it more shameful in a captain to flatter his soldiers, than to fear his enemies. Things were much changed in the time we now speak of. The Roman generals, abandoned to insatiable ambition and luxury, were obliged to make themselves slaves to their soldiers, and to buy their services by gifts proportioned to their avidity, and often by the toleration and impunity of the greatest crimes.

Sylla, in consequence, was perpetually in extreme want of

<sup>p</sup> Αὐτοὶ τε ταῖς ψυχαῖς βασιλικοῖ, καὶ ταῖς δαπαναῖς εὐτελεῖς ὄντες.

money to satisfy his troops, and then more than ever for carrying on the siege in which he had engaged, the success of which seemed to him of the highest importance, both with respect to his honour and even his safety. He was desirous of depriving Mithridates of the only city he had left in Greece, and which, by preventing the Romans from passing into Asia, would destroy all hopes of conquering that prince, and oblige Sylla to return shamefully into Italy, where he would have found more terrible enemies in Marius and his faction. He was besides sensibly galled by the keen raillery which Aristion vented every day against him and his wife Metella.

It is not easy to say whether the attack or defence were conducted with most vigour ; for both sides behaved with incredible courage and resolution. The sallies were frequent, and attended with almost battles in form, in which the slaughter was great, and the loss generally not very unequal. The besieged would not have been in a condition to have made so vigorous a defence, if they had not received several considerable reinforcements by sea.

What did them most damage was the secret treachery of two Athenian slaves who were in the Piræus. Those slaves, whether out of affection to the Roman interest, or desirous of providing for their own safety in case the place was taken, wrote upon leaden balls all that was going forward within, and threw from slings to the Romans. So that how prudent soever the measures were which Archelaus took who defended the Piræus, whilst Aristion commanded in the city, none of them succeeded. He resolved to make a general sally ; the traitors slung a leaden ball with this intelligence upon it: *To-morrow at such an hour, the foot will attack your works, and the horse your camp.* Sylla laid ambushes, and repulsed the besieged with loss. A convoy of provisions was in the night to have been thrown into the city, which was in want of every thing. Upon advice of the same kind the convoy was intercepted.

Notwithstanding all these disappointments, the Athenians defended themselves like lions. They found means either to burn most of the machines erected against the wall, or by undermining them to throw them down and break them to pieces.

The Romans, on their side, behaved with no less vigour. By the help of mines also they made a way to the bottom of the walls, under which they hollowed the ground ; and, having propped the foundation with beams of wood, they afterwards set fire to the props with a great quantity of pitch, sulphur, and tow. When those beams were burnt, part of the wall fell down with a horrible noise, and a large breach was opened, through which the Romans advanced to the assault. The battle continued a great while with equal ardour on both sides, but the

Romans were at length obliged to retire. The next day they renewed the attack. The besieged had built a new wall during the night in the form of a crescent, in the place of the other which had fallen, and the Romans found it impossible to force it.

Sylla, discouraged by so obstinate a defence, resolved to attack the Piræus no longer, and confined himself to reduce the place by famine. The city on the other side was at the last extremity. A bushel of barley had been sold in it for a thousand drachmas (about five-and-twenty pounds sterling). The inhabitants did not only eat the grass and roots which they found about the citadel, but the flesh of horses, and the leather of their shoes, which they boiled soft. In the midst of the public misery, the tyrant passed his days and nights in revelling. The senators and priests went to throw themselves at his feet, conjuring him to have pity on the city, and to obtain a capitulation from Sylla: he dispersed them with a shower of arrows, and in that manner drove them from his presence.

He did not demand a cessation of arms, nor send deputies to Sylla, till reduced to the last extremity. As those deputies made no proposals, and asked nothing of him to the purpose, but ran on in praising and extolling Theseus, Eumolpus, and the exploits of the Athenians against the Medes, Sylla was tired with their discourse, and interrupted them, by saying, *Gentlemen orators, you may go back again, and keep your rhetorical flourishes for yourselves. For my part, I was not sent to Athens to be informed of your ancient prowess, but to chastise your modern revolt.*

During this audience, some spies, having entered the city, overheard by chance some old men talking in the Ceramicus,<sup>p</sup> and blaming the tyrant exceedingly for not guarding a certain part of the wall, that was the only place by which the enemy might easily take the city by escalade. At their return into the camp, they related what they had heard to Sylla. The parley had been to no purpose. Sylla did not neglect the intelligence given him. The next night he went in person to take a view of the place, and finding the wall actually accessible, he ordered ladders to be raised against it, began the attack there, and, having made himself master of the wall after a weak resistance, entered the city. He would not suffer it to be set on fire, but abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers, who in several houses found human flesh, which had been dressed to be eaten. A dreadful slaughter ensued. The next day all the slaves were sold by auction, and liberty was granted to the citizens who had escaped the swords of the soldiers, who were very few in number. He besieged the citadel

<sup>p</sup> A public square at Athens.

the same day, where Aristion, and those who had taken refuge there, were soon so much reduced by famine, that they were forced to surrender themselves. The tyrant, his guards, and all who had been in any office under him, were put to death.

Some few days after, Sylla made himself master of the Piræus, and burnt all its fortifications, especially the arsenal, which had been built by Philo, the celebrated architect, and was a wonderful fabric. Archelaus, by the help of his fleet, had retired to Munychia, another port of Attica.

This year, upon which we are now entering, A. M. 3918. was fatal to the arms of Mithridates.<sup>r</sup> Taxiles, Ant. J. C. 86. one of his generals, arrived in Greece from Thrace and Macedonia, with an army of a hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse, with fourscore and ten chariots armed with scythes. Archelaus, that general's brother, was at that time in the port of Munychia, and would neither remove from the sea, nor come to a battle with the Romans; but he endeavoured to protract the war and cut off the provisions. This was very prudent conduct, for Sylla began to be in want of them; so that famine obliged him to quit Attica, and to enter the fruitful plains of Bœotia, where Hortensius joined him. Their troops being united, they took possession of a fertile eminence in the midst of the plains of Elatea, at the foot of which ran a rivulet. When they had formed their camp, the enemies could discover at one view their small number, which amounted to only fifteen thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse. This induced Archelaus's generals to press him in the warmest manner to proceed to action. They did not obtain his consent without great difficulty. They immediately began to move, and covered the whole plain with horses, chariots, and innumerable troops; for when the two brothers were joined, their army was very formidable. The noise and cries of so many nations, and so many thousands of men preparing for battle, the pomp and magnificence of their array were truly terrible. The brightness of their arms, magnificently adorned with gold and silver, and the lively colours of the Median and Scythian coats of arms, mingled with the glitter of brass and steel, darted forth as it were flashes of lightning, which, whilst it dazzled the sight, filled the soul with terror.

The Romans, seized with dread, kept close within their intrenchments. Sylla, not being able by his discourse and remonstrances to remove their fear, and not being willing to force them to fight in their present state of discouragement, was obliged to lie still, and suffer, though with great impatience, the bravadoes and insulting derision of the barbarians. They con-

<sup>r</sup> Plut. in Sylla. p. 461—466. Appian. n. 196—203.

ceived so great a contempt for him in consequence, that they neglected to observe any discipline. Few of them kept within their intrenchments; the rest, for the sake of plunder, dispersed in great troops, and straggled to a considerable distance, even several days' journey, from the camp. They plundered and ruined some cities in the neighbourhood.

Sylla was in the utmost despair when he saw the cities of the allies destroyed before his eyes, for want of power to make his army fight. He at last thought of a stratagem, which was to give the troops no repose, and to keep them incessantly at work in turning the Cephissus, a little river which was near the camp, and in digging deep and large trenches, under pretence of their better security, but in fact, that by being tired of such great fatigues, they might prefer the hazard of a battle to the continuance of their labour. His stratagem was successful. After having worked without intermission three days, as Sylla, according to custom, was taking a view of their progress, they cried out to him with one voice, to lead them against the enemy. Sylla suffered himself to be exceedingly entreated, and did not comply for some time; but when he saw their ardour increase from his opposition, he made them stand to their arms, and marched against the enemy.

The battle was fought near Chæronea. The enemy had possessed themselves, with a great body of troops, of a very advantageous post, called Thurium: it was the ridge of a steep mountain, which extended itself upon the left flank of the Romans, and was well calculated to check their motions. Two men of Chæronea came to Sylla, and promised him to drive the enemy from this post, if he would give them a small number of chosen troops, which he did. In the mean time he drew up his army in battle, divided his horse between the two wings, taking the right himself, and giving the left to Murena. Galba and Hortensius formed a second line. Hortensius, on the left, supported Murena, whilst Galba on the right did the same for Sylla. The barbarians had already begun to extend their horse and light-armed foot in a large compass, with design to surround the second line, and charge it in the rear.

At that instant the two men of Chæronea, having gained the top of Thurium with their small troop, without being perceived by the enemy, showed themselves on a sudden. The barbarians, surprised and terrified, immediately took to flight. Pressing against each other upon the declivity of the mountain, they ran precipitately down before the enemy, who charged and closely pursued them down the hill sword in hand; so that about three thousand men were killed upon the mountain. Of those who escaped, some fell into the hands of Murena, who had just before formed in order of battle. Having marched against them,



he intercepted and made a great slaughter of them : the rest, who endeavoured to regain their camp, fell in upon the main body of their troops with so much precipitation, that they threw the whole army into terror and confusion, and made their generals lose much time in restoring order, which was one of the principal causes of their defeat.

Sylla, taking advantage of this disorder, marched against them with so much vigour, and charged over the space between the two armies with such rapidity, that he prevented the effect of their chariots armed with scythes. The force of these chariots depended upon the length of their course, which gave impetuosity and violence to their motion ; instead of which, a short space, that did not leave room for their career, rendered them useless and ineffectual. This the barbarians experienced at this time. The first chariots came on so slowly, and with so little effect, that the Romans, easily pushing them back, with great noise and loud laughter called for more, as was customary at Rome in the chariot-races of the Circus.

After those chariots were removed, the two main bodies came to blows. The barbarians presented their long pikes, and kept close order with their bucklers joined, so that they could not be broken ; and the Romans threw down their javelins, and with sword in hand thrust aside the enemy's pikes, in order to join and charge them with great fury. What increased their animosity, was the sight of fifteen thousand slaves, whom the king's generals had spirited from them by the promise of their liberty, and posted them amongst the heavy-armed foot. Those slaves had so much resolution and bravery, that they sustained the shock of the Roman foot without giving way. Their battalions were so deep and so well closed, that the Romans could neither break nor move them, till the light-armed foot of the second line had put them into disorder by the discharge of their arrows, and a shower of stones from their slings, which forced them to give ground.

Archelaus having made his right wing advance to surround the left of the Romans, Hortensius led on the troops under his command to take him in flank ; which Archelaus seeing, he ordered two thousand horse quickly to wheel about. Hortensius, upon the point of being overpowered by that great body of horse, retired by degrees towards the mountains, perceiving himself too far from the main body, and upon the point of being surrounded by the enemy. Sylla, with great part of his right wing, which had not yet been engaged, marched to his relief. From the dust raised by those troops, Archelaus judged what was going forward, and leaving Hortensius, he turned about towards the place Sylla had quitted, in hopes he should find no difficulty

in defeating the right wing, which would now be without its general.

Taxiles, at the same time, led on his foot,\* armed with brazen shields, against Murena : whilst each side raised great shouts, which made the neighbouring hills resound. Sylla halted at the noise, not knowing well to which side he should first hasten. At length he thought it most expedient to return to his former post and support his right wing. He, therefore, sent Hortensius to assist Murena with four cohorts, and taking the fifth with him, he flew to his right wing, which he found engaged in battle with Archelaus, neither side having the advantage. But, as soon as he appeared, that wing taking new courage from the presence of their general, opened their way through the troops of Archelaus, put them to flight, and pursued them vigorously for a considerable time.

After this great success, without losing a moment, he marched to the aid of Murena. Finding him also victorious, and that he had defeated Taxiles, he joined him in the pursuit of the vanquished. A great number of the barbarians were killed on the plain, and a much greater cut to pieces in endeavouring to gain their camp ; so that, of so many thousand men, only ten thousand escaped, who fled to the city of Chalcis. Sylla wrote in his memoirs, that only fourteen of his men were missing, and that two of them returned the same evening.

To celebrate so great a victory, he gave music-  
A. M. 3919.  
 Ant. J. C. 85. games at Thebes, and caused judges to come from the neighbouring Grecian cities to distribute the prizes ; for he had an implacable aversion for the Thebans. He even deprived them of half their territory, which he consecrated to Apollo Pythius and Jupiter Olympius ; and decreed, that the money he had taken out of the temples of those gods should be repaid out of their revenues.

These games were no sooner over, than he received advice, that L. Valerius Flaccus, of the adverse party, (for at this time the divisions between Marius and Sylla were at the highest,) had been elected consul, and had already crossed the Ionian sea with an army, in appearance against Mithridates, but in reality against himself. For this reason he began without delay his march to Thessaly, as with design to meet him. But being arrived at the city of Melitea,\* news came to him from all sides, that all the places he had left in his rear were plundered by another of the king's armies, stronger and more numerous than the first. For Dorylaus had arrived at Chalcis with a great fleet, on board of which were fourscore thousand men, the best equipped, the most warlike and disciplined, of all Mithridates's troops, and had thrown himself into Boeotia, and possessed him-

\* Χαλκάσπιδες.

\* In Thessaly.

self of the whole country, in order to bring Sylla to a battle. Archelaus would have dissuaded him from that design, by giving him an exact account of the battle he had so lately lost ; but his counsel and remonstrances had no effect. He soon discovered that the advice that had been given him was highly reasonable and judicious.

He chose the plain of Orchomenus for the field of battle. Sylla caused ditches to be dug on each side of the plain, to deprive the enemy of the advantage of an open country, in which their cavalry could act, and to remove them towards the marshes. The barbarians fell furiously on the workmen, dispersed them, and put to flight the troops that supported them. Sylla seeing his army flying in this manner, quitted his horse immediately, and seizing one of his ensigns, he pushed forwards towards the enemy through those that fled, crying to them, *For me, Romans, I think it glorious to die here. But for you, when you shall be asked where you abandoned your general, remember to say it was at Orchomenus.* They could not endure those reproaches, and returned to the charge with such fury, that they made Archelaus's troops turn their backs. The barbarians came on again in better order than before, and were again repulsed with greater loss.

The next day, at sunrise, Sylla led back his troops towards the enemy's camp, to continue his trenches ; and falling upon those who were detached to skirmish and drive away the workmen, he charged them so rudely that he put them to flight. The runaways threw the troops who had continued in the camp into such terror, that they were afraid to stay to defend it. Sylla entered it pell-mell with those who fled, and made himself master of it. The marshes, in a moment, were dyed with blood, and the lake filled with dead bodies. The enemies, in different attacks, lost the greatest part of their troops. Archelaus continued a great while hid in the marshes, and escaped at last to Chalcis.

The news of all these defeats threw Mithridates into great consternation. However, as that prince was by nature fruitful in resources, he did not lose courage, and applied himself to repair his losses by making new levies. But, from the fear that his ill success might give birth to some revolt or conspiracy against his person, as had already happened, he took the bloody precaution of putting all he suspected to death, without sparing even his best friends.

He was not more successful in Asia<sup>t</sup> himself, than his generals had been in Greece. Fimbria, who commanded a Roman army there, beat the remainder of his best troops. He pursued the vanquished as far as the gates of Pergamus, where Mi-

<sup>t</sup> Plut. in Sylla. p. 466—468. Id. in Lucul. p. 493. Appian. p. 204—210.

thridates resided, and obliged him to quit that place himself, and retire to Pitane, a maritime place in the Troad. Fimbria pursued him thither, and invested him by land. But, as he had no fleet to do the same by sea, he sent to Lucullus, who was cruising in the neighbouring seas with the Roman fleet, and represented to him, that he might acquire immortal glory by seizing the person of Mithridates, who could not escape him, and by putting an end to so important a war. Fimbria and Lucullus were of two different factions. The latter would not be concerned in the affairs of the other; so that Mithridates escaped by sea to Mitylene, and extricated himself out of the hand of the Romans. This fault cost them very dear, and is not unusual in states where misunderstandings subsist between the ministers and generals of the army, which make them neglect the public good, lest they should contribute to the glory of their rivals.

Lucullus afterwards twice defeated Mithridates's fleet, and gained two great victories over him. This happy success was the more surprising, as it was not expected that Lucullus would distinguish himself by military exploits. He had passed his youth in the studies of the bar; and during his being quæstor in Asia, the province had always enjoyed peace. But so happy a genius as his did not want to be taught by experience, which is not to be acquired by lessons, and is generally the growth of many years. He supplied that defect in some measure, by employing the whole time of his journeys, by land and sea, partly in asking questions of persons experienced in the art of war, and partly in instructing himself by the reading of history. So that he arrived in Asia a complete general, though he had left Rome with only a moderate knowledge in the art of war.<sup>a</sup> Let our young warriors consider this with due attention, and observe in what manner great men are formed.

Whilst Sylla was very successful in Greece, the faction that opposed him, and at that time engrossed all power at Rome, had declared him an enemy of the commonwealth. Cinna and Carbo treated the most worthy and most considerable persons with every kind of cruelty and injustice. Most of these, to avoid this insupportable tyranny, had chosen to retire to Sylla's camp, as to a port of safety; so that in a small time Sylla had

<sup>a</sup> Ad Mithridaticum bellum missus à senatu, non modò opinionem vicit omnium quæ de virtute ejus erat, sed etiam gloriam superiorum. Idque eò fuit mirabilis, quòd ab eo laus imperatoria non expectabatur, qui adolescentiam in forensi operâ, quæsture diuturnum tempus, Murenâ bellum in Ponto gerente, in Asiæ pace consumpserat. Sed incredibilis quædam ingenii magnitudo non desideravit indocilem usûs disciplinam. Itaque cùm totum iter et navigationem consumpsisset, partim in percontando à peritis, partim in rebus gestis legendis; in Asiam factus imperator venit, cùm esset Româ profectus rei militaris. *Cic. Accus. Quæst. l. vi. n. 2.*

a little senate about him. His wife Metella, having escaped with great difficulty with her children, brought him an account that his enemies had burnt his house, and ravaged his lands, and begged him to depart immediately to the relief of those who remained in Rome, and were upon the point of being made victims of the same fury.

Sylla was in the greatest perplexity. On the one side, the miserable condition to which his country was reduced, inclined him to march directly to its relief; on the other, he could not resolve to leave imperfect so great and important an affair as the war with Mithridates. Whilst he was under this cruel embarrassment, a merchant came to him to treat with him in secret from the general Archelaus, and to make him some proposals of an accommodation. He was so exceedingly rejoiced when this man had explained his commission, that he made all possible haste to have a conference with that general.

They had an interview upon the sea-coast, near the little city of Delium. Archelaus, who was not ignorant how important it was to Sylla to have it in his power to repass into Italy, proposed to him the uniting his interests with those of Mithridates; and added, that his master would supply him with money, troops, and ships, to maintain a war against the faction of Cinna and Marius.

Sylla, without seeming offended at first with such proposals, exhorted him on his side to withdraw himself from the slavery in which he lived, under an imperious and cruel prince. He added, that he might take upon him the title of king in his government; and offered to have him declared the ally and friend of the Roman people, if he would deliver up to him Mithridates's fleet under his command. Archelaus rejected such a proposal with indignation, and even expressed to the Roman general how much he thought himself affronted by the supposition of his being capable of such treachery. Upon which Sylla, assuming the air of grandeur and dignity so natural to the Romans, said to him: *If, being only a slave, and at best but an officer of a barbarian king, you look upon it as base to quit the service of your master, how dared you to propose the abandoning the interests of the republic to such a Roman as myself? Do you imagine our condition, and the state of affairs between us, to be equal? Have you forgotten my victories? Do you not remember, that you are the same Archelaus whom I have defeated in two battles, and forced in the last to hide himself in the marshes of Orchomenas?*

Archelaus, confounded by so haughty an answer, sustained himself no longer in the sequel of the negotiation. Sylla got the ascendant entirely, and dictating the law as victor, proposed the following conditions: *That Mithridates should renounce*

*Asia and Paphlagonia; that he should restore Bithynia to Nicomedes, and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes; that he should pay the Romans two thousand talents (about three hundred thousand pounds sterling) for the expenses of the war, and deliver up to them seventy armed galleys, with their whole equipment; and that Sylla, on his side, should secure to Mithridates the rest of his dominions, and cause him to be declared the friend and ally of the Roman people.* Archelaus seemed to approve these conditions, and despatched a courier immediately to communicate them to Mithridates. Sylla set out for the Hellespont, carrying Archelaus with him, whom he treated with great honours.

He received Mithridates's ambassadors at Larissa, who came to declare to him that their master accepted and ratified all the other articles, but that he desired he would not deprive him of Paphlagonia; and that as to the seventy galleys, he could by no means comply with that article. Sylla, offended at this refusal, answered them in an angry tone: *What say you? would Mithridates keep possession of Paphlagonia, and does he refuse me the galleys I demanded? I expected to have seen him return me thanks upon his knees, if I should have only left him the hand with which he butchered a hundred thousand Romans. He will change his note when I go over to Asia, though at present, in the midst of his court at Pergamus, he meditates plans for a war he never saw.* Such was the lofty style of Sylla, who gave Mithridates to understand, at the same time, that he would not talk such language had he been present at the past battles.

The ambassadors, terrified with this answer, made no reply. Archelaus endeavoured to soften Sylla, and promised him that he would induce Mithridates to consent to all the articles. He set out for that purpose, and Sylla, after having laid waste the country, returned into Macedonia.

Archelaus, upon his return, joined him at the city of Philippi, and informed him that Mithridates would accept the proposed conditions; but that he exceedingly desired to have a conference with him. What made him earnest for this interview was his fear of Fimbria, who having killed Flaccus, of whom mention has been made before, and put himself at the head of that consul's army, was advancing by great marches against Mithridates; and this it was which determined that prince to make peace with Sylla. They had an interview at Dardania, a city of the Troad. Mithridates had with him 200 galleys, 20,000 foot, 6000 horse, and a great number of chariots armed with scythes; and Sylla had only four cohorts and 200 horse in his company. When Mithridates advanced to meet him, and offered him his

A. M. 3920.  
Ant. J. C. 84.

hand, Sylla asked him whether he accepted the proposed conditions? As the king kept silence, Sylla continued, *Do you not know, Mithridates, that it is for suppliants to speak, and for the victorious to hear and be silent?* Upon this Mithridates began a long apology, endeavouring to ascribe the cause of the war, partly to the gods, and partly to the Romans. Sylla interrupted him, and after having made a long detail of the violences and inhumanities he had committed, he demanded of him a second time, whether he would ratify the conditions which Archelaus had laid before him? Mithridates, surprised at the haughtiness and pride of the Roman general, having answered in the affirmative, Sylla then received his embraces, and afterwards presenting the kings Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes to him, he reconciled them to each other. Mithridates, after the delivery of the seventy galleys, entirely equipped, and 500 archers, re-embarked.

Sylla saw plainly, that this treaty of peace was highly disagreeable to his troops. They could not bear that a prince, who of all kings was the most mortal enemy to Rome, and who in one day had caused 100,000 Roman citizens, dispersed in Asia, to be put to the sword, should be treated with so much favour, and even honour, and declared the friend and ally of the Romans, whilst almost still reeking with their blood. Sylla, to justify his conduct, gave them to understand, that if he had rejected his proposals of peace, Mithridates, on his refusal, would not have failed to treat with Fimbria; and that if those two enemies had joined their forces, they would have obliged him either to abandon his conquests, or hazard a battle against troops superior in number, under the command of two great captains, who in one day might have deprived him of the fruit of all his victories.

Thus ended the first war with Mithridates, which had lasted four years, and in which Sylla had destroyed more than 160,000 of the enemy; recovered Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, Asia, and many other provinces, of which Mithridates had possessed himself; and having deprived him of a great part of his fleet, compelled him to confine himself within the bounds of his hereditary dominions. But what has been most admired in Sylla is, \* that during the three years, whilst the factions of Marius and Cinna had enslaved Italy, he did not dissemble his intending to turn his arms against them; and yet did not discontinue the war he had begun, convinced that it was necessary to con-

\* Vid quidquam in Syllæ operibus clarius duxerim, quàm quòd, cùm per triennium Cinnanæ Marianæque partes Italiam obsiderent, neque illaturum se bellum iis dissimulavit, nec quod erat in manibus omisit; existimavitque antè frangendum hostem, quàm ulciscendum civem; repulsoque externo metu, ubi quod alienum esset vicisset, superaret quod erat domesticum. *Vell. Paterc.* l. ii. c. 24.

quer the foreign enemy, before he reduced and punished those at home. He has been also highly praised for his constancy in not hearkening to any proposals from Mithridates, who offered him considerable aid against his enemies, till that prince had accepted the conditions of peace he prescribed him.

Some days after Sylla began his march against Fimbria, who was encamped under the walls of Thyatira, in Lydia; and having marked out a camp near his, he began his intrenchments. Fimbria's soldiers coming out unarmed, ran to salute and embrace those of Sylla, and assisted them with great pleasure in forming their lines. Fimbria, seeing the change in his troops, and fearing Sylla as an irreconcilable enemy, from whom he could expect no mercy, after having attempted in vain to get him assassinated, killed himself.

Sylla condemned Asia in general to pay 20,000 talents,<sup>y</sup> and, besides that fine, rifled individuals exceedingly, by abandoning their houses to the insolence and rapaciousness of his troops, whom he quartered upon them, and who lived at discretion, as in conquered cities. For he gave orders that every host should pay each soldier quartered on him four drachmas a day,<sup>z</sup> and entertain at table himself, and as many of his friends as he should think fit to invite; that each captain should have fifty drachmas,<sup>a</sup> and, besides that, a robe to wear in the house, and another when he went abroad.

After having thus punished Asia,<sup>b</sup> he set out from Ephesus with all his ships, and arrived the third day at the Piræus. Having been initiated in the great mysteries, he took for his own use the library of Apellicon, in which were the works of Aristotle. That philosopher, at his death, had left his writings to Theophrastus, one of his most illustrious disciples. The latter had transferred them to Neleus of Scepsis, a city in the neighbourhood of Pergamus in Asia; after whose death those works fell into the hands of his heirs, ignorant persons, who kept them shut up in a chest. When the kings of Pergamus began to collect industriously all sorts of books for their library, as the city of Scepsis was dependent upon them, those heirs, apprehending these works would be taken from them, thought proper to hide them in a vault under ground, where they remained almost a hundred and thirty years; till the heirs of Neleus's family, who after several generations were fallen into extreme poverty, brought them out to sell to Apellicon, a rich Athenian, who sought every where after the most curious books for his library. As they were very much damaged by the length of time, and

<sup>y</sup> About 3,000,000*l.* sterling.

<sup>z</sup> About two shillings.

<sup>a</sup> About five-and-twenty shillings.

<sup>b</sup> Plut. in Syll. p. 468. Strab. l. xiii. p. 609. Athen. l. vii. p. 214. Laert. in Theophr.



the damp place where they had laid, Apellicon had copies immediately taken of them, in which there were many chasms; because the originals were either rotted in many places, or worm-eaten and obliterated. These blanks, words, and letters, were filled up as well as they could be by conjecture, and that in some places with sufficient want of judgment. From hence arose the many difficulties in those works which have ever since exercised the learned world. Apellicon being dead some short time before Sylla's arrival at Athens, he seized upon his library, and with these works of Aristotle, which he found in it, enriched his own at Rome. A famous grammarian of those times, named Tyrannion, who lived then at Rome, having a great desire for these works of Aristotle, obtained permission from Sylla's librarian to make a copy of them. That copy was communicated to Andronicus, the Rhodian, who afterwards imparted it to the public, and to him the world is obliged for the works of that great philosopher.

## SECT. II.

Second war against Mithridates, under Murena, of only three years' duration. Mithridates prepares to renew the war. He concludes a treaty with Sertorius. Third war with Mithridates. Lucullus the consul sent against him. He obliges him to raise the siege of Cyzicum, and defeats his troops. He gains a complete victory over him, and reduces him to fly into Pontus. Tragical end of the sisters and wives of Mithridates. He endeavours to retire to Tigranes, his son-in-law. Lucullus regulates the affairs of Asia.

Sylla, <sup>c</sup> on setting out for Rome, had left the government of Asia to Murena, with the two legions that had served under Fimbria, to keep the province in obedience. This Murena is the father of him for whom Cicero made the fine oration which bears his name. His son at this time made his first campaigns under him.

After Sylla's departure, Mithridates being returned into Pontus, turned his arms against the people of Chalcis and the Bosphorus, who had revolted against him. They first demanded his son Mithridates for their king, and having obtained him, immediately returned to their duty. The king, imagining this conduct was the result of his son's intrigues, took umbrage at it; and having caused him to come to him, he ordered him to be bound with chains of gold, and soon after put him to death. That son had done him great services in the war against Fimbria. We see here a new instance of the jealousy which the excessive love of power is apt to excite, and to what a height the prince, who abandons himself to it, is capable of carrying his suspicions against his own blood; always ready to proceed to the most fatal extremities, and to sacrifice whatever is dear-

est to him to the slightest distrust. As for the inhabitants of the Bosphorus, he prepared a great fleet and a numerous army, which gave reason to believe his designs were against the Romans. And, in fact, he had not restored all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, but reserved part of it in his own hands ; and he began to suspect Archelaus, as having engaged him in a peace equally shameful and disadvantageous.

When Archelaus perceived it, well knowing the master he had to deal with, he took refuge with Murena, and solicited him warmly to turn his arms against Mithridates. Murena, who passionately desired to obtain the honour of a triumph, suffered himself to be easily persuaded. He made an irruption into Cappadocia, and made himself master of Comana, the most powerful city of that kingdom. Mithridates sent ambassadors to him, to complain of his violating the treaty the Romans had made with him. Murena replied, that he knew of no treaty made with their master. There was in reality nothing reduced to writing on Sylla's part, the whole having passed by verbal agreement. In consequence he continued to ravage his country, and took up his winter-quarters in it. Mithridates sent ambassadors to Rome, to make his complaints to Sylla and the senate.

A. M. 3922.  
Ant. J. C. 82.

There came a commissioner from Rome, but without a decree of the senate, who publicly ordered Murena not to molest the king of Pontus. But, as they conferred together in private, this was looked upon as a mere collusion ; and indeed Murena persisted in ravaging his country. Mithridates therefore took the field, and having passed the river Malys, gave Murena battle, defeated him, and obliged him to retire into Phrygia with very great loss.

A. M. 3923.  
Ant. J. C. 81.

Sylla, who had been appointed dictator, not being able to suffer any longer that Mithridates, contrary to the treaty he had granted him, should be molested, sent Gabinius to Murena to order him in earnest to desist from making war with that prince, and to reconcile him with Ariobarzanes. He obeyed. Mithridates having put one of his sons, only four years old, into the hands of Ariobarzanes, as a hostage, under that pretext retained the cities in which he had garrisons, promising no doubt to restore them in time. He then gave a great feast, in which he promised prizes for such as should excel the rest in drinking, eating, singing, and rallying : fit objects of emulation ! Gabinius was the only one who did not think proper to enter these lists. Thus ended the second war with Mithridates, which lasted only three years. Murena, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph, to which he had no great claim.

Mithridates at length restored Cappadocia to A. M. 3926. Ariobarzanes, being compelled so to do by Sylla, Ant. J. C. 78. who died the same year. But he contrived a stratagem to deprive him entirely of it. Tigranes had lately built a great city in Armenia, which, from his own name, he called Tigranocerta. Mithridates persuaded his son-in-law to conquer Cappadocia, and to transport the inhabitants into the new city, and the other parts of his dominions that were not well peopled. He did so, and took away three hundred thousand souls. From thenceforth, wherever he carried his victorious arms, he acted in the same manner for the better peopling of his own dominions.

The extraordinary reputation of Sertorius,<sup>e</sup> A. M. 3928. who was giving the Romans terrible employment Ant. J. C. 76. in Spain, made Mithridates conceive the thought of sending an embassy to him, in order to engage him to join forces against the common enemy. The flatterers, who compared him to Pyrrhus, and Sertorius to Hannibal, insinuated, that the Romans, attacked at the same time on different sides, would never be able to oppose two such formidable powers, when the most able and experienced of generals should act in concert with the greatest of kings. He therefore sent ambassadors to Spain, with letters and instructions for treating with Sertorius; to whom they offered, in his name, a fleet and money to carry on the war, upon condition that he would suffer that prince to recover the provinces of Asia, which the necessity of his affairs had reduced him to abandon by the treaty he had made with Sylla.

As soon as those ambassadors arrived in Spain, and had opened their commission to Sertorius, he assembled his council, which he called the *senate*. They were unanimously of opinion, that he should accept that prince's offers with joy; and the rather, because so immediate and effective an aid, as the offered fleet and money, would cost him only a vain consent to an enterprise which it did not in any manner depend upon him to prevent. But Sertorius, with a truly Roman greatness of soul, protested, that he would never consent to any treaty injurious to the glory or interests of his country; and that he would not even desire a victory over his own enemies, that was not acquired by just and honourable methods. And, having made Mithridates's ambassadors come into the assembly, he declared to them, that he would suffer his master to keep Bithynia and Cappadocia, which were accustomed to be governed by kings, and to which the Romans could have no just pretensions; but he would never consent that he should set his foot in Asia

<sup>e</sup> Appian. p. 216, 217. Plut. in Sertor. p. 580, 581.

Minor, which appertained to the republic, and which he had renounced by a solemn treaty.

When this answer was related to Mithridates, it struck him with amazement; and he is affirmed to have said to his friends, *What orders may we not expect from Sertorius, when he shall sit in the senate in the midst of Rome; who, even now, confined upon the coast of the Atlantic ocean, dictates bounds to our dominions, and declares war against us, if we undertake any thing against Asia?* A treaty was however concluded, and sworn between them, to this effect: That Mithridates should have Bithynia and Cappadocia; that Sertorius should send him troops for that purpose, and one of his captains to command them; and that Mithridates, on his side, should pay Sertorius three thousand talents<sup>d</sup> down, and give him forty galleys.

The captain sent by Sertorius into Asia, was one of those banished senators of Rome, who had taken refuge with him, named Marcus Marius, to whom Mithridates paid great honours. For, when Marius entered the cities, preceded by the fasces and axes, Mithridates followed him, well satisfied with the second place, and with only making the figure of a powerful, but inferior, ally in this proconsul's company. Such was at that time the Roman greatness, that the name alone of that potent republic obscured the splendour and power of the greatest kings. Mithridates, however, found his interest in this conduct. Marius, as if he had been authorized by the Roman people and senate, discharged most of the cities from paying the exorbitant taxes which Sylla had imposed on them; expressly declaring, that it was from Sertorius they received that favour, and to him they were indebted for it. So moderate and polite a conduct opened the gates of the cities to him without the help of arms, and the name alone of Sertorius made more conquests than all the forces of Mithridates.

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia,<sup>e</sup> died this year, and made the Roman people his heirs. His country became thereby, as I have observed elsewhere, a province of the Roman empire. Mithridates immediately formed a resolution to renew the war against them upon this occasion, and employed the greatest part of the year in making the necessary preparations for carrying it on with vigour. He believed, that, after the death of Sylla, and during the troubles with which the republic was agitated, the conjuncture was favourable for re-entering upon the conquests he had given up.

Instructed by his misfortunes and experience,<sup>f</sup> he banished

<sup>d</sup> About four hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

<sup>e</sup> Appian. de Bello Mithrid. p. 175.

<sup>f</sup> Plut. in Lucul. p. 496.

from his army all armour adorned with gold and jewels, which he began to consider as the allurements of the victor, and not as the strength of those who wore them. He caused swords to be forged after the Roman fashion, with solid and weighty bucklers; he collected horses, rather well made and trained, than magnificently adorned; assembled a hundred and twenty thousand foot, armed and disciplined like the Roman infantry, and sixteen thousand horse well equipped for service, besides a hundred chariots armed with long scythes, and drawn by four horses. He also fitted out a considerable number of galleys, which glittered no longer, as before, with gilt flags, but were filled with all sorts of arms, offensive and defensive; and provided immense sums of money for the pay and subsistence of the troops.

Mithridates had begun by seizing Paphlagonia and Bithynia. The province of Asia, which found itself exhausted by the exactions of the Roman tax-gatherers and usurers, to deliver themselves from their oppression, declared a second time for him. Such was the cause of the third Mithridatic war, which subsisted almost twelve years.

The two consuls, Lucullus and Cotta, were sent against him, each of them with an army under him. Lucullus had Asia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, for his province; the other, Bithynia and Propontis.

Whilst Lucullus was employed in repressing the rapaciousness and violence of the tax-gatherers and usurers, and in reconciling the people of the countries through which he passed, by giving them good hopes for the time to come; Cotta, who was already arrived, thought he had a favourable opportunity, in the absence of his colleague, to signalize himself by some great exploit. He therefore prepared to give Mithridates battle. The more he was told that Lucullus was approaching, that he was already in Phrygia, and would soon arrive, the greater haste he made to fight, believing himself already assured of a triumph, and desirous of preventing his colleague from having any share in it. But he was beaten by sea and land. In the naval battle he lost sixty of his ships, with their whole complements; and in that by land he had four thousand of his best troops killed, and was obliged to shut himself up in the city of Chalcedon, with no hope of any other relief than what his colleague should think fit to give him. All the officers of his army, enraged at Cotta's rash and presumptuous conduct, endeavoured to persuade Lucullus to enter Pontus, which Mithridates had left without troops, and where he might assure himself of finding the people inclined to revolt. He answered generously that he would always esteem it more glorious to preserve a Roman citizen than to possess himself of the whole dominions of

an enemy; and without resentment against his colleague, he marched to assist him with all the success he could have hoped. This was the first action by which he distinguished himself, and which ought to do him more honour than all his splendid victories.

A. M. 3931. Mithridates,<sup>s</sup> encouraged by the double ad-  
Ant. J. C. 73. vantage he had gained, undertook the siege of

Cyzicum, a city of the Propontis, which strenuously supported the Roman party in this war. In making himself master of this place, he would have opened himself a passage from Bithynia into Asia Minor, which would have been very advantageous to him, by giving him an opportunity of carrying the war thither with all possible ease and security. It was for this reason he desired to take it. In order to succeed, he invested it by land with three hundred thousand men, divided into ten camps; and by sea with four hundred ships. Lucullus soon followed him thither; and began by seizing a post upon an eminence which was of the highest importance to him, because it facilitated his receiving convoys, and gave him the means of cutting off the enemy's provisions. He had only thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse. The superiority of the enemy in number, far from dismaying, encouraged him; for he was convinced, that so innumerable a multitude would soon be in want of provisions. Hence, in haranguing his troops, he promised them in a few days a victory that would not cost them a single drop of blood. It was in this that he placed his glory; for the lives of the soldiers were dear to him.

The siege was long, and carried on with extreme vigour. Mithridates battered the place on all sides with innumerable machines. The defence was no less vigorous. The besieged did prodigies of valour, and employed all means that the most industrious capacity could invent, to repulse the enemy's attacks, either by burning their machines, or rendering them useless by a thousand different obstacles which they opposed to them. What inspired them with so much courage, was their exceeding confidence in Lucullus, who had let them know, that, if they continued to defend themselves with the same valour, they might assure themselves that the place would not be taken.

Lucullus was indeed so well posted, that, without coming to a general action, which he always carefully avoided, he made Mithridates's army suffer extremely, by intercepting his convoys, charging his foraging parties with advantage, and beating the detachments he sent out from time to time. In a word, he knew so well how to improve all occasions that offered, he

<sup>s</sup> Plut. in Lucul. p. 497—499. Appian. p. 219—222.

weakened the army of the besiegers so much, and used such address in cutting off their provisions, having shut up all avenues by which they might be supplied, that he reduced them to extreme famine. The soldiers could find no other food but the herbage, and some went so far as to support themselves upon human flesh. Mithridates,<sup>h</sup> who passed for the

A. M. 3932.

Ant. J. C. 72.

most artful captain of his times, in despair that a general, who could not yet have had much experience, should so often have deceived him by false marches and feigned movements, and had defeated him without drawing his sword, was at length obliged to raise the siege shamefully, after having spent almost two years before the place. He fled by sea, and his lieutenants retired with his army by land to Nicomedia. Lucullus pursued them; and, having come up with them near the Granicus, he killed twenty thousand of them upon the spot, and took an infinite number of prisoners. It is said, that in this war there perished almost three hundred thousand men, either soldiers and servants, or other followers of the army.

After this new success, Lucullus returned to Cyzicum, entered the city, and after having enjoyed for some days the pleasure of having preserved it, and the honours which he derived from that success, he made a rapid march along the coasts of the Hellespont, to collect ships and form a fleet.

Mithridates, after having raised the siege of Cyzicum, repaired to Nicomedia, from whence he passed by sea into Pontus. He left part of his fleet, and ten thousand of his best troops, in the Hellespont, under three of his most able generals. Lucullus, with the Roman fleet, beat them twice; the first time at Tenedos, and the other at Lemnos, when the enemy thought of nothing less than making sail for Italy, and of alarming and plundering the coasts of Rome itself. He killed almost all their men in these two engagements; and in the last took their three generals, one of whom was M. Marius, the Roman senator, whom Sertorius had sent from Spain to the aid of Mithridates. Lucullus ordered him to be put to death, because it was not consistent with the Roman dignity that a senator of Rome should be led in triumph. One of the two others poisoned himself, and

<sup>h</sup> Cùm totius impetus belli ad Cyzicenorum mœnia constitisset, eamque urbem sibi Mithridates Asiæ januam fore putavisset, quâ effractâ et revulsâ tota pateret provincia; perfecta ab Lucullo hæc sunt omnia, ut urbs fidelissimorum sociorum defenderetur, ut omnes copiæ regis diuturnitate obsidionis consumerentur. *Cic. in Orat. pro Mur.* n. 33.

<sup>i</sup> Ab eodem imperatore classem magnam et ornatam, quæ ducibus Sertorianis ad Italiam studio inflammato raperetur, superatam esse atque depressam. *Cic. pro lege Manil.* n. 21.

Quid? illam pugnam navalem ad Tenedum, cum tanto concursu, acerrimis ducibus, hostium classis Italiam spe atque animis inflata peteret, mediocri certamine et parva dinicatione commissam arbitraris? *Cic. pro Murænâ,* n. 33.

the third was reserved for the triumph. After having cleared the coasts by these two victories, Lucullus turned his arms towards the continent; reduced Bithynia first, then Paphlagonia; marched afterwards into Pontus, and carried the war into the heart of Mithridates's dominions.

He suffered at first so greatly from a want of provisions in this expedition, that he was obliged to make thirty thousand Galatians follow the army, each with a quantity of wheat upon his shoulders. But upon his advancing into the country, and subjecting the cities and provinces, he found such abundance of all things, that an ox sold for only one drachmas,<sup>k</sup> and a slave for no more than four.

Mithridates had suffered almost as much by a tempest, in his passage on the Euxine Sea, as in the campaign wherein he had been treated so roughly. He lost in it almost all the remainder of his fleet, and the troops he had brought thither for the defence of his ancient dominions. When Lucullus arrived, he was making new levies with the utmost expedition, to defend himself against that invasion which he had clearly foreseen.

Lucullus, upon arriving in Pontus, without loss of time besieged Amisus and Eupatoria, two of the principal cities in the country, very near each other.

The latter, which had been very lately built, was called Eupatoria, from the surname of Eupator, given to Mithridates; this place was his usual residence, and he had designed to make it the capital of his dominions. Not content with these two sieges at once, Lucullus sent a detachment of his army to form that of Themiscyra, upon the river Thermodon, which place was not less considerable than the two others.

The officers of Lucullus's army complained, that their general amused himself too long in sieges which were not worth his trouble, and that in the mean time he gave Mithridates opportunity to augment his army and gather strength. To which he answered in his justification: *That is directly what I want; I act designedly thus, that our enemy may take new courage, and assemble so numerous an army as may embolden him to wait for us in the field, and fly no longer before us. Do you not observe, that he has behind him immense wildernesses, and infinite deserts, in which it will be impossible for us either to pursue or come up with him? Armenia is but a few days' march from these deserts. There Tigranes keeps his court, that king of kings, whose power is so great that he subdues the Parthians, transports whole cities of Greeks into the heart of Media, has made himself master of Syria and Palestine, exterminated the kings descended from Seleucus, and carried their wives and daughters into captivity. This powerful prince is the ally and*

<sup>k</sup> Seven-pence.



*son-in-law of Mithridates. Do you think, when he has him in his palace as a suppliant, that he will abandon him, and not make war against us? Hence in hastening to drive away Mithridates, we shall be in great danger of drawing Tigranes upon our hands, who has long sought pretexts for declaring against us, and who can never find one more specious, legitimate, and honourable, than that of assisting his father-in-law, and a king reduced to the last extremity. Why, therefore, should we serve Mithridates against ourselves; or show him to whom he should have recourse for the means of supporting the war with us, by pushing him, against his will, and at a time perhaps when he looks upon such a step as unworthy his valour and greatness, into the arms and protection of Tigranes? Is it not infinitely better, by giving him time to take courage, and strengthen himself with his own forces, to have only upon our hands the troops of Colchis, the Tibarenians, and Cappadocians, whom we have so often defeated, than to expose ourselves to have the additional force of the Armenians and Medes to contend with?*

A. M. 3933.

Ant. J. C. 71.

Whilst the Romans attacked the three places we have mentioned, Mithridates, who had already formed a new army, took the field very early in the spring. Lucullus left the command of the sieges of Amisus and Eupatoria to Murena, the son of him whom we have spoken of before, whom Cicero represents in a very favourable light: *He went into Asia,<sup>1</sup> a province abounding with riches and pleasures, where he left behind him no traces either of avarice or luxury. He behaved in such a manner in this important war, that he did many great actions without the general, the general none without him.* Lucullus marched against Mithridates, who lay encamped in the plains of Cabiræ. The latter had the advantage in two actions, but was entirely defeated in the third, and obliged to fly, without either servant or equerry to attend him, or a single horse of his stable. It was not till after some time, that one of his eunuchs, seeing him on foot in the midst of the flying crowd, got off his horse and gave it him. The Romans were so near him, that they almost had him in their hands; and it was owing entirely to themselves that they did not take him. The avarice alone of the soldiers lost them a prey, which they had pursued so long, through so many toils, dangers, and battles, and deprived Lucullus of the sole reward of all his victories. Mithridates, says Cicero,<sup>m</sup> artfully imitated

<sup>1</sup> *Asiam istam refertam et eandem delicatam, sic obliit, ut in eâ neque avaritiæ, neque luxuriæ vestigium reliquerit. Maximo in bello sic est versatus, ut hic multas res et magnas sine imperatore gesserit, nullam sine hoc imperator. Cic. pro Muranâ, n. 20.*

<sup>m</sup> *Ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur: quam prædicant, in fugâ, fratris sui membra ir-*

the manner in which Medea, in the same kingdom of Pontus, formerly escaped the pursuit of her father. That princess is said to have cut in pieces the body of Absyrtus, her brother, and to have scattered his limbs in the places through which her father pursued her; in order that his care in taking up those dispersed members, and the grief so sad a spectacle would give him, might stop the rapidity of his pursuit. Mithridates, in like manner, as he fled, left upon the way a great quantity of gold, silver, and precious effects, which had either descended to him from his ancestors, or had been amassed by himself in preceding wars; and whilst the soldiers employed themselves in gathering those treasures, the king escaped their hands. So that the father of Medea was stopped in his pursuit by sorrow, but the Romans by joy.

After this defeat of the enemy, Lucullus took the city of Cabiræ, with several other places and castles, in which he found great riches. He found also the prisons full of Greeks and princes nearly related to the king, who were confined in them. As those unhappy persons had long given themselves over for dead, the liberty they received from Lucullus seemed less a deliverance than a new life to them. In one of those castles, a sister of the king's, named Nyssa, was also taken, which was to her a great instance of good fortune. For the other sisters of that prince, with his wives, who had been sent farther from the danger, and who believed themselves in safety and repose, all died miserably, Mithridates on his flight having sent them orders to die by Bacchidas the eunuch.

Among the other sisters of the king were Roxana and Statura, both unmarried, and about forty years of age, with two of his wives, Berenice and Monima, both of Ionia. All Greece spoke much of the latter, whom they admired more for her prudence than her beauty, though exquisite. The king having fallen desperately in love with her, had forgotten nothing that might incline her to favour his passion; he sent her at once 15,000 pieces of gold. She was always averse to him, and refused his presents, till he gave her the quality of wife and queen, and sent her the royal tiara, or diadem, an essential ceremony in the marriage of the kings of those nations. Nor did she then comply without extreme regret, and in compliance with the wishes of her family, who were dazzled with the splendour of a crown and the power of Mithridates, who was at that time vic-

*his locis, quæ se parens persequeretur, dissipavisse, ut eorum collectio dispersa, mærorque patrius, celeritatem persequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens maximam vim auri atque argenti, pulcherrimarumque rerum omnium, quas et à majoribus acceperat, et ipse bello superiore ex totâ Asiâ directas in suum regnum conghesserat in Ponto, omnem reliquit. Hæc dum nostri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipse è manibus effugit. Ita illum in persequendi studio mæror, nos lætitia retardavit. Cic. de leg. Manil. n. 22.*

torious, and at the height of his glory. From the time of her marriage to the instant of which we are now speaking, that unfortunate princess had passed her life in continual sadness and affliction, lamenting her fatal beauty, which instead of a husband had given her a master, and instead of procuring her an honourable abode and the endearments of conjugal society, had confined her in a close prison, under a guard of barbarians; where, far removed from the delightful regions of Greece, she had only enjoyed a dream of the happiness with which she had been flattered, and had really lost that solid and essential good she possessed in her own beloved country.

When Bacchidas arrived, and had signified to the princesses the order of Mithridates, which favoured them no farther than to leave them at liberty to choose the kind of death they should think most gentle and immediate, Monima, taking the diadem from her head, tied it round her neck, and hung herself up by it. But that wreath not being strong enough, and breaking, she cried out, *Ah, fatal trifle, you might at least do me this mournful office!* Then, throwing it away with indignation, she presented her throat to Bacchidas.

As for Berenice, she took a cup of poison; and as she was going to drink it, her mother, who was present, desired to share it with her. They accordingly drank both together. The half of that poison sufficed to carry off the mother, worn out and feeble with age; but was not enough to surmount the strength and youth of Berenice. That princess struggled long with death in the most violent agonies, till Bacchidas, tired with waiting the effects of the poison, ordered her to be strangled.

Of the two sisters, Roxana is said to have swallowed poison, venting a thousand reproaches and imprecations against Mithridates. Statira, on the contrary, was pleased with her brother, and thanked him, for that, being in so great danger for his own person, he had not forgotten them, and had taken care to supply them with the means of dying free, and of withdrawing from the indignities their enemies might else have made them suffer.

Their deaths extremely afflicted Lucullus, who was of a gentle and humane disposition. He continued his march in pursuit of Mithridates; but having received advice that he was four days' journey before him, and had taken the road to Armenia, to retire to his son-in-law Tigranes, he returned directly; and, after having subjected some of the nations, and taken some cities in the neighbourhood, he sent Appius Clodius to Tigranes, to demand Mithridates of him; and in the mean time returned against Amisus, which place was not yet taken. Callimachus, who commanded in it, and was the most able engineer of his times, had alone prolonged the siege. When he saw that he could hold out

no longer, he set fire to the city, and escaped in a ship that waited for him. Lucullus did his utmost to extinguish the flames, but in vain; and to increase his concern, saw himself obliged to abandon the city to be plundered by the soldiers, from whom the place had as much to fear as from the flames themselves. His troops were insatiable for booty, and he not capable of restraining them. A shower of rain, which then happened to fall, preserved a great number of buildings; and Lucullus, before his departure, caused those which had been burnt to be rebuilt. This city was an ancient colony of the Athenians. Such of the Athenians, during Aristion's being master of Athens, as desired to fly from his tyranny, had retired thither, and enjoyed there the same rights and privileges with the natives.

Lucullus, when he left Amisus, directed his march towards the cities of Asia, whom the avarice and cruelty of the usurers and tax-gatherers held under the most dreadful oppression: insomuch that those poor people were obliged to sell their children of both sexes, and even set up to auction the paintings and statues consecrated to the gods. And, when these would not suffice to pay the duties, taxes, and interest of their arrears, they were given up without mercy to their creditors, and often exposed to such barbarous tortures, that slavery, in comparison with their miseries, seemed a kind of redress and tranquillity to them.

These immense debts of the province arose from the fine of 20,000 talents<sup>a</sup> which Sylla had imposed on it. They had already paid the sum twice over: but those insatiable usurers, by heaping interest upon interest, had run it up to 120,000 talents;<sup>o</sup> so that they still owed triple the sums they had already paid.

Tacitus<sup>p</sup> had reason to say, that usury was one of the most ancient evils of the Roman commonwealth, and the most frequent cause of sedition; but at the time we now speak of, it was carried to an excess not easy to be credited.

The interest of money amongst the Romans was paid every month, and was one *per cent.*; hence it was called *usura centesima*, or *unciarium fœnus*; because in reckoning the twelve months, twelve *per cent.* was paid: *Uncia* is the twelfth part of a whole.

The<sup>q</sup> law of the twelve tables<sup>r</sup> prohibited the raising interest to above twelve *per cent.* This law was revived by the two tribunes of the people, in the 396th year of Rome.

Ten years after,<sup>s</sup> interest was reduced to half that sum, in the 406th year of Rome; *semunciarium fœnus*.

<sup>a</sup> About three millions sterling.

<sup>o</sup> About eighteen millions sterling.

<sup>p</sup> *Sanè vetus urbi fœnebre malum et seditionum discordiarumque creberrima causa. Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 16.*

<sup>q</sup> Tacit. *Annal. l. vi. c. 16. Liv. l. vii. n. 16.*

<sup>r</sup> *Nequis unciario fœnere amplius exerceto.*

<sup>s</sup> *Liv. l. vii. n. 27.*

At length, in the 411th year of Rome,<sup>1</sup> all interest was prohibited by decree: *Ne fœnerari liceret*.

All these decrees were ineffectual. Avarice was always too strong for the laws ;<sup>2</sup> and whatever regulations were made to suppress it, either in the time of the republic or under the emperors, it always found means to elude them. Nor has it paid more regard to the laws of the church, which has never entered into any composition on this point, and severely condemns all usury, even the most moderate ; because, God having forbidden any, she never believed she had a right to permit it in the least. It is remarkable, that usury has always occasioned the ruin of the states where it has been tolerated ; and it was this disorder which contributed very much to subvert the constitution of the Roman commonwealth, and gave birth to the greatest calamities in all the provinces of that empire.

Lucullus, at this time, exerted himself in procuring for the provinces of Asia some relaxation ; which he could only effect by putting a stop to the injustice and cruelty of the usurers and tax-gatherers. The latter, finding themselves deprived by Lucullus of the immense gain they made, raised a great outcry, as if they had been excessively injured ; and by the force of money animated many orators against him ; particularly confiding in having most of those who governed the republic in their debt, which gave them a very extensive and almost unbounded influence. But Lucullus despised their clamours with a constancy the more admirable from its being very uncommon.

### SECT. III.

Lucullus causes war to be declared with Tigranes, and marches against him. Vanity and ridiculous self-sufficiency of that prince. He loses a great battle. Lucullus takes Tigranocerta, the capital of Armenia. He gains a second victory over the joint forces of Tigranes and Mithridates. Mutiny and revolt in the army of Lucullus.

A. M. 3934. Tigranes,\* to whom Lucullus had sent an ambassador, though of no great power in the beginning of his reign, had enlarged it so much by a series of successes, of which there are few examples, that he was commonly surnamed *king of kings*. After having overthrown and almost ruined the family of the kings, successors of the great Seleucus ; after having very often humbled the pride of the Parthians, transported whole cities of Greeks into Media, conquered all Syria and Palestine, and given laws to the Arabians called Scenites ; he reigned with an authority

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. n. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Multis plebiscitis obviàm itum fraudibus : quæ toties repressæ miras per artes rursum oriebantur. Tacit. l. vi. c. 16.

\* Plut. in Lucul. p. 504—512. Memn. c. xlviii—lvii. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 228—232.

respected by all the princes of Asia. The people paid him honours after the manner of the East, even to adoration. His pride was inflamed and supported by the immense riches he possessed, by the excessive and continual praises of his flatterers, and by a prosperity that had never known any interruption.

Appius Clodius was introduced to an audience of this prince, who appeared with all the splendour he could display, in order to give the ambassador a higher idea of the royal dignity; who, on his side, uniting the haughtiness of his natural disposition with that which particularly characterized his republic, perfectly supported the dignity of a Roman ambassador.

After having explained, in a few words, the subjects of complaint, which the Romans had against Mithridates, and that prince's breach of faith in breaking the peace, without so much as attempting to give any reason or colour for it, he told Tigranes, that he came to demand his being delivered up to him, as due by every sort of title to Lucullus's triumph; that he did not believe, as a friend to the Romans, which he had been till then, that he would make any difficulty in giving up Mithridates; and that, in case of his refusal, he was instructed to declare war against him.

That prince, who had never been contradicted, and who knew no other law nor rule than his own will and pleasure, was extremely offended at this Roman freedom. But he was much more so with Lucullus's letter, when it was delivered to him. The title of king only, which it gave him, did not satisfy him. He had assumed that of *king of kings*, of which he was very fond, and had carried his pride in that respect so far, as to cause himself to be served by crowned heads. He never appeared in public without having four kings attending him; two on foot on each side of his horse, when he went abroad; at table, in his chamber; in short, every where, he had always some of them to do the lowest offices for him; but especially when he gave audience to ambassadors. For, at that time, to give strangers a greater idea of his glory and power, he made them all stand in two ranks, on each side of his throne, where they appeared in the habit and posture of common slaves. A pride so full of absurdity offends all the world. One more refined shocks less, though much the same at bottom.

It is not surprising that a prince of this character should bear with impatience the manner in which Clodius spoke to him. It was the first free and sincere speech he had heard during the five-and-twenty years he had governed his subjects, or rather tyrannized over them with excessive insolence. He answered, that Mithridates was the father of Cleopatra, his wife; that the union between them was of too strict a nature to admit his

delivering him up for the triumph of Lucullus; and that if the Romans were unjust enough to make war against him, he knew how to defend himself, and to make them repent it. To express his resentment, he directed his answer only to Lucullus, without adding the usual title of Imperator, or any other commonly given to the Roman generals.

Lucullus, when Clodius reported the result of his commission, and that war had been declared against Tigranes, returned with the utmost diligence into Pontus to begin it. The enterprise seemed rash, and the terrible power of the king astonished all those who relied less upon the valour of the troops and the conduct of the general, than upon a multitude of soldiers. After having made himself master of Sinope, he gave that place its liberty, as he did also to Amisus, and made them both free and independent cities. Cotta<sup>y</sup> did not treat Heraclæa, which he took after a long siege by treachery, in the same manner. He enriched himself out of its spoils, treated the inhabitants with excessive cruelty, and burnt almost the whole city. On his return to Rome, he was at first well received by the senate, and honoured with the surname of Ponticus, upon account of taking that place. But soon after, when the Heraclæans had laid their complaints before the senate, and represented in a manner capable of moving the hardest hearts, the miseries Cotta's avarice and cruelty had made them suffer, the senate contented themselves with depriving him of the *latus clavus*, which was the robe worn by the senators; a punishment in no wise proportioned to the flagrant excess proved upon him.

Lucullus left Sornatius, one of his generals, in Pontus, with 6000 men, and marched with the rest, which amounted only to 12,000 foot and 3000 horse, through Cappadocia, to the Euphrates. He passed that river in the midst of winter, and afterwards the Tigris, and came before Tigranocerta, which was at some small distance, to attack Tigranes in his capital, where he had lately arrived from Syria. Nobody dared speak to that prince of Lucullus and his march, after his cruel treatment of the person who brought him the first news of it, whom he put to death in reward for so important a service. He listened to nothing but the discourses of flatterers, who told him Lucullus must be a great captain if he only dared wait for him at Ephesus, and did not betake himself to flight and abandon Asia, when he should see the many thousands of which his army was composed. So true it is, says Plutarch, that as all constitutions are not capable of bearing much wine, all minds are not strong enough to bear great prosperity without loss of reason and infatuation.

Tigranes at first had not designed so much as to see or speak

<sup>y</sup> Memn. c. li—lii.

to Mithridates, though his father-in-law, but treated him with the utmost contempt and arrogance, kept him at a distance, and placed a guard over him as a prisoner of state, in marshy unwholesome places. But after Clodius's embassy, he had ordered him to be brought to court with all possible honours and marks of respect. In a private conversation which they had together without witnesses, they cured themselves of their mutual suspicions, to the great misfortune of their friends, upon whom they cast all the blame.

A. M. 3935.  
Ant. J. C. 69.

In the number of those unfortunate persons was Metrodorus, of the city of Scepsis, a man of extraordinary merit, who had so much influence with Mithridates, that he was called the king's father. That prince had sent him on an embassy to Tigranes, to desire aid against the Romans. When he had explained the occasion of his journey, Tigranes asked him; *And you, Metrodorus, what would you advise me to do, with respect to your master's demands?* Upon which Metrodorus replied, out of an excess of ill-timed sincerity, *As an ambassador, I advise you to do what Mithridates demands of you; but as your counsel, not to do it.* This was a criminal prevarication, and a kind of treason. It cost him his life, when Mithridates had been apprised of it by Tigranes.

Lucullus was continually advancing against that prince, and was already in a manner at the gates of his palace, without his either knowing or believing any thing of the matter, so much was he blinded by his presumption. Mithrobarzanes, one of his favourites, ventured to carry him that news. The reward he had for it was to be charged with a commission, to go immediately with some troops and bring Lucullus prisoner; as if the matter had been only to arrest one of the king's subjects. The favourite, with the greatest part of the troops given him, lost their lives, in endeavouring to execute that dangerous commission.

This ill success opened the eyes of Tigranes, and made him recover from his insatiation. Mithridates had been sent back into Pontus with 10,000 horse to raise troops there, and to return and join Tigranes, in case Lucullus entered Armenia. For himself, he had chosen to continue at Tigranocerta, in order to give the necessary orders for raising troops throughout his whole dominions. After this check, he began to be afraid of Lucullus, quitted Tigranocerta, retired to mount Taurus, and gave orders to all his troops to repair thither to him.

Lucullus marched directly to Tigranocerta, took up his quarters around the place, and formed the siege of it. This city was full of all sorts of riches: the inhabitants of all orders and conditions having emulated each other in contributing to its em-



bellishment and magnificence, in order to make their court to the king; for this reason Lucullus pressed the siege with the utmost vigour; believing that Tigranes would never suffer it to be taken, and that he would come on in a transport of fury to offer him battle, and oblige him to raise the siege. And he was not mistaken in his conjecture. Mithridates sent every day couriers to Tigranes, and wrote him letters, in the strongest terms, to advise him not to hazard a battle, and to make use of his cavalry alone in cutting off Lucullus's provisions. Taxiles himself was sent by him with the same instructions; who, staying with him in his camp, earnestly entreated him, every day, not to attack the Roman armies, as they were excellently disciplined, veteran soldiers, and almost invincible.

At first he hearkened to this advice with patience enough. But when all his troops, consisting of a great number of different nations, were assembled, not only the king's feasts, but his councils, resounded with nothing but vain bravadoes, full of insolence, pride, and barbarian menaces. Taxiles was in danger of being killed, for having ventured to oppose the advice of those who were for a battle; and Mithridates himself was openly accused of opposing it, only out of envy, to deprive his son-in-law of the glory of so great a success.

In this conceit Tigranes determined to wait no longer, lest Mithridates should arrive, and share with him in the honour of the victory. He therefore marched with all his forces, telling his friends, that he was only sorry on one account, and that was, his having to engage with Lucullus alone, and not with all the Roman generals together. He measured his hopes of success by the number of his troops. He had twenty thousand archers, or slingers, fifty-five thousand horse, seventeen thousand of which were heavy-armed cavalry, a hundred and fifty thousand foot, divided into companies and battalions, besides pioneers to clear the roads, build bridges, clear and turn the course of rivers, with other labourers of the same description necessary in armies, to the number of thirty-five thousand, who being drawn up in battle-array behind the combatants, made the army appear still more numerous, and augmented its force and confidence.

When he had passed mount Taurus, and all his troops appeared together in the plains, the sight alone of his army was sufficient to strike terror into the most daring enemy. Lucullus, always intrepid, divided his troops. He left Murena with six thousand foot before the place, and with all the rest of his infantry, consisting of twenty-four cohorts, which together did not amount to more than ten or twelve thousand men, all his horse, and about a thousand archers, or slingers, marched against Ti-

granes, and encamped in the plain, with a large river in his front.

This handful of men made Tigranes laugh, and supplied his flatterers with matter for pleasantry. Some openly jested upon them: others, by way of diversion, drew lots for their spoils; and of all Tigranes's generals, and all the kings in his army, there was not one who did not entreat him to intrust that affair to him alone, and content himself with being only a spectator of the action. Tigranes himself, to appear agreeable, and a delicate rallier, used an expression, which has been much admired: *If they come as ambassadors, they are a great many: but if as enemies, very few.* Thus the first day passed in jesting and raillery.

The next morning, at sun-rise, Lucullus made his army march out of their intrenchments. That of the barbarians was on the other side of the river towards the east, and the river ran in such a manner, that it turned off short to the left towards the west, where it was easily fordable. Lucullus, in order to lead his army to this ford, inclined also to the left, towards the lower part of the river, hastening his march. Tigranes, who saw him, believed he fled; and calling for Taxiles, told him, with a contemptuous laugh—*Do you see those invincible Roman legions? You see they can run away.* Taxiles replied; *I heartily wish your majesty's good fortune may this day work a miracle in your favour; but the arms and motions of those legions do not indicate people running away.*

Taxiles was still speaking, when he saw the eagle of the first legion move on a sudden to the right about, by the command of Lucullus, followed by all the cohorts, in order to pass the river. Tigranes, recovering then with difficulty, like one that had been long drunk, cried out two or three times, *How! are those people coming to us?* They came on so fast, that his numerous troops did not post themselves, nor draw up in battle, without much disorder and confusion. Tigranes placed himself in the centre; gave the left wing to the king of the Adiabeniens, and the right to the king of the Medes. The greatest part of the heavy-armed horse covered the front of the right wing.

As Lucullus was preparing to pass the river, some of his general officers advised him not to engage upon that day, because it was one of those unfortunate days which the Romans called *black-days*. For it was the same upon which the army of Cépion<sup>a</sup> had been defeated in the battle with the Cimbri. Lucullus made them this answer, which afterwards became so famous: *And I for my part, will make this a happy day for the Romans.*

<sup>a</sup> The Greek text says, *the army of Scipio*, which Monsieur de Thou justly corrected in the margin of his Plutarch, *the army of Cépion*.

It was the sixth day of October (the day before the nones of October).

After having made that reply, and exhorted them not to be discouraged, he passed the river, and marched foremost against the enemy. He was armed with a steel cuirass, made in the form of scales, which glittered surprisingly, under which was his coat of arms, bordered all round with fringe. He brandished his naked sword in his hand, to intimate to his troops, that it was necessary to close immediately with an enemy who were accustomed to fight only at a distance with their arrows; and to deprive them, by the swiftness and impetuosity of the attack, of the space required for the use of them.

Perceiving that the heavy-armed cavalry, upon whom the enemy very much relied, were drawn up at the foot of a little hill, the summit of which was flat and level, and the declivity of not above five hundred paces, neither much broken, nor very difficult, he saw at first glance what use was to be made of it. He commanded his Thracian and Galatian horse to charge that body of the enemy's cavalry in flank, with orders only to turn aside their lances with their swords. For the principal, or rather whole force, of those heavy-armed horse, consisted in their lances, and when they had not room to use these, they could do nothing either against the enemy or for themselves; their arms being so heavy, stiff, and cumbersome, that they could not turn themselves, and were almost immoveable.

Whilst his cavalry marched to execute his orders, he took two cohorts of foot, and went to gain the eminence. The infantry followed courageously, excited by the example of their general, whom they saw marching foremost on foot, and ascending the hill. When he was at the top, he showed himself from the highest part of it, and seeing from thence the whole order of the enemy's battle, he cried out, *The victory is ours, fellow-soldiers, the victory is ours!* At the same time, with his two cohorts, he advanced against that heavy-armed cavalry, and ordered his men not to make use of their pikes, but close with the troopers sword in hand, and strike upon their legs and thighs, which were the only unarmed parts about them. But his soldiers had not so much trouble with them. That cavalry did not stay their coming on, but shamefully took to flight; and howling as they fled, fell with their heavy, unwieldy horses upon the ranks of their foot, without joining battle at all, or so much as making a single thrust with their lances. The slaughter did not begin until they began to fly, or rather to endeavour to fly; for they could not do so, being prevented by their own battalions, whose ranks were so close and deep, that they could not break their way through them. Tigranes, that king so pompous and brave in words, had taken to flight from the be-

ginning with a few followers ; and seeing his son the companion of his fortune, he took off his diadem, weeping ; and giving it him, exhorted him to save himself as well as he could by another route. That young prince was afraid to put the diadem upon his head, which would have been a dangerous ornament at such a time, and gave it into the hands of one of the most faithful of his servants, who was taken a moment after, and carried to Lucullus.

It is said, that in this defeat more than a hundred thousand of the enemy's foot perished, and that very few of their horse escaped ; on the side of the Romans only five were killed and a hundred wounded. They had never engaged in a pitched battle so great a number of enemies with so few troops ; for the victors did not amount to the twentieth part of the vanquished. The greatest and most able Roman generals, who had seen most wars and battles, gave Lucullus particular praises for having defeated two of the greatest and most powerful kings in the world, by two entirely different methods, delay and expedition. For by protraction and spinning out the war, he exhausted Mithridates when he was strongest and most formidable ; and ruined Tigranes by making haste, and not giving him time to look about him. It has been remarked, that few captains have known how, like him, to make slowness active, and haste sure.

It was this latter conduct that prevented Mithridates from being present in the battle. He imagined that Lucullus would use the same precaution and protraction against Tigranes as he had done against himself ; so that he marched but slowly and by small day's journeys to join Tigranes. But having met some Armenians upon the way, who fled with the utmost terror and consternation, he suspected what had happened ; and afterwards meeting a much greater number of fugitives naked and wounded, was fully informed of the defeat, and went in search of Tigranes. He found him at length, abandoned by all the world, and in a very deplorable condition. Far from returning his ungenerous treatment, and insulting him in his misfortunes, as Tigranes had done to him, he quitted his horse, lamented their common disgrace, gave him the guard which attended, and the officers who served him, consoled, encouraged him, and revived his hopes ; so that Mithridates, upon this occasion, showed himself not entirely void of humanity. Both together engaged in raising new troops on all sides.

In the mean time a furious sedition arose in Tigranocerta : the Greeks having mutinied against the barbarians, and being determined at all events to deliver the city to Lucullus. That sedition was at the highest when he arrived there. He took advantage of the occasion, ordered the assault to be given, took the city ; and after having seized all the king's treasures, aban-

doned it to be plundered by the soldiers; who, besides other riches, found in it eight thousand talents of coined silver (about one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling). Besides this plunder, he gave each soldier eight hundred drachmas,<sup>a</sup> which, with all the booty they had taken, was not sufficient to satisfy their inordinate avidity.

As this city had been peopled by colonies which had been carried away by force from Cappadocia,<sup>b</sup> Cilicia, and other places, Lucullus permitted them all to return into their native countries. They received that permission with extreme joy, and quitted it in so great numbers, that from one of the greatest cities in the world, Tigranocerta became in an instant almost a desert.

If Lucullus had pursued Tigranes after his victory,<sup>c</sup> without giving him time to raise new troops, he would either have taken or driven him out of the country, and the war would have been at an end. His having failed to do so was very ill taken both in the army and at Rome, and he was accused, not of negligence, but of having intended by such conduct to make himself necessary, and to retain the command longer in his own hands. This was one of the reasons that prejudiced the generality against him, and induced them to think of giving him a successor, as we shall see in the sequel.

After the great victory he had gained over Tigranes, several nations came to make their submissions to him. He received also an embassy from the king of the Parthians, who demanded the amity and alliance of the Romans. Lucullus received this proposal favourably, and sent also ambassadors to him, who, being arrived at the Parthian court, discovered that the king, uncertain which side to take, wavered between the Romans and Tigranes, and had secretly demanded Mesopotamia of the latter, as the price of the aid he offered him. Lucullus, informed of this secret intrigue, resolved to leave Mithridates and Tigranes, and to turn his arms against the king of the Parthians; flattered with the grateful thought, that nothing could be more glorious for him, than to have entirely reduced, in one expedition, the three most powerful princes under the sun. But the opposition this proposal met with from the troops, obliged him to renounce his enterprise against the Parthians, and to confine himself to the pursuit of Tigranes.

During this delay, Mithridates and Tigranes had been indefatigable in raising new troops. They had sent to implore aid of the neighbouring nations, and especially of the Parthians, who were the nearest, and at the same time in the best condition to

<sup>a</sup> About twenty pounds.

<sup>b</sup> Strab. l. xi. p. 532. et l. xii. p. 539.

<sup>c</sup> Dion. Cass. l. xxxv. p. 1.

assist them in the present extremity. Mithridates wrote a letter to their king, which Sallust has preserved, and which is to be found amongst his fragments. I shall insert a part of it in this place.

LETTER OF MITHRIDATES TO ARSACES,<sup>d</sup> KING OF  
THE PARTHIANS.

*All those who, in a state of prosperity, are invited to enter as confederates into a war, ought first to consider whether peace be at their own option ;<sup>e</sup> and next, whether what is demanded of them is consistent with justice, their interest, safety, and glory. You might enjoy perpetual peace and tranquillity, were not the enemy always intent upon seizing occasions of war, and undeterred by any crimes. In reducing the Romans, you cannot but acquire the highest reputation. It may seem inconsistent in me to propose to you either an alliance with Tigranes, or that you, powerful as you are, should join a prince in my unfortunate condition. But I dare assert, that those two motives, your resentment against Tigranes, upon account of his late war with you, and the disadvantageous situation of my affairs, if you judge rightly, far from opposing my demand, ought to support it. For as to Tigranes, as he knows he has given you just cause of complaint, he will accept, without difficulty, whatever conditions you shall think fit to impose upon him ; and for me, I can say that fortune, by having deprived me of almost all I possessed, has enabled me to give others good counsel, and, which is much to be desired by persons in prosperity, I can, even from my own misfortunes, supply you with examples, and induce you to take better measures than I have done. For, do not deceive yourself ; it is with all the nations, states, and kingdoms of the earth, that the Romans are at war ; and two motives, as ancient as powerful, put their arms into their hands ; the unbounded ambition of extending their conquests, and the insatiable thirst of riches. Mithridates afterwards enumerates at large the princes and kings whom they had reduced one after another, and often by means of one another. He repeats also his first successes against the Romans, and his late misfortunes. He goes on to*

<sup>d</sup> Arsaces was a name common to all the kings of Parthia.

<sup>e</sup> Omnes, qui secundis rebus suis ad belli societatem orantur, considerare debent, liceatne tum pacem agere : dein quod quæritur, satisne pium, tutum, gloriosum, an indecorum sit. Tibi perpetuam pace frui liceret nisi hostes opportuni et scelestissimi. Egregia fama, si Romanos opprèsseris, futura est. Neque petere audeam societatem, et frustrà mala mea cum tuis bonis misceri sperem. Atqui ea, quæ te morari posse videntur, ira in Tigranem recentis belli, et meæ res parum prosperæ, si vera æstumare voles, maximè hortabuntur. Ille enim obnoxius, qualem tu voles societatem accipiet : mihi fortuna, multis rebus ereptis, usum dedit bene suadendi, et quod florentibus optabile est, ego non validissimus præbeo exemplum, quo rectius tua componas. Namque Romanis cum nationibus, populis, regibus cunctis, una et ea vetus causa bellandi est, cupido profunda imperii et divitiarum.

this effect: *Examine now, I beg you, whether, when we are finally ruined, you will be better able to resist the Romans, or can believe, that they will confine their conquests to my country? I know you are powerful in men, in arms, and in treasure; it is for that reason we desire to strengthen ourselves by your alliance; they, to grow rich by your spoils. For the rest, it is the intention of Tigranes to avoid drawing the war into his own country, that we shall go with all my troops, which are certainly well disciplined, to carry our arms far from home, and attack the enemy in person in their own country. We cannot therefore either conquer or be conquered, without your being in danger. Do you not know, that the Romans, when they found themselves stopped by the ocean in the west, turned their arms this way? That to look back to their foundation and origin, whatever they have, they have from violence; home, wives, lands, and dominions? A vile herd of every kind of vagabonds, without country, without forefathers, they established themselves for the misfortune of the human race. Neither divine nor human laws restrain them from betraying and destroying their allies and friends, remote nations or neighbours, the weak or the powerful. They reckon as enemies all that are not their slaves; and especially whatever bears the name of king. For few nations affect a free and independent government; the generality prefer just and equitable masters. They suspect us, because we are rivals with them for dominion, and may in time take vengeance for their oppressions. But for you, who have Seleucia, the greatest of cities, and Persia, the richest and most powerful of kingdoms, what can you expect from them but deceit at present, and war*

· f Nunc quæso, considera, nobis oppressis, utrùm firmiorem te ad resistendum, an finem belli futurum pates? Scio equidem tibi magnas opes virorum, armorum, et auri esse; et eâ re nobis ad societatem, ab illis ad prædam peteris. Cæterum consilium est Tigranis, regno integro, meis militibus belli prudentibus, procul ab domo, parvo labore, per nostra corpora bellum conficere: quando neque vincere neque vinci sine periculo tuo possumus. An ignoras Romanos, postquam ad occidentem pergentibus finem oceanus fecit, arma huc convertisse? Neque quicquam à principio nisi raptum habere; domum, conjuges, agros, imperium? Convenas, olim sine patriâ, sine parentibus, peste conditos orbis terrarum: quibus non humana ulla neque divina obstant, quin socios, amicos, procul juxtâque sitos, inopes, potentesque trahant, excidantque; omniaque non serva, et maximè regna, hostilia ducant. Namque, pauci libertatem, pars magna justos dominos volunt. Nos suspecti sumus æmuli, et in tempore vindicæ affuturi. Tu verò, cui Seleucia maxima urbium, regnumque Persidis inclitis divitiis est, quid ab illis, nisi dolum in præsens, et postea bellum expectas; Romani in omnes arma habent, acerrima in eos quibus spolia maxima sunt. Audendo et fallendo, et bella ex bellis serendo, magni facti. Per hunc morem extinguunt omnia, aut occidunt: quod difficile non est, si tu Mesopotamiâ, nos Armeniâ, circumgredimur exercitum sine frumento, sine auxiliis. Fortuna autem nostris vitis adhuc incolumis. Teque illa fama sequetur, auxilio profectum magnis regibus latrones gentium oppressisse. Quod uti facias moneo hortorque, neu malis pernicië nostrâ unum imperium prolatare, quàm societate victor fieri.

hereafter? The Romans are at war with all nations: but especially with those from whom the richest spoils are to be expected. They are become great by boldly enterprising, betraying, and by making one war bring forth another. By this means, they will either destroy all others, or be destroyed themselves. It will not be difficult to ruin them, if you, on the side of Mesopotamia, and we, on that of Armenia, surround their army, which will be without provisions or auxiliaries. The prosperity of their arms has subsisted hitherto solely by our fault, who have not been so prudent as to appreciate the views of this common enemy, and to unite ourselves in confederacy against him. It will be for your immortal glory to have supported two great kings, and to have conquered and destroyed these robbers of the world. This is what I earnestly advise and exhort you to do; by warning you to choose rather to share with us, by a salutary alliance, in the conquest of the common enemy, than to suffer the Roman empire to extend itself still farther by our ruin.

It does not appear that this letter had the effect upon Phraates which Mithridates might have hoped from it. So that the two kings contented themselves with their own troops.

One of the means made use of by Tigranes to assemble a new army,<sup>ε</sup> was to recall Megadates from Syria, who had governed it fourteen years in his name; to him he sent orders to join him with all the troops in that country. Syria<sup>h</sup> being thereby entirely ungarrisoned, Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eusebes, to whom it of right appertained, as lawful heir of the house of Seleucus, took possession of some part of the country, and reigned there peaceably during four years.

The army<sup>i</sup> of Tigranes and Mithridates was at last formed. It consisted of 70,000 chosen men, whom Mithridates had trained well in the Roman discipline. It was about Midsummer before it took the field. The two kings took particular care, in all the movements they made, to choose an advantageous ground for their camp, and to fortify it well, to prevent Lucullus's attacking them in it; nor could all the stratagems he used engage them to come to a battle. The design was to reduce him gradually; to harass his troops on their marches, in order to weaken them, to intercept his convoys, and oblige him to quit the country for want of provisions. Lucullus not being able, by all the arts he could use, to bring them into the open field, employed a new plan, which succeeded. Tigranes had left at Artaxata, the capital of Armenia before the foundation of Tigranocerta, his wives and children; and there he had deposited almost all his

<sup>ε</sup> Appian. in Syr. p. 118, 119.

<sup>h</sup> Justin. lib. xl. c. 2.

<sup>i</sup> Plut. in Lucul. p. 513—515.



treasures. Lucullus marched that way with all his troops, rightly foreseeing that Tigranes would not remain quiet, when he saw the danger to which his capital was exposed. That prince accordingly decamped immediately, followed Lucullus to disconcert his design; and by four great marches, having got before him, posted himself behind the river Arsamia,<sup>k</sup> which Lucullus was obliged to pass in his way to Artaxata, and resolved to dispute the passage with him. The Romans passed the river without being prevented by the presence or efforts of the enemy; a great battle ensued, in which the Romans again obtained a complete victory. There were three kings in the Armenian army, of whom Mithridates behaved the worst; for, not being able to look the Roman legions in the face, as soon as they charged, he was one of the first who fled; which threw the whole army into such a consternation, that it entirely lost all courage; and this was the principal cause of the loss of the battle.

Lucullus, after this victory,<sup>l</sup> determined to continue his march to Artaxata, which was the certain means to put an end to the war. But as that city was still several days' journey from thence, towards the north, and winter was approaching with its train of snows and storms, the soldiers,<sup>m</sup> already fatigued by a sufficiently rough campaign, refused to follow him into that country, where the cold was too severe for them. He was obliged to lead them into a warmer climate, by returning the way he came.

He therefore repassed mount Taurus, and entered Mesopotamia, where he took the city Nisibis, a place of considerable strength, and he put his troops into winter-quarters.

It was there that the spirit of mutiny began to show itself openly in the army of Lucullus. That general's severity, and the insolent liberty of the Roman soldiers, and still more the malignant practices of Clodius, had given occasion for this revolt. Clodius, so well known by the invectives of Cicero, his enemy, is hardly better treated by historians. They represent him as a man abandoned to all kind of vices, and infamous for his debaucheries, which he carried to such excess, as to commit incest with his own sister, the wife of Lucullus; to these he added unbounded audacity, and uncommon cunning in the contrivance of seditions; in a word, he was one of those dangerous persons, born to disturb and ruin every thing by the unhappy union in himself of the most wicked inclinations, with the talents necessary for putting them in execution. He gave a proof of this upon the occasion of which we are now speaking.

<sup>k</sup> Or Arsania.

<sup>l</sup> Dion. Cas. l. xxxvii. p. 3—7.

<sup>m</sup> Noster exercitus, etsi urbem ex Tigranis regno cepit, et præliis usus erat secundis, tamen nimia longinquitate locorum, ac desiderio suorum commovebatur. *Cic. pro leg. Man.* n. 23.

Discontented with Lucullus, he secretly spread reports against him, well calculated to render him odious. He affected to lament extremely the fatigues of the soldiers, and to enter into their interests. He told them every day, that they were very unfortunate, in being obliged to serve so long under a severe and avaricious general, in a remote climate, without lands or rewards, whilst their fellow-soldiers, whose conquests were very moderate in comparison with theirs, had enriched themselves under Pompey. Discourses of this kind, attended with obliging and affable behaviour, which he knew how to assume occasionally without the appearance of affectation, made such an impression upon the soldiers, that it was no longer in the power of Lucullus to govern them.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had re-entered Pontus with 4000 of his own troops, and 4000 given him by Tigranes. Several inhabitants of the country joined him again,<sup>n</sup> as well out of hatred to the Romans, who had treated them with great rigour, as through the remains of affection for their king, reduced to the mournful condition in which they saw him, from the most splendid fortune and exalted greatness. For the misfortunes of princes naturally excite compassion, and there is generally a profound respect engraven in the hearts of the people for the name and person of kings. Mithridates, encouraged and strengthened by these new aids, and the troops which several neighbouring states and princes sent him, resumed courage, and saw himself, more than ever, in a condition to make head against the Romans. So that not contented with being re-established in his dominions,<sup>o</sup> which a moment before he did not so much as hope ever to see again, he had the boldness to attack the Roman troops, so often victorious; beat a body of them, commanded by Fabius; and, after having put them to the rout, pressed Triarius and Sornatius, two other of Lucullus's lieutenants in that country, with great vigour.

Lucullus at length engaged his soldiers to quit  
 A. M. 3937. their winter-quarters, and to go to their aid. But  
 Ant. J. C. 67. they arrived too late. Triarius had imprudently ventured a battle, in which Mithridates had defeated him, and killed 7000 of his men; amongst whom are reckoned 150 centu-

<sup>n</sup> Mithridates et suam manum jam confirmârat, et eorum qui se ex ejus regno collegerant, et magnis adventitiis multorum regum et nationum copiis juvabatur. Hoc jam ferè sic fieri solere accepimus; ut regum afflictæ fortunæ facillè multorum opes alliciant ad misericordiam, maximeque eorum qui aut reges sunt, aut vivunt in regno: quòd regale iis nomen magnum et sanctum esse videatur. *Cic. pro leg. Manil.* n. 24.

<sup>o</sup> Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incolumis nunquam est ausus optare. Nam cum se in regnum recepisset suum, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei præter spem acciderat, ut eam, postea quàm pulsus erat, terram unquam attingeret; sed in exercitum vestrum clarum atque victorem impetum fecit. *Cic. pro leg. Manil.* n. 25.

rions and twenty-four tribunes,<sup>p</sup> which made this one of the greatest losses the Romans had sustained for a great while. The army would have been entirely defeated, but for a wound Mithridates had received, which exceedingly alarmed his troops, and gave the enemy time to escape. Lucullus, upon his arrival, found the dead bodies upon the field of battle, and did not give orders for their interment; which still more exasperated his soldiers against him. The spirit of revolt rose so high, that, without any regard for his character as general, they treated him no longer but with insolence and contempt; and though he went from tent to tent, and almost from man to man, to conjure them to march against Mithridates and Tigranes, he could never prevail upon them to quit the place where they were. They answered him brutally, that as he had no thoughts but of enriching himself alone out of the spoils of the enemy, he might march alone, and fight them, if he thought fit.

#### SECT. IV.

Mithridates, taking advantage of the discord which had arisen in the Roman army, recovers all his dominions. Pompey is chosen to succeed Lucullus. He overthrows Mithridates in several battles. The latter flies in vain to Tigranes, his son-in-law, for refuge, who is engaged in a war with his own son. Pompey marches into Armenia against Tigranes, who comes to him and surrenders himself. Weary of pursuing Mithridates to no purpose, he returns into Syria, makes himself master of that kingdom, and puts an end to the empire of the Seleucidæ. He marches back to Pontus. Pharnaces makes the army revolt against his father Mithridates, who kills himself. That prince's character. Pompey's expeditions into Arabia and Judea, where he takes Jerusalem. After having reduced all the cities of Pontus, he returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph.

Manius Acilius Glabrio and C. Piso had been elected consuls at Rome. The first had Bithynia and Pontus for his province, where Lucullus commanded. The senate, at the same time, disbanded Fimbria's legions, which were part of his army. All this news augmented the disobedience and insolence of the troops towards Lucullus.

It is true,<sup>q</sup> his rough, austere, and frequently haughty disposition, gave some room for such usage. He cannot be denied the glory of having been one of the greatest captains of his age; and of having had almost all the qualities that form a complete general. But one was wanting which diminished the merit of all the rest; I mean the art of gaining the affections, and making himself beloved by the soldiers. He was difficult of access; rough in commanding; carried exactitude, in point of duty, to an excess that made it odious; was inexorable in punishing

<sup>p</sup> Quæ calamitas tanta fuit, ut eam ad aures L. Luculli, non ex prælio nuntius, sed ex sermone rumor afferret. *Cic. pro leg. Manil. n. 25.*

<sup>q</sup> Dion. Cass. l. xxxv. p. 7.

offences; and did not know how to conciliate good-will by praises and rewards opportunely bestowed, or by an air of kindness and affability, and insinuating manners, still more efficacious than either gifts or praises. And what proves that the sedition of the troops was in a great measure his own fault, was their being very docile and obedient under Pompey.

In consequence of the letters which Lucullus had written to the senate, in which he acquainted them, that Mithridates was entirely defeated, and utterly incapable of retrieving himself, commissioners had been nominated to regulate the affairs of Pontus, as of a kingdom totally reduced. They were much surprised to find, upon their arrival, that, far from being master of Pontus, he was not so much as master of his army, and that his own soldiers treated him with the utmost contempt.

The arrival of the consul Acilius Glabrio still added to their licentiousness. He informed them,<sup>r</sup> that Lucullus had been accused at Rome of protracting the war for the sake of continuing his command; that the senate had disbanded part of his troops, and forbade them paying him any farther obedience. So that he soon found himself almost entirely abandoned by the soldiers. Mithridates, taking advantage of this disorder, had time to recover his whole kingdom, and to make great ravages in Cappadocia.

Whilst the affairs of the army were in this condition, great noise was made at Rome against Lucullus. Pompey had just put an end to the war with the pirates, for which an extraordinary power had been granted to him.<sup>s</sup> Upon this occasion one of the tribunes of the people, named Manilius, proposed a decree to this effect: *That Pompey, taking upon him the command of all the troops and provinces which were under Lucullus, and adding to them Bithynia, where Acilius commanded, should be charged with the conduct of the war against the kings Mithridates and Tigranes; retaining under him all the naval forces, and continuing to command at sea with the same conditions and prerogatives as had been granted him in the war against the pirates; that is to say, that he should have absolute power on all the coasts of the Mediterranean, to thirty leagues' distance from the sea.* This was, in effect, subjecting the whole Roman empire to one man. For all the provinces which had not been granted him by the first decree, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, the higher Colchis, and Armenia, were conferred upon

<sup>r</sup> In ipso illo malo gravissimâque belli offensione, I. Lucullus qui tamen aliquâ ex parte ils incommotis mederi fortasse potuisset, vestro jussu coactus, quod imperii diuturnitati modum statuendum, veteri exemplo, putavistis, partem militum, qui jam stipendiis confectis erant, dimisit, partem Glabriori tradidit. *Cic. pro leg. Manil. n. 26.*

<sup>s</sup> Plut. in Pomp. p. 634. Appian. p. 238. Dion. Cass. l. xxxv. p. 20.

him by this second, which included also all the armies and forces with which Lucullus had defeated the two kings Mithridates and Tigranes.

Consideration for Lucullus, who was deprived of the glory of his great exploits, and in the place of whom a general was appointed to succeed more to the honours of his triumph than the command of his armies, was not, however, what gave the nobility and senate most concern: they were well convinced that great wrong was done him, and that his services were not treated with the gratitude they deserved: but what gave them most pain, and what they could not support, was that high degree of power to which Pompey was raised, which they considered as a tyranny already formed. For this reason they exhorted each other in private, and mutually encouraged one another to oppose this decree, and not abandon their expiring liberty.

Cæsar and Cicero, who were very powerful at Rome, supported Manilius, or rather Pompey, with all their credit. It was upon this occasion that the latter pronounced that fine oration before the people, entitled, *For the law of Manilius*. After having demonstrated, in the first two parts of his discourse, the necessity and importance of the war in question, he proves, in the third, that Pompey is the only person capable of terminating it successfully. For this purpose, he enumerates at length the qualities necessary to form a general of an army, and shows that Pompey possesses them all in a supreme degree. He insists principally upon his probity, humanity, innocence of manners, integrity, disinterestedness, love of the public good: *Virtues, by so much the more necessary, (says he,) as the Roman name<sup>a</sup> is become infamous and hateful amongst foreign nations, and our allies, in consequence of the debauches, avarice, and unheard-of oppressions of the generals and magistrates we send amongst them. Instead of which,<sup>b</sup> the prudent, moderate, and irreproachable conduct of Pompey will make him be regarded, not as sent from Rome, but descended from heaven, for the happiness of the nations. People begin to believe, that all which is related of the noble disinterestedness of those ancient Romans is real and true; and that it was not without reason,*

<sup>a</sup> Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in idio simus apud cæteras nationes, propter eorum, quos ad eas hoc anno cum imperio misimus, injurias ac libidines. *Cic. pro leg. Man.* n. 61.

<sup>b</sup> Itaque omnes quidem nunc in his locis Cn. Pompeium, sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de cælo delapsu intuentur. Nunc denique incipiunt credere, fuisse homines Romanos hanc quondam abstinentiâ, quod jam nationibus cæteris incredibile ac falsò memoriæ proditum videbatur. Nunc imperii nostri splendor illis gentibus lucet: nunc intelligunt, non sine causâ majores suos tum, cum hac temperantiâ magistratus habebamus, servire populo Romano, quàm imperare aliis maluisse. *Ibid.* n. 41.

*that, under such magistrates, nations chose rather to obey the Roman people than to command others.*

Pompey was at that time the idol of the people; wherefore the fear of displeasing the multitude kept those grave senators silent who had at first appeared so well inclined, and so full of courage. The decree was authorized by the suffrages of all the tribes; and Pompey, though absent, declared absolute master of almost all Sylla had usurped by arms, and by making a cruel war upon his country.

We must not imagine, says a very judicious historian,\* that either Cæsar or Cicero, who took so much pains to have this law passed, acted from views of the public good. Cæsar, full of ambition and great projects, endeavoured to make his court to the people, whose authority he knew was at that time much greater than the senate's: he thereby opened himself a way to the same power, and familiarized the Romans to extraordinary and unlimited commissions; in heaping upon the head of Pompey so many favours and glaring distinctions, he flattered himself that he should at length render him odious to the people, who would soon take offence at him. So that in lifting him up, he had no other design than to prepare a precipice for him. Cicero also had in view only his own greatness. His weak side was a desire of bearing sway in the commonwealth; not indeed by guilt and violence, but by the method of persuasion. Besides his wish to support himself by the influence of Pompey, he was very well pleased with showing the nobility and people, who formed two parties, and, in a manner, two republics in the state, that he was capable of making the balance incline to the side he espoused. It was always his policy to conciliate equally both parties, in declaring sometimes for the one, and sometimes for the other.

Pompey,† who had lately terminated the war with the pirates, was still in Cilicia, when he received letters to inform him of all the people had decreed in his favour. When his friends, who were present, congratulated him, and expressed their joy, it is said that he knit his brows, struck his thigh, and cried out, as if oppressed by, and sorry for, that new command: *Gods! what endless labours am I devoted to? Should I not have been more happy as a man unknown and inglorious? Shall I never cease to make war, nor ever have my arms off my back? Shall I never escape the envy that persecutes me, nor live at peace in the country with my wife and children?*

This is usually enough the language of the ambitious, even of those who are most inordinately actuated by that passion.

\* Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 20, 21.

† Plut. in Pomp. 634—636. Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 22—25. App. p. 238.

But, however successful they may be in imposing upon themselves, it seldom happens that they deceive others; and the public is far from mistaking them. The friends of Pompey, and even those who were most intimate with him, could not endure his dissimulation at this time. For there was not one of them who did not know, that his natural ambition and passion for command, still more inflamed by his quarrel with Lucullus, made him feel a more refined and sensible satisfaction in the new charge conferred upon him; and his actions soon took off the mask, and discovered his real sentiments.

The first step which he took upon arriving in the provinces of his government, was to forbid any obedience whatsoever to the orders of Lucullus. In his march he altered every thing which his predecessor had decreed. He exonerated some from the penalties Lucullus had laid upon them; deprived others of the rewards he had given them: in short, his sole view in every thing was to let the partisans of Lucullus see that they adhered to a man who had neither authority nor power. Strabo's uncle,<sup>2</sup> by the mother's side, highly discontented with Mithridates for having put to death several of his relations, to avenge himself for that cruelty, had gone over to Lucullus, and had given up fifteen places in Cappadocia to him. Lucullus loaded him with honours, and promised to reward him as such considerable services deserved. Pompey, far from having any regard for such just and reasonable engagements, which his predecessor had entered into solely from a view to the public good, affected a universal opposition to them, and looked upon all those as his enemies who had contracted any friendship with Lucullus.

It is not uncommon for a successor to endeavour to lessen the value of his predecessor's actions, in order to arrogate all the honour to himself; but certainly none ever carried that conduct to such monstrous excess as Pompey did at this time. His great qualities and innumerable conquests are exceedingly extolled; but so base and odious a jealousy ought to sully, or rather totally eclipse, the glory of them. Such was the manner in which Pompey thought fit to begin.

Lucullus made bitter complaints of this conduct. Their common friends, in order to a reconciliation, concerted an interview between them. It passed at first with all possible politeness, and with reciprocal marks of esteem and amity. But these were only compliments, and a language that extended no farther than the lips, which cost the great nothing. The heart soon explained itself. The conversation growing warm by degrees, they proceeded to invectives; Pompey reproaching Lucullus with his avarice, and Lucullus Pompey with his am-

<sup>2</sup> Strab. l. xii. p. 557, 558.

bition, in which they spoke the truth of each other. They parted more incensed, and greater enemies than before.

Lucullus set out for Rome, whither he carried a great quantity of books, which he had collected in his conquests. Of these he formed a library, which was open to all the learned and curious, whom it drew about him in great numbers. They were received at his house with all possible politeness and generosity. The honour of a triumph was granted to Lucullus, but not without being long contested.

It was he who first brought cherries to Rome,<sup>a</sup> which, till then, had been unknown in Europe. They were thus called from Cerasus, a city in Cappadocia.

Pompey began by engaging Phraates, king of the Parthians, in the Roman interest. He has been spoken of already, and is the same who was surnamed *the god*. He concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with him. He offered peace also to Mithridates; but that prince, believing himself sure of the amity and aid of Phraates, would not so much as hear it mentioned. When he was informed that Pompey had anticipated him, he sent to treat with him. But Pompey having demanded, by way of preliminary, that he should lay down his arms, and give up all deserters, those proposals were very near occasioning a mutiny in Mithridates's army. As there were abundance of deserters in it, they could not suffer any thing to be said upon delivering them up to Pompey; nor would the rest of the army consent to see themselves weakened by the loss of their comrades. To appease them, Mithridates was obliged to tell them that he had sent his ambassadors only to inspect the condition of the Roman army; and to swear that he would not make peace with the Romans, either on those or on any other conditions.

Pompey, having distributed his fleet in different stations, to guard the whole sea between Phoenicia and the Bosphorus, marched by land against Mithridates, who had still 30,000 foot, and 2000 or 3000 horse; but did not dare, however, to come to a battle. That prince was encamped upon a mountain, in a very strong position, where he could not be forced; but he abandoned it on Pompey's approach, for want of water. Pompey immediately took possession of it; and conjecturing, from the nature of the plants and other signs, that there must be an abundance of springs within it, he ordered wells to be dug, and in an instant the camp had water in abundance. Pompey could not sufficiently wonder how Mithridates, for want of attention and curiosity, had been so long ignorant of so important and necessary a resource.

Soon after he followed him, encamped near him, and shut

<sup>a</sup> Plin. l. xv. c. 25.



him up within strong ramparts, which he carried quite round his camp. They were almost eight leagues in circumference,<sup>i</sup> and were fortified with strong towers, at proper distances from each other. Mithridates, either through fear or negligence, suffered him to finish his works. Pompey's plan was to starve him out. And in fact he reduced him to such a want of provisions, that his troops were obliged to subsist upon the carriage-beasts in their camp. The horses alone were spared. After having sustained this kind of siege for almost fifty days, Mithridates escaped by night undiscovered, with all the best troops of his army, having first ordered all the useless and sick persons to be killed.

Pompey immediately pursued him; came up with him near the Euphrates; encamped near him; and apprehending, that, in order to escape, he would make haste to pass the river, he quitted his intrenchments, and advanced against him by night, in order of battle. His design was merely to surround the enemy, to prevent their flying, and to attack them at day-break the next morning. But all his old officers made such entreaties and remonstrances to him, that they induced him to fight without waiting till day; for the night was not very dark, the moon giving light enough for distinguishing objects, and knowing one another. Pompey could not withstand the ardour of his troops, and led them on against the enemy. The barbarians were afraid to stand the attack, and fled immediately in the utmost consternation. The Romans made a great slaughter of them, killed about 10,000 men, and took their whole camp.

Mithridates, with 800 horse, in the beginning of the battle, opened himself a way, sword in hand, through the Roman army, and went off. But those 800 horse soon quitted their ranks and dispersed, and left him with only three followers, of which number was Hypsicratia, one of his wives, a woman of masculine courage and warlike boldness; which occasioned her being called Hypsicrates,<sup>k</sup> by changing the termination of her name from the feminine to the masculine. She was mounted that day on horseback, and wore the habit of a Persian. She continued to attend the king, without giving way to the fatigues of his long journeys, or being weary of serving him, though she took care of his horse herself, till they arrived at a fortress where the king's treasures and most precious effects lay. There, after having distributed the most magnificent of his robes to such as were assembled about him, he made a present to each of his friends of a mortal poison, that none of them might fall alive into the hands of their enemies, but by their own consent.

<sup>i</sup> One hundred and fifty stadia.

<sup>k</sup> *Ultra foeminam ferox. Tacit.*

That unhappy fugitive<sup>1</sup> saw no other hopes for him, than from his son-in-law Tigranes. He sent ambassadors to demand permission to take refuge in his dominions, and aid for the re-establishment of his entirely ruined affairs. Tigranes was at that time at war with his son. He caused those ambassadors to be seized and thrown into prison, and set a price upon his father-in-law's head, promising 100 talents<sup>m</sup> to whosoever should seize or kill him; under pretence that it was Mithridates who had made his son take up arms against him; but in reality to make his court to the Romans, as we shall soon see.

Pompey, after the victory he had gained, marched into Armenia Major against Tigranes. He found him at war with his son, who bore the same name with himself. We have already mentioned that the king of Armenia had espoused Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates. He had three sons by her, two of whom he had put to death without reason. The third, to escape the cruelty of so unnatural a father, had fled to Phraates, king of Parthia, whose daughter he had married. His father-in-law carried him back to Armenia at the head of an army, where they besieged Artaxata. But finding the place very strong, and provided with every thing necessary for a good defence, Phraates left him part of the army to carry on the siege, and returned with the rest into his own dominions. Tigranes, the father, soon after fell upon the son with all his troops, beat his army, and drove them out of the country. That young prince, after this misfortune, had designed to withdraw to his grandfather Mithridates. But on the way he was informed of his defeat; and having lost all hope of obtaining aid from him, he resolved to throw himself into the arms of the Romans. Accordingly, he entered their camp, and went to Pompey to implore his protection. Pompey gave him a very good reception, and was glad of his coming; for, as he was about to carry the war into Armenia, he had occasion for such a guide as he. He therefore caused that prince to conduct him directly to Artaxata.

Tigranes, terrified at this news, and sensible that he was not in a condition to oppose so powerful an army, resolved to have recourse to the generosity and clemency of the Roman general. He put into his hands the ambassadors sent to him by Mithridates, and followed them directly himself. Without taking any precaution, he entered the Roman camp, and went to submit his person and crown to the discretion of Pompey and the Romans. He said, "That of all the Romans, and of

<sup>1</sup> Plut. in Pomp. p. 636, 637. Appian. p. 212. Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 25, 26.

<sup>m</sup> A hundred thousand crowns.

<sup>n</sup> Mox ipse supplex et præsens se regnumque ditioni ejus permisit, præfatus: neminem alium neque Romanum neque ullius gentis virum futurum fuisse, cujus se fidei commissurus foret, quam Cn. Pompeium. Proinde omni-

all mankind, Pompey was the only person in whose faith he could confide ; that in whatsoever manner he should decide his fate, he should be satisfied ; that he was not ashamed to be conquered by a man whom none can conquer ; and that it was no dishonour to submit to him, whom fortune had made superior to all others.

When he arrived on horseback near the intrenchments of the camp, two of Pompey's lictors came out to meet him, and ordered him to dismount and enter on foot ; telling him that no stranger had ever been known to enter a Roman camp on horseback. Tigranes obeyed, ungirt his sword, and gave it the lictors ; and afterwards, when he approached Pompey, taking off his diadem, he would have laid it at his feet, and prostrated himself to the earth to embrace his knees. But Pompey ran to prevent him : and taking him by the hand, carried him into his tent, made him sit on the right, and his son, the young Tigranes, on the left side of him. After which he deferred hearing what he had to say to the next day, and invited the father and son to sup with him that evening. The son refused to be there with his father ; and as he had not shown him the least mark of respect during the interview, and had treated him with the same indifference as if he had been a stranger, Pompey was very much offended at that behaviour. He did not, however, entirely neglect his interest, in determining upon the affair of Tigranes. After having condemned Tigranes to pay the Romans 6000 talents,<sup>o</sup> for the charges of the war he had made against them without cause, and to relinquish to them all his conquests on the hither side of the Euphrates, he decreed, that he should reign in his ancient kingdom, Armenia Major, and that his son should have Gordina and Sophena, two provinces upon the borders of Armenia, during his father's life, and all the rest of his dominions after his death ; reserving, however, to the father the treasures he had in Sophena, without which it would have been impossible for him to have paid the Romans the sum which Pompey required of him.

The father was well satisfied with these conditions, which still left him a crown. But the son, who had entertained chimerical hopes, could not relish a decree which deprived him of what had been promised him. He was even so much discontented with it that he wanted to escape, in order to excite new troubles. Pompey, who suspected his design, ordered him to be always kept in view ; and, upon his absolutely refusing to consent that his father should withdraw his treasures from

*nem sibi vel adversam vel secundam, cujus auctor ille esset, fortunam tolerabilem futuram. Non esse turpe ab eo vinci, quem vincere esset nefas: neque ei inhonestè aliquem submitti, quem fortuna super omnes extulisset. Fel. Patero. l. ii. c. 37.*

<sup>o</sup> About 900,000*l.* sterling.

Sophena, he caused him to be put into prison. Afterwards, having discovered that he solicited the Armenian nobility to take up arms, and endeavoured to engage the Parthians to do the same, he put him amongst those whom he reserved for his triumph.

A short time after, Phraates, king of the Parthians, sent to Pompey, to claim that young prince as his son-in-law; and to represent to him, that he ought to make the Euphrates the boundary of his conquests. Pompey made answer, that the younger Tigranes was more related to his father than his father-in-law; and that as to his conquests, he should give them such bounds as reason and justice required; but without being prescribed them by any one.

When Tigranes had been suffered to possess himself of his treasures in Sophena, he paid the 6000 talents, and besides that, gave every private soldier in the Roman army fifty drachmas,<sup>p</sup> 1000 to each centurion,<sup>q</sup> and 10,000 to each tribune;<sup>r</sup> and by that liberality obtained the title of friend and ally of the Roman people. This would have been pardonable, had he not added to it abject behaviour and submissions unworthy of a king.

Pompey gave all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, and added to it Sophena and Gordiana, which he had designed for young Tigranes.

After having regulated every thing in Armenia,<sup>s</sup> Pompey marched northwards in pursuit of Mithridates. Upon the banks of the Cyrus<sup>t</sup> he found the Albanians and Iberians, two powerful nations, situate between the Caspian and Euxine seas, who endeavoured to stop him; but he beat them, and obliged the Albanians to demand peace. He granted it, and passed the winter in their country.

The next year he took the field very early against the Iberians. This was a very warlike nation, and had never hitherto been conquered. It had always retained its liberty during the time that the Medes, Persians, and Macedonians had successively possessed the empire of Asia. Pompey found means to subdue this people, though not without very considerable difficulties, and obliged them to demand peace. The king of the Iberians sent him a bed, a table, and a throne, all of massy gold; desiring him to accept those presents as earnest of his amity. Pompey put them into the hands of the questors for the public treasury. He also subjected the people of Colchis, and made their king Olthaces prisoner, whom he afterwards led in triumph. From thence he returned into Albania, to chastise that nation for having taken up arms again,

<sup>p</sup> About 25s.

<sup>q</sup> About 25*l.* sterling.

<sup>r</sup> About 250*l.* sterling.

<sup>s</sup> Plut. in Pomp. p. 637. Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 28—33. Appian. p. 242.

245.

<sup>t</sup> Called also Cyrenus by some authors.

whilst he was engaged with the Iberians and the people of Colchis.

The army of the Albanians was commanded by Cosis, the brother of king Orodes. That prince, as soon as the two armies came to blows, singled out Pompey, and spurring furiously up to him, darted his javelin at him. But Pompey received him so vigorously with his spear, that it went through his body, and laid him dead at his horse's feet; the Albanians were overthrown, and a great slaughter was made of them. This victory obliged king Orodes to buy a second peace upon the same terms with that which he had made with the Romans the year before, at the price of great presents, and by giving one of his sons as a hostage for his observing it better than he had done the former.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had passed the winter at Dioscurias, in the north-east of the Euxine sea. Early in the spring he marched to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, through several nations of the Scythians, some of which suffered him to pass voluntarily, and others were obliged to it by force. The kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus is the same which is now called Crim Tartary, and was at that time a province of Mithridates's empire. He had assigned it as an establishment to one of his sons, named Machares. But that young prince had been so vigorously pressed by the Romans, whilst they besieged Sinope, and their fleet was in possession of the Euxine sea, which lay between that city and his kingdom, that he had been obliged to make a peace with them, and had inviolably observed it till then. He well knew that his father was extremely displeased with such conduct, and therefore very much dreaded meeting him. In order to a reconciliation, he sent ambassadors to him upon his route, who represented to him, that he had been reduced to act in that manner, contrary to his inclination, by the necessity of his affairs. But finding that his father was not influenced by his reasons, he endeavoured to escape by sea, and was taken by vessels sent expressly by Mithridates to cruise in his way. He chose rather to kill himself than fall into his father's hands.

Pompey, having terminated the war in the north, and seeing it impossible to follow Mithridates into the remote country to which he had retired, led back his army to the south, and on his march subjected Darius king of the Medes, and Antiochus king of Comagena. He went on to Syria, and made himself master of the whole empire. Scaurus reduced Coelesyria and Damascus, and Gabinius all the rest of the country as far as the Tigris: these were two of his lieutenant-generals. Antiochus Asiaticus," son of Antiochus Eusebes, heir of the house of the Seleu-

o:daë, who, by Lucullus's permission, had reigned four years in part of that country, of which he had taken possession when Tigranes abandoned it, came to solicit him to re-establish him upon the throne of his ancestors. But Pompey refused to give him audience, and deprived him of all his dominions, which he made a Roman province. Thus, whilst Tigranes was left in possession of Armenia, who had done the Romans great hurt during the course of a long war, Antiochus was dethroned, who had never committed the least hostility, and by no means deserved such treatment. The reason given for it was, that the Romans had conquered Syria from Tigranes; that it was not just that they should lose the fruit of their victory; that Antiochus was a prince who had neither the courage nor capacity necessary for the defence of the country; and that to put it into his hands would be to expose it to the perpetual ravages and incursions of the Jews and Arabians, which Pompey took care not to do. In consequence of this way of reasoning, Antiochus lost his crown, and was reduced to the necessity of passing his life as a private person. In him ended the empire of the Seleucidæ, after a duration of almost 250 years.

During these expeditions of the Romans in Asia, great revolutions happened in Egypt. The Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up arms; and after having expelled him, called in Ptolemy Auletes to supply his place. That history will be treated at large in the ensuing article.

Pompey afterwards went to Damascus,\* where he regulated several affairs relating to Egypt and Judea. During his residence there, twelve crowned heads went thither to make their court to him, and were all in the city at the same time.

A fine contention<sup>y</sup> between the love of a father and the duty of a son was seen at this time; a very extraordinary contest in those days, when the most horrid murders and parricides frequently opened the way to thrones. Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, voluntarily resigned the crown in favour of his son, and put the diadem on his head in the presence of Pompey. The most sincere tears flowed in abundance from the eyes of the son, who was truly afflicted at a circumstance for which others would have highly rejoiced. It was the sole occasion in which he thought disobedience allowable; and he would have persisted in refusing the sceptre,<sup>z</sup> if Pompey's orders had not interfered, and obliged him at length to submit to paternal authority. This is the second example Cappadocia has displayed of such a con-

\* Plut. in Pomp. p. 638, 639.

<sup>y</sup> Val. Max. l. v. c. 7.

<sup>z</sup> Nec ullum finem tam egregium certamen habuisset, nisi patriæ voluntati auctoritas Pompeii adfuisset. Val. Max.

test of generosity. We have spoken in its place of a similar contest between the two Ariaratheses.

As Mithridates was in possession of several strong places in Pontus and Cappadocia, Pompey judged it necessary to return thither in order to reduce them. He made himself master of almost all of them upon his arrival, and afterwards wintered at Aspis, a city of Pontus.

Stratonice, one of Mithridates's wives, surrendered a castle of the Bosphorus, which she had in her keeping, to Pompey, with the treasures concealed in it, demanding only for recompence, that if her son Xiphares should fall into his hands, he should be restored to her. Pompey accepted only such of those presents as would serve for the ornaments of temples. When Mithridates knew what Stratonice had done to revenge her facility in surrendering that fortress, which he considered as a treason, he killed Xiphares in his mother's sight, who beheld that sad spectacle from the other side of the strait.

Caina, or the New City, was the strongest place in Pontus, and therefore Mithridates kept the greatest part of his treasures, and whatever he had of greatest value, in that place, which he conceived impregnable. Pompey took it, and with it all that Mithridates had left in it. Amongst other things were found secret memoirs, written by himself, which gave a very good insight into his character. In one part he had noted down the persons he had poisoned, amongst whom were his own son Ariarathes, and Alcæus of Sardis : the latter, because he had carried the prize in the chariot-race against him. What fantastical records were these ! Was he afraid that the public and posterity should not be informed of his monstrous crimes, and his motives for committing them ?

His memoirs of physic<sup>a</sup> were also found there, which Pompey caused to be translated into Latin by Lenæus, a good grammarian, one of his freedmen ; and they were afterwards made public in that language. For, amongst the other extraordinary qualities of Mithridates, he was very skilful in medicine. It was he who invented the excellent antidote which still bears his name, and from which physicians have experienced such effects, that they continue to use it successfully to this day.

Pompey,<sup>b</sup> during his stay at Aspis, made such regulations in the affairs of the country, as the state of them would admit. As soon as the spring returned, he marched back into Syria for the same purpose. He did not think it advisable to pursue Mithridates in the kingdom of the Bosphorus, whither he was returned. To

<sup>a</sup> Plin. l. xxv. c. 20.

<sup>b</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. 5, 6. Plut. in Pomp. p. 639—641. Dion. Cass. l. xxxvii. p. 34—36. Appian. p. 246—251.

do that, he must have marched round the Euxine Sea with an army, and passed through many countries, either inhabited by barbarous nations, or entirely desert, a very dangerous enterprise, in which he would have run great risk of perishing. So that all Pompey could do was to post the Roman fleet in such a manner as to intercept any convoys that might be sent to Mithridates. He believed, by that means, he should be able to reduce him to the last extremity; and said, on setting out, that he left Mithridates more formidable enemies than the Romans, which were hunger and necessity.

What carried him with so much ardour into Syria was his excessive and vain-glorious ambition to push his conquests as far as the Red Sea. In Spain, and before that in Africa, he had carried the Roman arms as far as the western ocean on both sides of the straits of the Mediterranean. In the war against the Albanians, he had extended his conquests to the Caspian Sea, and believed there was nothing wanting to his glory, but to push them on as far as the Red Sea. Upon his arrival in Syria, he declared Antioch and Seleucia, upon the Orontes, free cities, and continued his march towards Damascus; from whence he designed to have gone on against the Arabians, and afterwards to have conquered all the countries to the Red sea. But an accident happened which obliged him to suspend all his projects, and to return into Pontus.

Some time before, an embassy had come to him from Mithridates, who demanded peace. He proposed, that he should be suffered to retain his hereditary dominions, as Tigranes had been, upon condition of paying a tribute to the Romans, and resigning all his other provinces. Pompey replied, that then he should also come in person, as Tigranes had done. Mithridates could not consent to such a meanness, but proposed sending his children, and some of his principal friends. Pompey would not be satisfied with that. The negociation broke off, and Mithridates applied himself to making preparations for war with as much vigour as ever. Pompey, who received advice of this activity, judged it necessary to be upon the spot, in order to have an eye to every thing. For that purpose, he went to pass some time at Amisus, the ancient capital of the country. There, through the just punishment of the gods, says Plutarch, his ambition made him commit faults which drew upon him the blame of all the world. He had publicly charged and reproached Lucullus, for having, while the war still raged, disposed of provinces, given rewards, decreed honours, and acted in all things as victors are not accustomed to act till a war is finally terminated; and now he fell into the same inconsistency himself. For he disposed of governments, and divided the dominions of Mithridates into provinces, as if the war had



been at an end. But Mithridates still lived, and every thing was to be apprehended from a prince inexhaustible in resources, whom the greatest defeats could not disconcert, and whom losses themselves seemed to inspire with new courage, and to supply with new strength. And indeed at that very time, when he was believed to be irretrievably ruined, he was actually meditating a terrible invasion into the very heart of the Roman empire with the troops he had lately raised.

Pompey, in the distribution of rewards, gave Armenia Minor to Dejotarus, prince of Galatia, who had always continued firmly attached to the Roman interests during this war, to which he added the title of king. It was this Dejotarus who, by always persisting, through gratitude, in his adherence to Pompey, incurred the resentment of Cæsar, and had occasion for the eloquence of Cicero to defend him.

He made Archelaus also high-priest of the Moon, who was the supreme goddess of the Comanians in Pontus, and gave him the sovereignty of the place, which contained at least 6000 persons, all devoted to the worship of that deity. I have already observed, that this Archelaus was the son of him who commanded in chief the troops sent by Mithridates into Greece in his first war with the Romans, and who, being disgraced by that prince, had, with his son, taken refuge amongst them. They had always, from that time, continued their firm adherents, and had been of great use to them in the wars of Asia. The father being dead, the high-priesthood of Comana, and the sovereignty annexed to it, were given to the son, in recompence for the services of both.

During Pompey's stay in Pontus, Aretas, king of Arabia Petraea, took advantage of his absence to make incursions into Syria, which very much distressed the inhabitants. Pompey returned thither. Upon his way he came to the place where lay the dead bodies of the Romans killed in the defeat of Triarius. He caused them to be interred with great solemnity, which gained him the hearts of the soldiers. From thence he continued his march towards Syria, with the view of executing the projects he had formed for the war of Arabia; but news of importance interrupted those designs.

Though Mithridates had lost all hopes of peace, ever since Pompey had rejected the overtures he had caused to be made to him; and though he saw many of his subjects abandon his party; far from losing courage, he had formed the design of crossing Pannonia, and passing the Alps, to attack the Romans in Italy itself, as Hannibal had done before him: a project more bold than prudent, with which his inveterate hatred and blind despair had inspired him. A great number of the neighbouring Scythians had entered themselves into his service, and

considerably augmented his army. He had sent deputies into Gaul to solicit the nations there to join him, when he should approach the Alps. As great passions are always credulous, and men easily flatter themselves in what they ardently desire, he was in hopes that the flame of the revolt among the slaves in Italy and Sicily, perhaps ill extinguished, might suddenly rekindle upon his presence: that the pirates would soon repossess themselves of the empire of the sea, and involve the Romans in new difficulties; and that the provinces, oppressed by the avarice and cruelty of the magistrates and generals, would be anxious to throw off the yoke by his aid, under which they had so long groaned. Such were the thoughts that he had revolved in his mind.

But as, in order to execute this project, it was necessary to march more than 500 leagues, and traverse the countries now called Little Tartary, Podolia, Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, Hungary, Stiria, Carinthia, the Tirol, and Lombardy; and pass three great rivers, the Borysthenes, Danube, and Po; the bare idea of so toilsome and dangerous a march threw his army into such terror, that, to prevent the execution of his design, they conspired against him, and chose Pharnaces, his son, king, who had been active in exciting the soldiers to this revolt. Mithridates then, seeing himself abandoned by all the world, and that even his son would not suffer him to escape where he could, retired to his apartment, and, after having given poison to such of his wives, concubines, and daughters, as were with him at that time, he took the same himself; but when he perceived that it had not its effect upon him, he had recourse to his sword. The wound he gave himself not sufficing, he was obliged to desire a Gaulish soldier to put an end to his life. Dion says, he was killed by his own son.

Mithridates had reigned sixty years, and lived  
A. M. 3941.  
Ant. J. C. 63. seventy-two. His greatest fear was of falling into the hands of the Romans, and of being led in triumph. To prevent that misfortune, he always carried poison about him, in order to escape that way, if other means should fail. The apprehension he was in, lest his son should deliver him up to Pompey, occasioned his taking the fatal resolution which he executed so suddenly. It is generally said, that the reason that the poison which he drank did not kill him was, his having taken antidotes so much, that his constitution was proof against it. But this is believed an error, and that it is impossible any remedy should be a universal antidote against all the different species of poison.

Pompey was at Jericho in Palestine, whither the differences between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, of which we have spoken elsewhere, had carried him, when he received the first news of

Mithridates's death. It was brought him by expresses despatched on purpose from Pontus with letters from his lieutenants. Those expresses arriving with their lances crowned with laurels, which was customary only when they brought advice of some victory, or news of great importance and advantage, the army was very eager and solicitous to know what it was. As they had only begun to form their camp, and had not erected the tribunal from which the general harangued the troops, without staying to raise one of turf, as was usual, because that would take up too much time, they made one of the packs of their carriage-horses, upon which Pompey mounted without ceremony. He acquainted them with the death of Mithridates, and the manner of his killing himself; that his son Pharnaces submitted himself and his dominions to the Romans, and that thereby that tedious war, which had endured so long, was at length terminated. This was a subject of great joy to both the army and general.

Such was the end of Mithridates; a prince,<sup>c</sup> says an historian, of whom it is difficult either to speak or be silent: full of activity in war, of distinguished courage; sometimes very great through the favours of fortune, and always through his invincible resolution; truly a general in his prudence and counsel, and a soldier by his bold and hazardous exploits; a second Hannibal in his hatred of the Romans.

Cicero says of Mithridates, that after Alexander he was the greatest of kings: <sup>d</sup> *Ille rex post Alexandrum maximus*. It is certain that the Romans never had such a king in arms against them. Nor can we deny that he had his great qualities: a vast extent of mind, that embraced every subject; a superiority of genius, capable of the greatest undertakings; a constancy of soul, that the severest misfortunes could not depress; an industry and bravery, inexhaustible in resources, and which, after the greatest losses, brought him on a sudden again on the stage, more powerful and formidable than ever. I cannot, however, believe, that he is to be considered as a consummate general; that idea does not seem to result from his actions. He obtained great advantage at first; but against generals without either merit or experience. When Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey opposed him, it does not appear he acquired any great honour, either by his address in posting himself to advantage, by his presence of mind in unexpected emergencies, or intrepidity in the heat of action. But, should we admit him to have all the qualities of a great captain,

<sup>c</sup> Vir neque silendus neque dicendus sine curâ; bello acerrimus; virtute eximius; aliquando fortunâ, semper animo maximus; consiliis dux, miles manu; odio in Romanis Annibal. *Vel. Patere*. l. ii. c. 18.

<sup>d</sup> Academ. *Quest.* l. iv. n. 3.

he cannot but be considered with horror, when we reflect upon the innumerable murders and parricides with which he polluted his reign, and that inhuman cruelty which regarded neither mother, wives, children, nor friends, and which sacrificed every thing to his insatiable ambition.

Pompey<sup>e</sup> being arrived in Syria, went directly  
 A. M. 3941. to Damascus, with design to set out from thence  
 Ant. J. C. 63. to begin at length the war with Arabia. When  
 Aretas, the king of that country, saw him upon the point  
 of entering his dominions, he sent an embassy to make his sub-  
 missions.

The troubles of Judea employed Pompey some time. He returned afterwards into Syria, from whence he set out for Pontus. Upon his arrival at Amisus, he found the body of Mithridates there, which Pharnaces his son had sent to him; no doubt, to convince Pompey by his own eyes of the death of an enemy who had occasioned him so many difficulties and fatigues. He had added great presents, in order to conciliate his favour. Pompey accepted the presents; but as for the body of Mithridates, looking upon their enmity as extinguished by death, he did it all the honours due to the remains of a king, sent it to the city of Sinope to be interred there with the kings of Pontus, his ancestors, who had long been buried in that place, and ordered the sums that were necessary for the solemnity of a royal funeral.

In this last journey he took possession of all the places in the hands of those to whom Mithridates had confided them. He found immense riches in some of them, especially at Telaurus, where part of Mithridates's most valuable effects and precious jewels were kept: his principal arsenal was also in the same place. Amongst these were 2000 cups of onyx, set and adorned with gold: with so prodigious a quantity of all kinds of plate, furniture, and military accoutrements for man and horse, that it cost the questor, or treasurer of the army, thirty entire days in taking the inventory of them.

Pompey granted Pharnaces the kingdom of Bosphorus as a reward for his parricide, declared him the friend and ally of the Roman people, and marched into the province of Asia, in order to winter at Ephesus. Here he distributed rewards to his victorious army. He gave each of his soldiers 1500 drachmas, (about 37*l.* sterling,) and to the officers according to their several posts. The total sum to which his liberalities amounted, all raised out of the spoils of the enemy, was 16,000 talents; that is to say, about 2,400,000*l.*; besides which

<sup>e</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 4. 8; et de Bell. Jud. l. 5. Plut. in Pomp. p. 641. Appian. p. 250. Dion. Cas. l. xxxvi. p. 35, 36.

he had 20,000 more (3,000,000), to put into the treasury at Rome, upon the day of his entry.

His triumph continued two days, and was  
A. M. 3943. celebrated with extraordinary magnificence.  
Ant. J. C. 61. Pompey caused 324 captives of the highest distinction to march before his chariot; amongst whom were Aristobulus, king of Judea, with his son Antigonus; Olthaces, king of Colchis; Tigranes, the son of Tigranes, king of Armenia; the sister, five sons, and two daughters, of Mithridates. In the place of that king's person, his throne, sceptre, and a colossal busto of gold of eight cubits, or twelve feet, in height, were carried in triumph.

## BOOK XXIV.

### THE HISTORY OF EGYPT.

#### SECT. I.

Ptolemy Auletes having been placed upon the throne of Egypt in the room of Alexander, is declared the friend and ally of the Roman people by the influence of Cæsar and Pompey, which he had purchased at a very great price. In consequence, he loads his subjects with taxes. He is expelled the throne. The Alexandrians make his daughter Berenice queen. He goes to Rome, and, by money, obtains the voices of the heads of the commonwealth for his re-establishment. He is opposed by an oracle of the Sibyl's; notwithstanding which, Gabinius sets him upon the throne by force of arms, where he remains till his death. The famous Cleopatra, and her brother, very young, succeed him.

WE have seen<sup>a</sup> in what manner Ptolemy Auletes ascended the throne of Egypt. Alexander, his predecessor, upon his being expelled by his subjects, had withdrawn to Tyre, where he died some time after. As he left no issue, nor any other legitimate prince of the blood-royal, he had made the Roman people his heirs. The senate, for the reasons I have repeated elsewhere, did not judge it proper at that time to take possession of the dominions left them by Alexander's will; but to show that they did not renounce their right, they resolved to call in part of the inheritance, and sent deputies to Tyre, to demand a sum of money left there by that king at his death.

The pretensions of the Roman people were under no restrictions; and it would have been a very insecure establishment to possess a state to which they believed they had so just a claim, unless some means were found to make them renounce it. All the kings of Egypt had been friends and allies of Rome. For Ptolemy to get himself declared an ally by the Romans, was a certain means to his being authentically acknowledged king of

<sup>a</sup> Book xx. Art. iii. Sect. vii.

Egypt by them. But by how much the more important that qualification was to him, so much the more difficult was it for him to obtain it. His predecessor's will was still fresh in the memory of every body; and as princes are seldom pardoned for defects which do not suit their condition, though they are often spared for those that are much more hurtful, the surname of *Player on the Flute*, which he had drawn upon himself, had ranked him as low in the esteem of the Romans as in that of the Egyptians.

He did not, however, despair of success in his undertakings.<sup>b</sup> All the methods which he took for the attainment of his end, were a long time ineffectual; and it is likely they would always have been so, if Cæsar had never been consul. That ambitious spirit, who believed all means and expedients just that conduced to his ends, being immensely in debt, and finding that king disposed to merit by money what he could not obtain by right, sold him the alliance of Rome at as dear a price as he was willing to buy it; and received for the purchase, as well for himself as for Pompey, whose credit was necessary to him for obtaining the people's consent, almost six thousand talents; that is to say, almost nine hundred thousand pounds. At this price he was declared the friend and ally of the Roman people.

Though that prince's yearly revenues were  
 A. M. 3946.  
 Ant. J. C. 58. twice the amount of this sum, he could not immediately raise the money without exceedingly overtaxing his subjects. They were already highly discontented at his not claiming the isle of Cyprus as an ancient dependence of Egypt, and, in case of refusal, declaring war against the Romans. In this disposition the extraordinary imposts he was obliged to exact having finally exasperated them, they rose with so much violence, that he was forced to fly for the security of his life. He concealed his route so well, that the Egyptians either believed, or feigned to believe, that he had perished. They declared Berenice, the eldest of his three daughters, queen, though he had two sons, because they were both much younger than she.

Ptolemy,<sup>c</sup> in the mean time, having landed at the isle of Rhodes, which was in his way to Rome, was informed that Cato, who after his death was called Cato of Utica, had also arrived there some time before. That prince, being glad of the opportunity to confer with him upon his own affairs, sent immediately to let him know his arrival, expecting that he would come directly to visit him. We may here see an instance of Roman

<sup>b</sup> Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. liv. Dion. Cass. l. xxxix. p. 97. Strab. l. xvii. p. 796.

<sup>c</sup> Plut. in Cato. Utic. p. 776.

grandeur, or rather haughtiness. Cato ordered him to be told, that, if he had any thing to say to him, he might come to him, if he thought fit. Accordingly he went. Cato did not vouchsafe so much as to rise when Ptolemy entered his chamber, and saluting him only as a common man, bade him sit down. The king, though in some confusion upon this reception, could not but inwardly wonder how so much haughtiness and state could unite in the same person with the simplicity and modesty that appeared in his dress and all his equipage. But he was still more surprised, when, upon entering upon business, Cato blamed him, in direct terms, for quitting the finest kingdom in the world, to expose himself to the pride and insatiable avarice of the Roman grandees, and to suffer a thousand indignities. He did not scruple to tell him, that, though he should sell all Egypt, he would not have sufficient to satisfy their avidity. He advised him, therefore, to return to Egypt and reconcile himself with his subjects ; adding, that he was ready to accompany him thither, and offering him his mediation and good offices for that purpose.

Ptolemy, upon this discourse, recovered as out of a dream, and having maturely considered what the wise Roman had told him, perceived the error he had committed in quitting his kingdom, and entertained thoughts of returning to it. But the friends he had with him being gained by Pompey to make him go to Rome, (one may easily guess with what views,) dissuaded him from following Cato's good advice. He had full time to repent it, when he found himself, in that proud city, reduced to solicit the magistrates upon his business, from door to door, like a private person.

Cæsar,<sup>d</sup> upon which his principal hopes were founded, was not at Rome ; he was at that time making war in Gaul. But Pompey, who was there, gave him an apartment in his house, and omitted nothing to serve him. Besides the money which he had received from that prince, in conjunction with Cæsar, Ptolemy had since cultivated his friendship by various services which he had rendered him during the war with Mithridates, and had maintained at his own charge 8000 horse for him in that of Judea. Having, therefore, made his complaint to the senate of the rebellion of his subjects, he demanded that they should oblige them to return to their obedience as the Romans were engaged to do by the alliance granted him. Pompey's faction obtained for him a compliance with his request. The consul Lentulus, to whom Cilicia, separated from Egypt only by the coast of Syria, had fallen by lot, was charged with the re-establishment of Ptolemy upon the throne.

<sup>d</sup> Dion. Cass. l. xxxix. p. 97, 98. Flin. l. xxxiii. c. 10. Cic. ad Famil. l. i. ep. 1—4. Id. in Piso. n. 48—50. Id. pro. Cæl. n. 23, 24.



But before his consulship expired, the Egyptians having been informed that their king was not dead, as they believed, and that he was gone to Rome, sent thither a solemn embassy, to justify their revolt before that senate. That embassy consisted of more than 100 persons, at the head of whom was a celebrated philosopher, named Dion, who had considerable friends at Rome. Ptolemy having received advice of this, found means to destroy most of those ambassadors, either by poison or the sword, and so much intimidated those whom he could neither corrupt nor kill, that they were afraid either to acquit themselves of their commission, or to demand justice for so many murders. But as all the world knew this cruelty, it made him as highly odious as he was before contemptible; and his immense profusion, in gaining the poorest and most self-interested senators, became so public, that nothing else was talked of throughout the city.

So notorious a contempt of the laws, and such an excess of audacity, excited the indignation of all the persons of integrity in the senate. M. Favonius, the Stoic philosopher, was the first in it who declared himself against Ptolemy. Upon his motion, it was resolved that Dion should be ordered to attend, in order to their knowing the truth from his own mouth. But the king's party, composed of that of Pompey and Lentulus, of such as he had corrupted with money, and of those who had lent him sums to corrupt others, acted so openly in his favour, that Dion did not dare to appear; and Ptolemy, having caused him also to be killed some short time after, though he who did the murder was accused in due form of law, the king was exculpated, upon maintaining that he had just cause for the action.

Whether that prince thought that he had nothing farther to transact at Rome that demanded his presence, or apprehended receiving some affront, hated as he was, if he continued there any longer, he set out from thence some few days after, and retired to Ephesus, into the temple of the goddess, to wait there the decision of his destiny.

His affair, in fact, made more noise than ever at Rome. One of the tribunes of the people, named C. Cato, an active, enterprising young man, who did not want eloquence, declared himself, in frequent harangues, against Ptolemy and Lentulus, and was hearkened to by the people with singular pleasure and extraordinary applause.

In order to put a new engine in motion, he waited till the new consuls were elected; and as soon as Lentulus had quitted that office, he produced to the people an oracle of the Sibyl's, which ran thus: *If a king of Egypt, having occasion for aid, applies to you, you shall not refuse him your amity; but, however, you shall*

A. M. 3047.  
Ant. J. C. 57.

A. M. 3948.  
Ant. J. C. 56.

*not give him any troops ; for if you do, you will suffer and hazard much.*

The usual form was to communicate this kind of oracle first to the senate, in order to examine whether they were proper to be divulged. But Cato, apprehending that the king's faction might occasion the passing a resolution there to suppress this, which was so apposite to that prince, immediately presented the priests, with whom the sacred books were deposited, to the people, and obliged them, by the authority which his office of tribune gave him, to lay what they had found in them before the public, without demanding the senate's opinion.

This was a new thunder-stroke to Ptolemy and Lentulus. The words of the Sibyl were too express not to make all the impression upon the vulgar which their enemies desired. So that Lentulus, whose consulship was expired, not being willing to receive the affront to his face, of having the senate's decree revoked, by which he was appointed to reinstate Ptolemy, set out immediately for his province, in quality of proconsul.

He was not deceived. Some days after, one of the new consuls, named Marcellinus, the declared enemy of Pompey, having proposed the oracle to the senate, it was decreed, that regard should be had to it, and that it appeared dangerous for the commonwealth to re-establish the king of Egypt by force.

We must not believe there was any person in the senate so simple, or rather so stupid, as to have any faith in such an oracle. Nobody doubted but that it had been expressly contrived for the present conjuncture, and was the work of some secret political intrigue. But it had been published and approved in the assembly of the people, credulous and superstitious to excess, and the senate could pass no other judgment upon it.

This new incident obliged Ptolemy to change his measures. Seeing that Lentulus had too many enemies at Rome, he abandoned the decree by which he had been commissioned with his re-establishment, and demanded by Ammonius, his ambassador, whom he had left at Rome, that Pompey should be appointed to execute the same commission ; because, it not being possible to execute it with open force, upon account of the oracle, he judged, with reason, that it was necessary to substitute, in the room of force, a person of great authority ; and Pompey was at that time at the highest pitch of his glory, occasioned by his success in having destroyed Mithridates, the greatest and most powerful king Asia had seen since Alexander.

The affair was discussed in the senate, and debated with great vivacity by the different parties that rose up in it. The difference of opinions caused several sittings to be spent without any

determination.<sup>c</sup> Cicero never quitted the interest of Lentulus, his intimate friend, who, during his consulship, had infinitely contributed to his recall from banishment. But what means were there to render him any service, in the condition in which things stood? And what could that proconsul do against a great kingdom, without using force of arms, which was expressly forbidden by the oracle? In this manner people of little wit and subtilty, that were not used to consider things in different lights, would have thought. The oracle only prohibited giving the king any troops for his re-establishment. Could not Lentulus have left him in some place near the frontiers, and still go with a good army to besiege Alexandria. After he had taken it, he might have returned, leaving a strong garrison in the place, and then sent the king thither, who would have found all things disposed for his reception without violence or troops. This was Cicero's advice; to confirm which, I shall repeat his own words, taken from a letter written by him at that time to Lentulus: *You are the best judge, says he, as you are master of Cilicia and Cyprus, of what you can undertake and effect. If it seems practicable for you to take Alexandria and possess yourself of the rest of Egypt, it is, without doubt, both for your own honour, and that of the commonwealth, that you should go thither with your fleet and army, leaving the king at Ptolemais, or in some other neighbouring place, in order that, after you have appeased the revolt, and left strong garrisons where necessary, that prince may safely return thither. In<sup>f</sup> this manner you will reinstate him, according to the senate's first decree: and he will be restored without troops, which our zealots assure us is the direction of the Sibyl.* Would one believe that a grave magistrate, in an affair so important as that at present in question, should be capable of an evasion, which appears so little consistent with the integrity and probity upon which Cicero valued himself? It was because he reckoned the pretended oracle of the Sibyl to be what indeed it was, that is to say, a mere contrivance and imposture.

Lentulus, stopped by the difficulties of that enterprise, which were great and real, was afraid to engage in it, and took the advice Cicero gave him in the conclusion of his letter, where he represented, *That all the world would judge of his conduct from the event;§ that therefore he had only to take his mea-*

<sup>c</sup> Cic. ad Famil. l. i. epist. 7.

<sup>f</sup> Ita fore ut per te restituaatur, quemadmodum initio senatus censuit; et sine multitudine reducatur, quemadmodum homines religiosi Sibyllæ placere dixerunt.

<sup>§</sup> Ex eventu homines de tuo consilio esse judicatuuros, videmus—Nos quidem hoc sentimus; si exploratum tibi sit, posse te illius regni potiri, non esse cunctandum; sin dubium, non esse conandum.

*suress so well, as to insure his success ; and that otherwise, he would do better not to undertake it.*

Gabinus, who commanded in Syria in the quality of proconsul, was less apprehensive and less cautious. Though every proconsul was prohibited by a positive law to quit his province, or declare any war whatsoever, even upon the nearest borderer, without an express order of the senate, he had marched to the aid of Mithridates, prince of Parthia, who had been expelled by the king, his brother, from Media, which kingdom had fallen to his share. He had already passed the Euphrates with his army for that purpose,<sup>h</sup> when Ptolemy joined him with letters from Pompey, their common friend and patron, who had very lately been declared consul for the year ensuing. By those letters he conjured Gabinus to do his utmost in favour of the proposals that prince should make him, with regard to his re-establishment in his kingdom. However dangerous that conduct might be, the authority of Pompey, and, still more, the hope of considerable gain, made Gabinus begin to waver. The pressing remonstrances of Antony, who sought occasions to signalize himself, and was besides inclined to please Ptolemy, whose entreaties flattered his ambition, fully determined him. This was the famous Mark Antony, who afterwards formed the second triumvirate with Octavius and Lepidus. Gabinus had engaged him to follow him into Syria, by giving him the command of his cavalry. The more dangerous the enterprise, the more Gabinus thought he had a right to make Ptolemy pay dear for it. The latter, who found no difficulty in agreeing to any terms, offered him for himself and the army, 10,000 talents, or 1,500,000*l.* the greatest part to be advanced immediately in ready money, and the rest as soon as he should be reinstated. Gabinus accepted the offer without hesitation.

Egypt<sup>i</sup> had continued under the government of queen Berenice. As soon as she ascended the throne, the Egyptians had sent to offer the crown, and Berenice, to Antiochus Asiaticus, in Syria, who, by his mother Selene's side, was the nearest heir male. The ambassadors found him dead, and returned ; they brought an account that his brother Seleucus, surnamed Cybiosactes, was still alive. The same offers were made to him, which he accepted. He was a prince of mean and sordid inclinations, and had no thoughts but of amassing money. His first care was to cause the body of Alexander the Great to be put into a coffin of glass, in order to seize that of massy gold, in which it had lain untouched till then. This action, and many others of a

<sup>h</sup> Appian. in Syr. p. 120, et in Parth. p. 134. Plut. in Anton. p. 916, 917.

<sup>i</sup> Strab. l. xii. p. 538. Id. l. xvii. p. 794—796. Dion. Cass. l. xxxix. p. 115, 117. Cic. in Pison. n. 49, 50.

like nature, having rendered him equally odious to his queen and subjects, she caused him to be strangled soon after. He was the last prince of the race of the Seleucidæ. She afterwards espoused Archelaus, high-priest of Comana, in Pontus, who called himself the son of the great Mithridates though, in fact, he was only the son of that prince's chief general.

Gabinus,<sup>k</sup> after having passed the Euphrates, and crossed Palestine, marched directly into Egypt. What was most to be feared in this war, was the way by which they must necessarily march to arrive at Pelusium; for they could not avoid passing plains covered with sands, of such a depth as was terrible to think on, and so parched, that there was not a single drop of water the whole length of the fens of Serbonis. Antony, who was sent before with the horse, not only seized the passes, but having taken Pelusium, the key of Egypt on that side, with the whole garrison, he made the way secure for the rest of the army, and gave his general great hopes of success in the expedition.

The enemy derived considerable advantage from the desire of glory which influenced Antony. For Ptolemy had no sooner entered Pelusium, than, urged by the violence of his hate and resentment, he would have put all the Egyptians in it to the sword. But Antony, who rightly judged that that act of cruelty would disgrace himself, opposed it, and prevented Ptolemy from executing his design. In all the battles and encounters which immediately followed one another, he not only gave proofs of his great valour, but distinguished himself by all the conduct of a great general.

As soon as Gabinus received advice of Antony's good success, he entered the heart of Egypt. It was in winter, when the waters of the Nile are very low, and consequently the properest time for the conquest of it. Archelaus, who was brave, able, and experienced, did all that could be done in his defence, and disputed his ground very well with the enemy. After he quitted the city, in order to march against the Romans, when it was necessary to encamp and break ground for the intrenchments, the Egyptians, accustomed to live an idle and voluptuous life, raised an outcry, that Archelaus should employ the mercenaries in such work at the expense of the public. What could be expected from such troops in a battle? They were, in fact, soon put to the rout. Archelaus was killed, fighting valiantly. Antony, who had been his particular friend and guest, having found his body upon the field of battle, adorned it in a royal manner, and solemnized his obsequies with great magnificence. By this action he left behind him a great name in Alexandria,

<sup>k</sup> Plut. in Anton. p. 916, 917.

and acquired amongst the Romans who served with him in this war the reputation of a man of singular valour and exceeding generosity.

Egypt was soon reduced, and obliged to receive Auletes, who took entire possession of his dominions. In order to strengthen him in it, Gabinius left him some Roman troops for the guard of his person. Those troops contracted at Alexandria the manners and customs of the country, and abandoned themselves to the luxury and effeminacy which reigned there more than in any other city. Auletes put his daughter Berenice to death, for having worn the crown during his exile; and afterwards got rid, in the same manner, of all the rich persons who had been of the adverse party. He had occasion for the confiscation of their estates, to make up the sum he had promised to Gabinius, to whose aid he was indebted for his re-establishment.

The Egyptians suffered all these violences without murmuring.<sup>1</sup> But, some days after, a Roman soldier having accidentally killed a cat, neither the fear of Gabinius nor the authority of Ptolemy could prevent the people from tearing him to pieces upon the spot, to avenge the insult done to the gods of the country; for cats were of that number.

Nothing farther is known with respect to the life of Ptolemy Auletes,<sup>m</sup> except that C. Rabirius Posthumus, who had either lent him, or caused to be lent him, the greatest part of the sums he had borrowed at Rome, having gone to him, in order to procure payment when he was entirely reinstated, that prince gave him to understand that he despaired of satisfying him, unless he would consent to take upon him the care of his revenues, by which means he might reimburse himself by little and little with his own hands. The unfortunate creditor having accepted that offer out of fear of losing his debt if he refused it, the king soon found a pretence for causing him to be imprisoned, though one of the oldest and dearest of Cæsar's friends, and though Pompey was in some measure security for the debt, as the money was lent, and the obligations executed, in his presence, and by his procurement, in a country-house of his near Alba.

Rabirius thought himself too happy in being able to escape from prison and Egypt more miserable than he had gone thither. To complete his disgrace, he was prosecuted in form as soon as he returned to Rome, for having aided Ptolemy in corrupting the senate, by the sums he had lent him for that purpose; of having dishonoured his quality of Roman knight, by the employment he had accepted in Egypt; and lastly, of having shared in the money which Gabinius brought from thence, with whom, it was alleged, he had connived. Cicero's oration

<sup>1</sup> *Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 74, 75.*

<sup>m</sup> *Cic. pro. Rabir. Posth.*

in his defence, which we still have, is an eternal monument of the ingratitude and perfidy of this unworthy king.

A. M. 3953.  
Ant. J. C. 51. Ptolemy Auletes died in the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Egypt, about four years after his re-establishment.<sup>n</sup> He left two sons and two daughters. He bequeathed his crown to the eldest son and daughter, and ordered by his will that they should marry together, according to the custom of that house, and govern jointly. And because they were both very young, (for the daughter, who was the eldest, was only seventeen years of age,) he left them under the guardianship of the Roman senate. This was the famous Cleopatra, whose history it remains for us to relate. We find the people appointed Pompey the young king's guardian, who some years after so basely ordered him to be put to death.<sup>o</sup>

## SECT. II.

Pothinus and Achillas, ministers of the young king, expel Cleopatra. She raises troops to re-establish herself. Pompey, after having been overthrown at Pharsalia, retires into Egypt. He is assassinated there. Cæsar, who pursued him, arrives at Alexandria, where he is informed of his death, which he seems to lament. He endeavours to reconcile the brother and sister, and for that purpose sends for Cleopatra, of whom he soon becomes enamoured. Great commotions arise at Alexandria, and several battles are fought between the Egyptians and Cæsar's troops, wherein the latter have almost always the advantage. The king having been drowned in flying after a sea fight, all Egypt submits to Cæsar. He sets Cleopatra, with her younger brother, upon the throne, and returns to Rome.

A. M. 3956.  
Ant. J. C. 48. Little is known of the beginning of the reign of Cleopatra and her brother.<sup>p</sup> That prince was a minor, under the tuition of Pothinus the eunuch, and of Achillas the general of his army. Those two ministers, no doubt to engross to themselves the whole administration of the public affairs, had deprived Cleopatra, in the king's name, of the share in the sovereignty left her by the will of Auletes. Injured in this manner, she went into Syria and Palestine to raise troops in those countries, in order to assert her rights by force of arms.

It was exactly at this conjuncture of the quarrel between the brother and sister, that Pompey, after having lost the battle of Pharsalia, fled to Egypt; conceiving, that he should find there an open and secure asylum in his misfortunes. He had been the protector of Auletes, the father of the reigning king, and it was solely to Pompey's influence that he was indebted for his re-establishment. He was in hopes of finding the son grateful,

<sup>n</sup> Cæsar de Bello Civ. l. v.

<sup>o</sup> Eutrop. l. vi.

<sup>p</sup> Plut. in Pomp. 659—662. Id. in Cæs. p. 730, 731. Appian. de Bel. Civ. p. 480—484. Cæs. de Bel. Civ. l. iii. Diod. l. xlii. p. 200—206.

and of being powerfully assisted by him. When he arrived, Ptolemy was upon the coast with his army, between Pelusium and mount Casius, and Cleopatra at no great distance, at the head of her troops also. Pompey, on approaching the coast, sent to Ptolemy to demand permission to land, and enter his kingdom.

The two ministers, Pothinus and Achillas, consulted with Theodotus the rhetorician, the young king's preceptor, and with some others, what answer they should make: Pompey in the mean time waited the result of that council, and chose rather to expose himself to be the foot-ball of three unworthy persons who governed the prince, than to owe his safety to Cæsar, who was his father-in-law, and the greatest of the Romans. This council differed in opinion; some were for receiving him, others for having him told to seek a retreat elsewhere. Theodotus approved neither of these methods; and displaying all his eloquence, undertook to demonstrate, that there was no other choice to be made, than that of ridding themselves of him. His reason was, because, if they received him, Cæsar would never forgive the having assisted his enemy: if they sent him away without aid, and affairs should take a turn in his favour, he would not fail to revenge himself upon them for their refusal. That therefore there was no security for them, but in putting him to death; by which means they would gain Cæsar's friendship, and prevent the other from ever doing them any hurt; for, said he, according to the proverb, *Dead men do not bite*.

This advice prevailed, as being in their opinion the wisest and most safe. Achillas, Septimius, a Roman officer in the service of the king of Egypt, and some others, were charged with putting it into execution. They went to take Pompey on board of a shallop, under the pretext that large vessels could not approach the shore without difficulty. The troops were drawn up on the sea-side, as with design to do honour to Pompey, with Ptolemy at their head. The perfidious Septimius tendered his hand to Pompey in the name of his master, and bade him come to a king, his friend, whom he ought to regard as his ward and son. Pompey then embraced his wife Cornelia, who was already in tears for his death, and after having repeated these verses of Sophocles, *Every man who enters the court of a tyrant becomes his slave, though free before*, he went into the shallop. When they saw themselves near the shore, they stabbed him before the king's eyes, cut off his head, and threw his body upon the strand, where it had no other funeral than what one of his freed-men gave it with the assistance of an old Roman, who was there by chance. They raised him a wretched funeral-pile, and for that purpose made use of some fragments of an old wreck, that had been driven ashore there.



Cornelia had seen Pompey massacred before her eyes. It is easier to imagine the condition of a woman in the height of grief from so tragical an object, than to describe it. Those who were in her galley, and in two other ships in company with it, made the coast resound with the cries they raised ; and weighing anchor immediately, set sail before the wind, which blew fresh as soon as they got out to sea : this prevented the Egyptians, who were getting ready to chase them, from pursuing their design.

Cæsar made all possible haste to arrive in Egypt, whither he suspected Pompey had retired, and where he was in hopes of finding him still alive. That he might be there the sooner, he carried very few troops with him ; only 800 horse and 3200 foot. He left the rest of his army in Greece and Asia Minor, under his lieutenant-generals, with orders to make all the advantages of his victory which it would admit, and to establish his authority in all those countries. As for his own person,<sup>1</sup> confiding in his reputation, and the success of his arms at Pharsalia, and reckoning all places secure for him, he made no scruple to land at Alexandria with the few people he had. He was very nigh paying dear for his temerity.

Upon his arrival he was informed of Pompey's death, and found the city in great confusion. Theodotus, believing he should do him an exceeding pleasure, presented him the head of that illustrious fugitive. He wept at seeing it, and turned away his eyes from a spectacle that gave him horror. He even caused it to be interred with all the usual solemnities. And the better to express his esteem for Pompey, and the respect he had for his memory, he received with great kindness, and loaded with favours, all who had adhered to him, and were then in Egypt ; and wrote to his friends at Rome, that the highest and most grateful advantage of his victory was to find every day some new occasion to preserve the lives and do services to some of those citizens, who had borne arms against him.

The commotions increased every day at Alexandria, and abundance of murders were committed there ; the city having neither law nor government, because without a master. Cæsar, clearly perceiving that the small number of troops with him were far from being sufficient to awe an insolent and seditious populace, gave orders for the legions he had in Asia to march thither as soon as possible. It was not in his power to leave Egypt, because of the Etesian winds, which in that country blow continually during the dog-days, and prevent all vessels from quitting Alexandria ; as those winds are then always full north. Not to lose time, he demanded the payment of the

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar confisus famâ rerum gestarum, infirmis auxiliis proficisci non dubitaverat ; atque omnem sibi locum tutum fore existimabat. *Cæs.*

money due to him from Auletes, and took cognizance of the dispute between Ptolemy and his sister Cleopatra.

We have seen, that when Cæsar was consul for the first time, Auletes had gained him by the promise of 6000 talents, and by that means had procured himself to be established upon the throne, and declared the friend and ally of the Romans. The king had paid him only a part of that sum, and had given him a bond for the remainder.

Cæsar therefore demanded what was unpaid, which he wanted for the subsistence of his troops, and urged his claim with rigour. Pothinus, Ptolemy's first minister, employed various stratagems to make this rigour appear still greater than it really was. He plundered the temples of all the gold and silver which was found in them, and made the king and all the great persons of the kingdom eat out of earthen or wooden vessels; insinuating underhand, that Cæsar had seized upon all the silver and gold plate, in order to render him odious to the populace by such reports, which were not destitute of probability in appearance, though entirely groundless.

But what finally incensed the Egyptians against Cæsar, and made them at last take arms, was the haughtiness with which he acted as judge between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, in causing them to be cited to appear before him for the decision of their dispute. We shall soon see upon what he founded his authority for proceeding in that manner. He therefore decreed in form, that they should disband their armies, should appear and plead their cause before him, and receive such sentence as he should pass between them. This order was looked upon in Egypt as a violation of the royal dignity, which, being independent, acknowledged no superior, and could be judged by no tribunal. Cæsar replied to these complaints, that he acted only in virtue of being appointed arbiter by the will of Auletes who had put his children under the guardianship of the senate and people of Rome, the whole authority of which was then vested in his person, in quality of consul: that, as guardian, he had a right to arbitrate between them; and that all he pretended to was, as executor of the will, to establish peace between the brother and sister. This explanation having facilitated the affair, it was at length brought before Cæsar, and advocates were chosen to plead the cause.

But Cleopatra, who knew Cæsar's foible, believed that her presence would be more persuasive than any advocate she could employ with her judge. She caused him to be told, that she perceived that those whom she employed in her behalf betrayed her, and demanded his permission to appear in person. Plutarch says it was Cæsar himself who pressed her to come and plead her cause.

That princess took nobody with her, of all her friends, but Apollodorus the Sicilian ; got into a little boat and arrived at the bottom of the walls of the citadel of Alexandria, when it was quite dark night. Finding that there were no means of entering without being known, she thought of this stratagem. She laid herself at length in the midst of a bundle of clothes. Apollodorus wrapped it up in a cloth, tied up with a thong, and in that manner carried it through the gate of the citadel to Cæsar's apartment, who was far from being displeased with the stratagem. The first sight of so beautiful a person had all the effect upon him she had desired.

Cæsar sent the next day for Ptolemy, and pressed him to take her again and be reconciled with her. Ptolemy saw plainly that his judge was become his adversary : and having learned that his sister was then in the palace, and even in Cæsar's own apartment, he quitted it in the utmost fury, and in the open street rent the diadem off his head, tore it to pieces, and threw it on the ground ; crying out, with his face bathed in tears, that he was betrayed ; and relating the circumstances to the multitude who assembled round him. In a moment the whole city was in an uproar. He put himself at the head of the populace, and led them on tumultuously to charge Cæsar with all the fury natural on such occasions.

The Roman soldiers, whom Cæsar had with him, secured the person of Ptolemy. But as all the rest, who knew nothing of what was passing, were dispersed in the several quarters of that great city, Cæsar would inevitably have been overpowered and torn to pieces by that furious populace, if he had not had the presence of mind to show himself to them from a part of the palace so high that he had nothing to fear upon it : from hence he assured them, that they would be fully satisfied with the judgment he should pass. Those promises appeased the Egyptians a little.

The next day he brought out Ptolemy and Cleopatra into an assembly of the people, summoned by his order. After having caused the will of the late king to be read, he decreed, as guardian and arbitrator, that Ptolemy and Cleopatra should reign jointly in Egypt, according to the intent of that will ; and that Ptolemy the younger son, and Arsinoe the younger daughter, should reign in Cyprus. He added the last article to appease the people ; for it was an absolute gift that he made them, as the Romans were actually in possession of that island. But he feared the effects of the Alexandrians' fury ; and it was to extricate himself out of his present danger that he made that concession.

Every one was satisfied and charmed with this decree, except Pothinus. As it was he who had occasioned the breach between Cleopatra and

her brother, and the expulsion of that princess from the throne, he had reason to apprehend that the consequences of this accommodation would prove fatal to him. To prevent the effect of Cæsar's decree, he inspired the people with new subjects of jealousy and discontent. He gave out, that it was only through fear and force that Cæsar had granted this decree, which would not long subsist; and that his true design was to place Cleopatra alone upon the throne. This was what the Egyptians exceedingly feared, not being able to endure that a woman should govern them alone, and have the sole authority. When he saw that the people came into his views, he made Achilles advance at the head of the army from Pelusium, in order to drive Cæsar out of Alexandria. The approach of that army put all things into their former confusion. Achilles, who had 20,000 good troops, despised Cæsar's small number, and believed he should overpower him immediately. But Cæsar posted his men so well, in the streets and upon the avenues of the quarter in his possession, that he found no difficulty in supporting their attack.

When they saw they could not force him, they changed their measures, and marched towards the port, with design to make themselves masters of the fleet, to cut off his communication with the sea, and to prevent him, in consequence, from receiving succours and convoys on that side. But Cæsar again frustrated their design, by causing the Egyptian fleet to be set on fire, and by possessing himself of the tower of Pharos, which he garrisoned. By this means he preserved and secured his communication with the sea, without which he would have been ruined effectually. Some of the vessels on fire drove so near the quay, that the flames caught the neighbouring houses, from whence they spread throughout the whole quarter Bruchion. It was at this time that the famous library was consumed, which had been the work of so many kings, and in which there were 400,000 volumes. What a loss was this to literature!

Cæsar, seeing so dangerous a war upon his hands, sent into all the neighbouring countries for aid. He wrote, amongst others, to Domitius Galvinus, whom he had left to command in Asia Minor, and signified to him his danger. That general immediately detached two legions, the one by land, and the other by sea. That which went by sea arrived in time; the other that marched by land did not go thither at all. Before it had got there, the war was at an end. But Cæsar was best served by Mithridates the Pergamenian, whom he sent into Syria and Cilicia; for he brought him the troops which extricated him out of the danger, as we shall see in the sequel.

Whilst he awaited the aid he had sent for, in order that he might not fight an army so superior in number till he thought

fit, he caused the quarter in his possession to be fortified. He surrounded it with walls, and flanked it with towers and other works. Those lines included the palace, a theatre very near it, which he made use of as a citadel, and the way that led to the port.

Ptolemy all this while was in Cæsar's hands; and Pothinus, his governor and first minister, who coincided with Achillas, gave him advice of all that passed, and encouraged him to push the siege with vigour. One of his letters was at last intercepted; and his treason being thereby discovered, Cæsar ordered him to be put to death.

Ganymedes, another eunuch of the palace, who educated Arsinoe, the youngest of the king's sisters, apprehending the same fate, because he had shared in that treason, carried off the young princess, and escaped into the camp of the Egyptians; who not having had, till then, any of the royal family at their head, were overjoyed at her presence, and proclaimed her queen. But Ganymedes, who entertained thoughts of supplanting Achillas, caused that general to be accused of having given up the fleet to Cæsar, that had been set on fire by the Romans, caused him to be put to death, and the command of the army to be transferred to himself. He took also upon him the administration of all other affairs; and undoubtedly did not want capacity for the office of a prime minister, probity only excepted, which is often reckoned little or no qualification: for he had all the necessary penetration and activity, and contrived a thousand artful stratagems, to distress Cæsar during the continuance of this war.

For instance, he found means to spoil all the fresh water in his quarter, and was very near destroying him by that means. For there was no other fresh water in Alexandria, than that of the Nile. In every house were vaulted reservoirs,<sup>r</sup> where it was kept. Every year, upon the great swell of the Nile, the water of that river came in by a canal, which had been cut for that purpose; and by a sluice, made with that design, was turned into the vaulted reservoirs which were the cisterns of the city, where it grew clear by degrees. The masters of houses and their families drank of this water; but the poorer sort of people were forced to drink the running water, which was muddy and very unwholesome; for there were no springs in the city. Those caverns were made in such a manner, that they all had communication with each other. This provision of water made at one time served for the whole year. Every house had an opening like the mouth of a well, through which the water was taken up either in buckets or pitchers. Ganymedes caused all

<sup>r</sup> There are to this day exactly the same kind of caves at Alexandria, which are filled once a year, as at that time. *Thevenot's Travels.*

the communications with the caverns in the quarters of Cæsar to be stopped up ; and then found means to turn the sea-water into the latter, and thereby spoiled all his fresh water. As soon as they perceived that the water was spoiled, Cæsar's soldiers made such a noise, and raised such a tumult, that he would have been obliged to abandon his quarter, very much to his disadvantage, if he had not immediately thought of ordering wells to be sunk, where, at last, springs were found which supplied them with water enough to make amends for that which was spoiled.

After that, upon Cæsar's receiving advice that the legion which Calvinus had sent by sea was arrived upon the coast of Libya, which was not very distant, he advanced with his whole fleet to convoy it safely to Alexandria. Ganymedes was apprized of this, and immediately assembled all the Egyptian ships he could get, in order to attack him upon his return. A battle actually ensued between the two fleets. Cæsar had the advantage, and brought his legion without danger into the port of Alexandria ; and had not the night come on, the ships of the enemy would not have escaped.

To repair that loss, Ganymedes drew together all the ships from the mouths of the Nile, and formed a new fleet, with which he entered the port of Alexandria. A second action was unavoidable. The Alexandrians climbed in throngs to the tops of the houses next the port, to be spectators of the fight, and awaited the success with fear and trembling ; lifting up their hands to heaven to implore the assistance of the gods. The all of the Romans was at stake, as they had no resource left if they lost this battle. Cæsar was again victorious. The Rhodians, by their valour and skill in naval affairs, contributed exceedingly to this victory.

Cæsar, to make the best of it, endeavoured to seize the isle of Pharos, where he landed his troops after the battle, and to possess himself of the mole, called the Heptastadion, by which it was joined to the continent. But after having obtained several advantages, he was repulsed with the loss of more than 800 men, and was very near falling himself in his retreat. For the ship in which he had designed to get off, being ready to sink on account of the great number of people who had entered it with him, he threw himself into the sea, and with great difficulty swam to the next ship. Whilst he was thus swimming he held one hand above the water, in which were papers of consequence, and swam with the other, so that they were not wetted.

The Alexandrians, seeing that ill success itself only served to give Cæsar's troops new courage, entertained thoughts of making peace, or at least pretended such a disposition. They sent deputies to demand their king of him ; assuring him, that

his presence alone would put an end to all differences. Cæsar, who well knew their subtle and deceitful character, was not at a loss to comprehend their professions; but as he hazarded nothing in giving them up their king's person, and, if they failed in their promises, the fault would be entirely on their side, he thought it incumbent on him to grant their demand. He exhorted the young prince to take advantage of this opportunity to inspire his subjects with sentiments of peace and equity; to redress the evils with which a war very imprudently undertaken had distressed his dominions; to approve himself worthy of the confidence he reposed in him, by giving him his liberty; and to show his gratitude for the services he had rendered his father. Ptolemy,<sup>a</sup> early instructed by his masters in the art of dissimulation and deceit, begged of Cæsar, with tears in his eyes, not to deprive him of his presence, which was a much greater satisfaction to him, than to reign over others. The sequel soon explained how much sincerity there was in those tears and professions of amity. He was no sooner at the head of his troops, than he renewed hostilities with more vigour than ever. The Egyptians endeavoured, by means of their fleet, to cut off Cæsar's provisions entirely. This occasioned a new fight at sea, near Canopus, in which Cæsar was again victorious. When this battle was fought, Mithridates of Pergamus was upon the point of arriving with the army which he was bringing to the aid of Cæsar.

He had been sent into Syria and Cilicia to assemble all the troops he could, and to march them to Egypt.<sup>t</sup> He acquitted himself of his commission with such diligence and prudence, that he had soon formed a considerable army. Antipater, the Idumæan, contributed very much towards it. He had not only joined him with 3000 Jews, but engaged several neighbouring princes of Arabia and Coelesyria, and the free cities of Phœnicia and Syria also, to send him troops. Mithridates, with Antipater, who accompanied him in person, marched into Egypt; and upon arriving before Pelusium, they carried that place by storm. They were indebted principally to Antipater's bravery for the taking of this city; for he was the first that mounted the breach, and got upon the wall, and thereby opened the way for those who followed him to carry the town.

On their route from thence to Alexandria, it was necessary to pass through the country of Onion, all the passes of which had been seized by the Jews who inhabited it. The army was there put to a stand, and their whole design was upon the point

<sup>a</sup> Regius animus disciplinis fallacissimis eruditus, ne à gentis suæ moribus degeneraret, flens orare contra Cæsarem cœpit, ne se dimitteret: non enim regnum ipsum sibi conspectu Cæsaris esse jucundius. *Hist. de Bell. Alex.*

<sup>t</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 14, 15.

of miscarrying, if Antipater, by his influence and that of Hircanus, from whom he brought them letters, had not engaged them to espouse Cæsar's party. Upon the spreading of that news, the Jews of Memphis did the same, and Mithridates received from both all the provisions his army had occasion for. When they were near the Delta, Ptolemy detached a flying army to dispute the passage of the Nile with them. A battle was fought in consequence. Mithridates put himself at the head of part of his army, and gave the command of the other to Antipater. Mithridates's wing was soon broken, and obliged to give way; but Antipater, who had defeated the enemy on his side, came to his relief. The battle began afresh, and the enemy were defeated. Mithridates and Antipater pursued them, made a great slaughter, and regained the field of battle. They took even the enemy's camp, and obliged those who remained to repass the Nile, in order to escape.

Ptolemy then advanced with his whole army, in order to overpower the victors. Cæsar also marched to support them; and as soon as he had joined them, came directly to a decisive battle, in which he obtained a complete victory. Ptolemy, in endeavouring to escape in a boat, was drowned in the Nile. Alexandria and all Egypt submitted to the victor.

Cæsar returned to Alexandria about the middle of our January; and not finding any farther opposition to his orders, gave the crown of Egypt to Cleopatra, in conjunction with Ptolemy her other brother. This was in effect giving it to Cleopatra alone; for that young prince was only eleven years old. The passion which Cæsar had conceived for that princess was properly the sole cause of his embarking in so dangerous a war. He had by her one son, called Cæsarion, whom Augustus caused to be put to death when he became master of Alexandria. His affection for Cleopatra kept him much longer in Egypt than his affairs required. For though every thing was settled in that kingdom by the end of January, he did not leave it till the end of April, according to Appian, who says he stayed there nine months. Now he had arrived there only about the end of July the year before.

Cæsar passed whole nights in feasting with Cleopatra.<sup>a</sup> Having embarked with her upon the Nile, he carried her through the whole country with a numerous fleet, and would have penetrated into Ethiopia, if his army had not refused to follow him. He had resolved to bring her to Rome, and to marry her; and intended to have caused a law to pass in the assembly of the people, by which the citizens of Rome should be permitted to marry such and as many wives as they thought fit. Helvius Cinna, the tribune of the people, declared, after

<sup>a</sup> Suet. in 1. Cæs. c. 52.



his death, that he had prepared an harangue, in order to propose that law to the people, not being able to refuse his assistance upon the earnest solicitation of Cæsar.

He carried Arsinoë, whom he had taken in this war, to Rome, and she walked in his triumph in chains of gold; but immediately after that solemnity he set her at liberty. He did not permit her, however, to return into Egypt, lest her presence should occasion new troubles, and frustrate the regulations he had made in that kingdom. She chose the province of Asia for her residence; at least it was there that Antony found her after the battle of Philippi, and caused her to be put to death at the instigation of her sister Cleopatra.

Before he left Alexandria, Cæsar, in gratitude for the aid he had received from the Jews, caused all the privileges they enjoyed to be confirmed; and ordered a column to be erected, on which, by his command, all those privileges were engraven, with the decree confirming them.

What at length made him quit Egypt,<sup>\*</sup> was the war with Pharnaces, king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and son of Mithridates, the last king of Pontus. He fought a great battle with him near the city of Zela,<sup>†</sup> defeated his whole army, and drove him out of the kingdom of Pontus. To denote the rapidity of his conquest, in writing to one of his friends, he made use of only these three words, *Veni, vidi, vici*; that is to say, *I came, I saw, I conquered*.

### SECT. III.

Cleopatra causes her younger brother to be put to death, and reigns alone.

The death of Julius Cæsar having made way for the triumvirate formed between Antony, Lepidus, and young Cæsar, called also Octavianus, Cleopatra declares herself for the triumvirs. She goes to Antony at Tarsus, gains an absolute ascendant over him, and brings him with her to Alexandria. Antony goes to Rome, where he espouses Octavia. He abandons himself again to Cleopatra; and after some expeditions returns to Alexandria, which he enters in triumph. He there celebrates the coronation of Cleopatra and her children. Open rupture between Cæsar and Antony. The latter repudiates Octavia. The two fleets put to sea. Cleopatra determines to follow Antony. Battle of Actium. Cleopatra flies, and draws Antony after her. Cæsar's victory is complete. He advances some time after against Alexandria, which makes no long resistance. Tragical death of Antony and Cleopatra. Egypt is reduced into a province of the Roman empire.

Cæsar, after the war of Alexandria, had re-established Cleopatra upon the throne, and, for form only, had associated her brother with her, who at that time was only eleven years of age.

During his minority, all power was in her hands. When he attained his fifteenth year,<sup>‡</sup> which was the time when, according to the laws of the coun-

A. M. 3961.  
Ant. J. C. 43.

<sup>\*</sup> Plut. in Cæs. p. 731.

<sup>†</sup> This was a city of Cappadocia.

<sup>‡</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 4. Porphyr. p. 226.

try, he was to govern for himself, and have a share in the royal authority, she poisoned him, and remained sole queen of Egypt.

In this interval Cæsar had been killed at Rome by the conspirators, at the head of whom were Brutus and Cassius; and the triumvirate, between Antony, Lepidus, and Octavianus Cæsar, had been formed, to avenge the death of Cæsar.

Cleopatra declared herself without hesitation for the triumvirs.<sup>a</sup> She gave Allienus, the consul Dolabella's lieutenant, four legions, which were the remains of Pompey's and Crassus's armies, and formed part of the troops which Cæsar had left with her for the defence of Egypt. She had

A. M. 3962.

Ant. J. C. 42.

also a fleet in readiness for sailing, but it was prevented by storms from setting out. Cassius made himself master of those four legions, and frequently solicited Cleopatra for aid, which she resolutely refused. She sailed some time after with a numerous fleet, to join Antony and Octavianus. A violent storm occasioned the loss of a great number of her ships, and falling sick, she was obliged to return into Egypt.

Antony,<sup>b</sup> after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius in the battle of Philippi, having passed over into Asia, in order to establish the authority of the triumvirate there, the kings, princes, and ambassadors of the East, came thither in throngs to make their court to him. He was informed that the governors of Phœnicia, which was dependant upon the kingdom of Egypt, had sent Cassius aid against Dolabella. He cited Cleopatra before him, to answer for the conduct of her governors; and sent one of his lieutenants to oblige her to come to him in Cilicia, whither he was going to assemble the states of that province. That step was, from its consequences, very fatal to Antony, and completed his ruin. His love for Cleopatra having awakened passions in him, till then concealed or asleep, inflamed them even to madness, and finally deadened and extinguished the few sparks of honour and virtue which he might perhaps still retain.

Cleopatra, assured of her charms by the proof she had already so successfully made of them upon Julius Cæsar, was in hopes that she could also very easily captivate Antony; and the more, because the former had known her only when she was very young, and had no experience in the world; whereas she was going to appear before Antony, at an age wherein women, with the bloom of their beauty, unite the whole force of wit and address to manage and conduct the greatest affairs. Cleopatra

<sup>a</sup> Appian. l. iii. p. 576. l. iv. p. 623. l. v. p. 675.

<sup>b</sup> Plut. in Anton. p. 926. 932. Dio. l. xlviii. p. 371. Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 671.

was at that time five-and-twenty years old. She provided herself, therefore, with exceeding rich presents, great sums of money, and especially with most magnificent habits and ornaments; and with still higher hopes in her attractions and the graces of her person, more powerful than dress, or even gold, she began her voyage.

Upon her way she received several letters from Antony, who was at Tarsus, and from his friends, pressing her to hasten her journey; but she only laughed at their eagerness, and used never the more diligence for them. Having crossed the sea of Pamphylia, she entered the Cydnus, and, going up that river, landed at Tarsus. Never was equipage more splendid and magnificent than hers. The stern of her ship flamed with gold, the sails were purple, and the oars inlaid with silver. A pavilion of cloth of gold was raised upon the deck, under which appeared the queen, robed like Venus, and surrounded with the most beautiful virgins of her court, of whom some represented the Nereides, and others the Graces. Instead of trumpets were heard flutes, hautboys, harps, and other such instruments of music, warbling the softest airs, to which the oars kept time, and rendered the harmony more agreeable. Perfumes were burning upon the deck, which spread their odours to a great distance upon the river, and on each side of its banks, that were covered with an infinitude of people, whom the novelty of the spectacle had drawn thither.

As soon as her arrival was known, the whole people of Tarsus went out to meet her; so that Antony, who at that time was giving audience, saw his tribunal abandoned by every one, and not a single person with him, but his lictors and domestics. A rumour was spread, that it was the goddess Venus, who came in masquerade to make Bacchus a visit for the good of Asia.

She was no sooner landed, than Antony sent to compliment and invite her to supper. But she answered his deputies, that she should be very glad to regale him herself, and that she would expect him in the tents she had caused to be got ready upon the banks of the river. He made no difficulty to go thither, and found the preparations of a magnificence not to be expressed. He admired particularly the beauty of the lights, which had been disposed with abundance of art, and whose brilliancy was such, that they made midnight seem bright day.

Antony invited her, in his turn, for the next day. But in spite of his utmost endeavours to exceed her in this entertainment, he confessed himself overcome, as well in the splendour as disposition of the feast; and was the first to rally the parsimony and plainness of his own, in comparison with the sumptuousness and elegance of Cleopatra's. The queen, finding nothing but what was gross in the pleasantries of Antony, and

more expressive of the soldier than the courtier, repaid him in his own coin ; but with so much wit and grace, that he was not in the least offended at it. For the beauties and charms of her conversation, attended with all possible sweetness and gaiety, had attractions in them still more irresistible than her form and features, and left upon his mind and heart an indelible impression. She charmed whenever she but spoke, such music and harmony were in her utterance, and the very sound of her voice.

Little or no mention was made of the complaints against Cleopatra, which were, besides, without foundation. She struck Antony so violently with her charms, and gained so absolute an ascendant over him, that he could refuse her nothing. It was at this time that at her entreaty he caused Arsinoe, her sister, to be put to death, who had taken refuge in the temple of Diana at Miletus, as in a secure asylum.

Great feasts were made every day.<sup>c</sup> Some new banquet still outdid that which preceded it, and she seemed to study to excel herself. Antony, at a feast to which she had invited him, was astonished at seeing the riches displayed on all sides, and especially at the great number of gold cups enriched with jewels, and wrought by the most excellent workmen. She told him, with a disdainful air, that those were but trifles, and made him a present of them. The next day the banquet was still more superb. Antony, according to custom, had brought a good number of guests along with him, all officers of rank and distinction. She gave them all the vessels and plate of gold and silver used at the entertainment.

Without doubt,<sup>d</sup> in one of these feasts happened what Pliny, and, after him, Macrobius, relate. Cleopatra jested, according to custom, upon Antony's entertainment, as very niggardly and inelegant. Piqued with the raillery, he asked her, with some warmth, what she thought would add to its magnificence? Cleopatra answered coldly, that she could expend more than a million of livres<sup>e</sup> upon one supper. He affirmed that she was merely bragging, that it was impossible, and that she could never make it appear. A wager was laid, and Plancus was to decide it. The next day they came to the banquet. The service was magnificent, but had nothing so very extraordinary in it. Antony calculated the expense, demanded of the queen the price of the several dishes, and with an air of raillery, as secure of victory, told her, that they were still far from a million. *Stay*, said the queen, *this is only a beginning. I shall try whe-*

<sup>c</sup> Athen. l. iv. p. 147, 148.

<sup>d</sup> Plin. l. ix. c. 35. Macrobi. Satur. l. ii. c. 13.

<sup>e</sup> *Centes H. S. Hoc est, centies centena millia sestertium.* Which amounted to more than a million of livres, or 52,500/ sterling.

*ther I cannot spend a million only upon myself.* A second table<sup>f</sup> was brought, and, according to the order she had before given, nothing was set on it but a single cup of vinegar. Antony, surprised at such a preparation, could not imagine for what it was intended. Cleopatra had at her ears two pearls, the finest that ever were seen, each of which was valued at above 50,000*l*. One of these pearls she took off, threw it into the vinegar,<sup>g</sup> and after having dissolved it, swallowed it. She was preparing to do as much by the other; Plancus stopped her,<sup>h</sup> and, deciding the wager in her favour, declared Antony overcome. Plancus was much in the wrong, to envy the queen the singular and peculiar glory of having swallowed two millions in two draughts.

Antony was embroiled with Cæsar. Whilst his wife Fulvia was very active at Rome in supporting his interests, and the army of the Parthians was upon the point of entering Syria, as if those things did not concern him, he suffered himself to be drawn away by Cleopatra to Alexandria, where they passed their time in games, amusements, and voluptuousness, treating each other every day at excessive and incredible expenses; which may be judged of from the following circumstance:

A young Greek,<sup>i</sup> who went to Alexandria to study physic, upon the great noise those feasts made, had the curiosity to assure himself with his own eyes about them. Having been admitted into Antony's kitchen, he saw, amongst other things, eight wild boars roasting whole at the same time. Upon which he expressed surprise at the great number of guests that he supposed were to be at the supper. One of the officers could not forbear laughing, and told him, that they were not so many as he imagined, and that there would not be above a dozen in all; but that it was necessary every thing should be served in a degree of perfection, which every moment ceases and spoils. *For* (added he) *it often happens that Antony will order his*

<sup>f</sup> The ancients changed their tables at every course.

<sup>g</sup> Vinegar is strong enough to dissolve the hardest things. *Aceti succus domitor rerum*, as Pliny says of it, l. xxxiii. c. 3. Cleopatra had not the glory of the invention. Before her, to the disgrace of royalty, the son of a comedian (Clodius, the son of Æsopus) had done something of the same kind, and often swallowed pearls dissolved in that manner, from the sole pleasure of making the expense of his meals enormous.

Filius Æsopi detractam ex aure Metellæ,  
Scilicet ut decies solidum exsorberet, aceto  
Diluit insignem baccam——— *Hor. l. ii. Sat. 3.*

<sup>h</sup> This other pearl was afterwards consecrated to Venus by Augustus, who carried it to Rome on his return from Alexandria; and having caused it to be cut in two, its size was so extraordinary, that it served for pendants in the ears of that goddess. *Plin. ibid.*

<sup>i</sup> *Plut. in Anton. p. 928.*

*supper, and a moment after forbid it to be served, having entered into some conversation that diverts him. For that reason, not one but many suppers are provided, because it is hard to know at what time he will think fit to have it set on table.*

Cleopatra, lest Antony should escape her, never lost sight of him, nor quitted him day or night, but was always employed in diverting and retaining him in her chains. She played with him at dice, hunted with him, and, when he exercised his troops, was always present. Her sole attention was to amuse him agreeably, and not to leave him time to conceive the least disgust.

One day when he was fishing with an angle, and caught nothing, he was very much vexed on that account, because the queen was of the party, and he was unwilling to seem to want skill or good fortune in her presence. It therefore came into his thoughts to order fishermen to dive secretly under water, and to fasten to his hook some of their large fishes, which they had taken before. That order was executed immediately, and Antony drew up his line several times with a great fish at the end of it. This artifice did not escape the fair Egyptian. She affected great admiration and surprise at Antony's good fortune; but told her friends privately what had passed, and invited them to come the next day and be spectators of a like pleasantry. They did not fail. When they were all got into the fishing-boats, and Antony had thrown in his line, she commanded one of her people to dive immediately into the water, to prevent Antony's divers, and to make fast a large salt fish, one of those that came from the kingdom of Pontus, to his hook. When Antony perceived his line had its load, he drew it up. It is easy to imagine what bursts of laughter arose at the sight of that salt fish; and Cleopatra said to him, *Leave the line, good general, to us, the kings and queens of Pharos and Canopus; your business is to fish for cities, kingdoms, and kings.*

Whilst Antony amused himself in these puerile sports and trifling diversions, the news he received of Labienus's conquests at the head of the Parthian army awakened him from his lethargy, and obliged him to march against them. But having received advice, upon his route, of Fulvia's death, he returned to Rome, where he reconciled himself to young Cæsar, whose sister Octavia he married, a woman of extraordinary merit, who was lately become a widow by the death of Marcellus. It was

believed this marriage would make him forget Cleopatra. But having begun his march against the Parthians, his passion for the Egyptian, which had something of enchantment in it, rekindled with more violence than ever.

This queen,<sup>k</sup> in the midst of the most violent passions, and the intoxication of pleasures, still retained a taste for polite learning and the sciences. In the place where stood the famous library of Alexandria, which had been burnt some years before, as we have observed, she erected a new one, to the augmentation of which Antony very much contributed, by presenting her with the libraries of Pergamus, in which were above 200,000 volumes. She did not collect books merely for ornament ; she made use of them. There were few barbarous nations to whom she spoke by an interpreter ; she answered most of them in their own language, the Ethiopians, Troglodytæ, Hebrews, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, Parthians. She knew,<sup>l</sup> besides, several other languages ; whereas the kings who had reigned before her in Egypt had scarcely been able to learn the Egyptian, and some of them had even forgotten the Macedonian, their natural tongue.

Cleopatra, pretending herself to be the lawful wife of Antony, saw him marry Octavia with great emotion, whom she looked upon as her rival. Antony, to appease her, was obliged to make her magnificent presents. He gave her Phœnicia, the Lower Syria, the isle of Cyprus, with a great part of Cilicia. To these he added part of Judea and Arabia. These great presents, which considerably abridged the extent of the empire, very much afflicted the Romans, and they were no less offended at the excessive honours which he paid this foreign princess.

Two years passed, during which Antony made several voyages to Rome, and undertook some expeditions against the Parthians and Armenians, in which he acquired no great honour.

It was in one of these expeditions<sup>m</sup> that the temple of Anaitis was plundered, a goddess much celebrated amongst a certain people of Armenia. Her statue of massy gold was broken in pieces by the soldiers, with which several of them were considerably enriched. One of them, a veteran, who afterwards settled at Bologna, in Italy, had the good fortune to receive Augustus in his house, and to entertain him at supper. *Is it true*, said that prince, during the repast, talking of this story, *that the man who made the first stroke at the statue of this goddess was immediately deprived of sight, lost the use of his limbs, and expired the same hour?*—*If it were*, replied the veteran with a smile, *I should not now have the honour of seeing Augustus beneath my roof, being myself the rash person who made the first attack upon her, which has been of great service to me. For, if I have any thing, I am entirely indebted for it to the good goddess ; upon one of whose legs, my lord, you are now supping.*

<sup>k</sup> Epiphan. de mens. et pond. <sup>l</sup> Plut. in Anton. p. 927. <sup>m</sup> Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 23.

A. M. 3969.  
Ant. J. C. 35.

Antony,<sup>a</sup> believing he had made every thing secure in these countries, led back his troops. From his impatience to rejoin Cleopatra, he hastened his march so much, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, and the continual snows, that he lost 8000 men upon his route, and marched into Phœnicia with very few followers. He rested there in expectation of Cleopatra; and, as she was slow in coming, he fell into anxiety, grief, and languor, that visibly preyed upon him. She arrived at length with clothes and great sums of money for his troops.

Octavia, at the same time, had quitted Rome to join him, and was already arrived at Athens. Cleopatra rightly perceived that she came only to dispute Antony's heart with her. She was afraid that with her virtue, wisdom, and gravity of manners, if she had time to make use of her modest, but lively and insinuating attractions to win her husband, that she would gain an absolute power over him. To avoid which danger, she affected to be dying for love of Antony; and with that view made herself lean and wan, by taking very little nourishment. Whenever he entered her apartment, she looked upon him with an air of surprise and amazement; and when he left her, seemed to languish with sorrow and dejection. She often contrived to appear bathed in tears, and at the same moment endeavoured to dry and conceal them, as if to hide from him her weakness and disorder. Antony, who feared nothing so much as occasioning the least uneasiness to Cleopatra, wrote letters to Octavia, to order her to stay for him at Athens, and to come no farther, because he was upon the point of undertaking some new expedition. And in fact, at the request of the king of the Medes, who promised him powerful succours, he was making preparations to renew the war against the Parthians.

That virtuous Roman lady, dissembling the wrong he did her, sent to him to know where it would be agreeable to him to have the presents carried which she had designed for him, since he did not think fit to let her deliver them in person. Antony received this second compliment no better than the first; and Cleopatra, who had prevented his seeing Octavia, would not permit him to receive any thing from her. Octavia was obliged therefore to return to Rome, without having produced any other effect by her voyage, than that of making Antony more inexcusable. This was what Cæsar desired, in order to have a just reason for breaking entirely with him.

When Octavia came to Rome, Cæsar, professing a high resentment of the affront she had received, ordered her to quit Antony's house, and to go to her own. She answered, that she would not leave her husband's house, and that if he had no

<sup>a</sup> Plut. in Anton. p. 939—942.



other reasons for a war with Antony than what related to her, she conjured him to renounce her interests. She accordingly always continued there, as if he had been present, and educated with great care and magnificence not only the children he had by her, but also those whom he had by Fulvia. What a contrast is here between Octavia and Cleopatra! In the midst of rebuffs and affronts, how worthy does the one seem of esteem and respect; and the other, with all her grandeur and magnificence, of contempt and abhorrence!

Cleopatra omitted no kind of arts to retain Antony in her chains. Tears, caresses, reproaches, menaces, all were employed. By dint of presents she had gained all who approached him, and in whom he placed most confidence. Those flatterers represented to him, in the strongest terms, that it would be absolutely cruel and inhuman to abandon Cleopatra in the mournful condition she then was; and that it would be the death of that unfortunate princess, who loved and lived for him alone. They softened and melted the heart of Antony so effectually, that, for fear of occasioning Cleopatra's death, he returned immediately to Alexandria, and put off the Medes to the following spring.

A. M. 3770. It was with great difficulty then that he re-  
Ant. J. C. 34. solved to leave Egypt, and remove himself from his dear Cleopatra. She agreed to attend him as far as the banks of the Euphrates.

A. M. 3971. After having made himself master of Armenia,  
Ant. J. C. 33. as much by treachery as force of arms, he returned to Alexandria, which he entered in triumph, dragging at his chariot-wheels the king of Armenia, laden with chains of gold, and presented him in that condition to Cleopatra, who was pleased to see a captive king at her feet. He unbent his mind at leisure after his great fatigues in feasts and parties of pleasure, in which Cleopatra and himself passed days and nights. That vain Egyptian woman,<sup>p</sup> at one of these banquets, seeing Antony flushed with wine, presumed to ask him to give her the Roman empire, which he was not ashamed to promise her.

Before he set out on a new expedition, Antony, to bind the queen to him by new obligations, and to give her new proofs of his being entirely devoted to her, resolved to solemnize the coronation of her and her children. A throne of massy gold was erected for that purpose in the palace, the ascent to which was by several steps of silver. Antony was seated upon this throne, dressed in a purple robe embroidered with gold, and with diamond buttons. On his side he wore a scimeter, after

<sup>p</sup> Hæc mulier Egyptia ab ebrio imperatore, pretium libidinum. Romanorum imperium petiit: et promisit Antonius. *Flor.* l. iv. c. 2

the Persian mode, the hilt and scabbard of which were loaded with precious stones; he had a diadem on his brows, and a sceptre of gold in his hand; in order, as he said, that in that equipage he might deserve to be the husband of a queen. Cleopatra sat on his right hand in a brilliant robe, made of the precious linen which was appropriated to the use of the goddess Isis, whose name and habit she had the vanity to assume. Upon the same throne, but a little lower, sat Cæsarion, the son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra, and the two other children, Alexander and Ptolemy, whom she had by Antony.

Every one having taken the place assigned him, the heralds, by the command of Antony, and in the presence of all the people, to whom the gates of the palace had been thrown open, proclaimed Cleopatra queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and Coelesyria, in conjunction with her son Cæsarion. They afterwards proclaimed the other princes kings of kings; and declared, that, till they should possess a more ample inheritance, Antony gave Alexander, the eldest, the kingdoms of Armenia and Media, with that of Parthia, when he should have conquered it; and to the youngest, Ptolemy, the kingdoms of Syria, Phœnicia, and Cilicia. Those two young princes were dressed after the mode of the several countries over which they were to reign. After the proclamation, the three princes, rising from their seats, approached the throne, and, putting one knee to the ground, kissed the hands of Antony and Cleopatra. They had soon after a train assigned them, proportioned to their new dignity, and each his regiment of guards, drawn out of the principal families of his dominions.

Antony repaired early into Armenia, in order to act against the Parthians, and had already advanced as far as the banks of the Araxes; but the news of what was passing at Rome against him prevented his going on, and induced him to abandon the Parthian expedition. He immediately detached Canidius with sixteen legions to the coast of the Ionian Sea, and joined them himself soon after at Ephesus, where he might be ready to act in case of an open rupture between Cæsar and him; which there was great reason to expect.

Cleopatra was of the party; and that occasioned Antony's ruin. His friends advised him to send her back to Alexandria, till the event of the war should be known. But that queen, apprehending that by Octavia's mediation he might come to an accommodation with Cæsar, gained Canidius, by dint of money, to speak in her favour to Antony, and to represent to him, that it was neither just to remove a princess from this war, who contributed so much towards it on her side, nor useful to himself; because her departure would discourage the Egyptians, of whom the greatest part of his maritime forces con-

sisted. Besides, continued those who talked in this manner, it did not appear that Cleopatra was inferior, either in prudence or capacity, to any of the princes or kings in his army—she, who had governed so great a kingdom so long, and who might have learnt, in her intercourse with Antony, how to conduct the most important and difficult affairs with wisdom and address. Antony did not oppose these remonstrances, which flattered at once his passion and vanity.

From Ephesus he repaired with Cleopatra to Samos, where the greatest part of their troops had their rendezvous, and where they passed their time in feasting and pleasure. The kings in their train exhausted themselves in making their court by extraordinary expenses, and displayed excessive luxury in their entertainments.

It was probably in one of these feasts that the circumstance happened which is related by Pliny.<sup>a</sup> Whatever passion Cleopatra professed for Antony, as he perfectly knew her character for dissimulation, and that she was capable of the blackest crimes, he apprehended, I know not upon what foundation, that she might have thoughts of poisoning him, for which reason he never touched any dish at their banquet till it had been tasted. It was impossible that the queen should not perceive so manifest a distrust. She employed a very extraordinary method to make him sensible how ill founded his fears were: and at the same time, if she had so bad an intention, how ineffectual all the precautions he took would be. She caused the extremities of the flowers to be poisoned, of which the wreaths, worn by Antony and herself at table, according to the custom of the ancients, were composed. When their heads began to grow warm with wine, in the height of their gaiety, Cleopatra proposed to Antony to drink off those flowers. He made no difficulty; and, after having plucked off the ends of his wreath with his fingers, and thrown them into his cup filled with wine, he was upon the point of drinking it, when the queen, taking hold of his arm, said to him, *I am the poisoner against whom you take such mighty precaution. If it were possible for me to live without you, judge now whether I wanted either the opportunity or means for such an action.* Having ordered a prisoner, condemned to die, to be brought thither, she made him drink that liquor, upon which he died immediately.

The court went from Samos to Athens, where they passed many days in the same excesses. Cleopatra spared no pains to obtain the same marks of affection and esteem as Octavia had received during her residence in that city. But whatever she could do, she could extort from them only forced civilities,

<sup>a</sup> Plin. l. xxi. c. 3.

which terminated in a trifling deputation, which Antony obliged the citizens to send to her, and at the head of which he himself would be in quality of a citizen of Athens.

The new consuls, Caius Sosius and Domitius, A. M. 3972. *Ænobarbus*,<sup>r</sup> having declared openly for Antony, Ant. J. C. 32. quitted Rome and repaired to him. Cæsar, instead of seizing them, or causing them to be pursued, ordered it to be given out, that they went to him by his permission; and declared publicly, that all persons who were so disposed, had his consent to retire whither they thought fit. By that means he remained master at Rome, and was in a condition to decree and act whatever he thought proper for his own interests, or contrary to those of Antony.

When Antony was apprised of this, he assembled all the heads of his party: and the result of their deliberations was, that he should declare against Cæsar, and repudiate Octavia. He did both. Antony's preparations for the war were so far advanced, that if he had attacked Cæsar vigorously without loss of time, the advantage must inevitably have been wholly on his side; for his adversary was not then in a condition to make head against him, either by sea or land. But voluptuousness prevailed, and the operations were put off to the next year. This was his ruin. Cæsar, by his delay, had time to assemble all his forces.

The deputies sent by Antony to Rome to declare his divorce from Octavia, had orders to command her to quit his house, with all her children, and, in case of refusal, to turn her out by force, and to leave nobody in it but the son of Antony by Fulvia; an indignity the more sensible to Octavia, as a rival was the cause of it. However, stifling her resentment, she answered the deputies only with tears; and unjust as his orders were, she obeyed them, and removed with her children. She even laboured to appease the people, whom so unworthy an action had incensed against him, and did her utmost to mollify the rage of Cæsar. She represented to them, that it was inconsistent with the wisdom and dignity of the Roman people to enter into such petty differences; that it was only a quarrel between women, which did not merit they should resent it; and that she should be very wretched if she were the occasion of a new war; she who had consented to her marriage with Antony, solely from the hope that it would prove the pledge of a union between him and Cæsar. Her remonstrances had a different effect from her intentions; and the people, charmed with her virtue, had still more compassion for her misfortune, and detestation for Antony, than before.

But nothing enraged them to such a height as Antony's will, which he had deposited into the hands of the Vestal virgins.

<sup>r</sup> Plut. in Anton. p. 942—955.

This mystery was revealed by two persons of consular dignity, who, not being able to endure the pride of Cleopatra and the abandoned voluptuousness of Antony, had retired to Cæsar. As they had been witnesses of this will, and knew the secret, they discovered it to Cæsar. The Vestals made great difficulty to give up an instrument confided to their care; alleging in their excuse the faith of trusts, which they were obliged to observe; and were determined to be forced to it by the authority of the people. The will accordingly being brought into the Forum, these three articles were read in it: I. That Antony acknowledged Cæsarion, as lawful son of Julius Cæsar. II. That he appointed his sons by Cleopatra to be his heirs, with the title of *kings of kings*. III. That he decreed, in case he should die at Rome, that his body, after having been carried in pomp through the city, should be laid the same evening on a bed of state, in order to its being sent to Cleopatra, to whom he left the care of his funeral and interment.

There are some authors, however, who believe this will to be a forgery contrived by Cæsar to render Antony more odious to the people. And indeed what probability was there, that Antony, who well knew to what a degree the Roman people were jealous of their rights and customs, should confide to them the execution of a testament, which violated them with so much contempt?

When Cæsar had an army and fleet ready, which seemed strong enough to make head against his enemy, he also declared war on his side. But in the decree enacted by the people to that purpose, he caused it to be expressed, that it was against Cleopatra: it was from a refinement of policy, that he acted in that manner, and did not insert Antony's name in the declaration of war, though actually intended against him. For, besides throwing the blame upon Antony, by making him the aggressor in a war against his country, he did not hurt the feelings of those who were still attached to him, whose number and credit might have proved formidable, and whom he would have been under the necessity of declaring enemies to the commonwealth, if Antony had been expressly named in the decree.

Antony returned from Athens to Samos, where the whole fleet was assembled. It consisted of 500 ships of war of extraordinary size and structure, having several decks one above another, with towers upon the head and stern of a prodigious height; so that those superb vessels upon the sea might have been taken for floating islands. Such great crews were necessary for completely manning those heavy machines, that Antony, not being able to find mariners enough, had been obliged to take

husbandmen, artificers, muleteers, and all sorts of people void of experience, and fitter to give trouble than do real service.

On board this fleet were 200,000 foot and 12,000 horse. The kings of Libya, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Comagena, and Thrace, were there in person; and those of Pontus, Judea, Lycaonia, Galatia, and Media, had sent their troops. A more splendid and pompous sight could not be seen than this fleet when it put to sea, and had unfurled its sails. But nothing equalled the magnificence of Cleopatra's galley, all flaming with gold; its sails of purple; its flags and streamers floating in the wind, whilst trumpets, and other instruments of war, made the heavens resound with airs of joy and triumph. Antony followed her close in a galley equally splendid. That queen, <sup>t</sup>intoxicated with her fortune and grandeur, and hearkening only to her unbridled ambition, foolishly threatened the Capitol with approaching ruin, and prepared with her infamous troop of eunuchs utterly to subvert the Roman empire.

On the other side, less pomp and splendour were seen, but more utility. Cæsar had only 250 ships, and 80,000 foot, with as many horse as Antony. But all his troops were chosen men, and on board his fleet were none but experienced seamen. His vessels were not so large as Antony's, but then they were much lighter and fitter for service.

Cæsar's rendezvous was at Brundisium, and Antony advanced to Corcyra. But the season of the year was over, and bad weather came on; so that they were both obliged to retire, and to put their troops into winter-quarters, and their fleets into good ports, till the approach of spring.

Antony and Cæsar, as soon as the season would admit, took the field both by sea and land.

The two fleets entered the Ambracian gulf in Epirus. Antony's bravest and most experienced officers advised him not to hazard a battle by sea, to send back Cleopatra into Egypt, and to make all possible haste into Thrace or Macedonia, in order to fight there by land; because his army

<sup>t</sup> ————— Dum Capitolio  
Regina dementes ruinas,  
Funus et imperio parabat,  
Contaminato cum grege turpium  
Morbo virorum; quidlibet impotens  
Sperare, fortunâque dulci  
Ebria —————

*Hor. Od. xxxvii. l. 1.*

Whilst drunk with fortune's heady wine,  
Fill'd with vast hope, though impotent in arms,  
The haughty queen conceives the wild design,  
So much her vain ambition charms!  
With her polluted band of supple slaves,  
Her silken eunuchs, and her Pharian knaves,  
The Capitol in dust to level low,  
And give Rome's empire, and the world, a last and fatal blow!

composed of good troops, and much superior in numbers to Cæsar's, seemed to promise him the victory; whereas a fleet so ill manned as his, how numerous soever it might be, was by no means to be relied on. But Antony had been not susceptible of good advice for a long time, and had acted only to please Cleopatra. That proud princess, who judged of things solely from appearances, believed her fleet invincible, and that Cæsar's ships could not approach it without being dashed to pieces. Besides, she rightly perceived that in case of misfortune it would be easier for her to escape in her ships than by land. Her opinion, therefore, took place against the advice of all the generals.

The battle was fought upon the second of September," at the mouth of the gulf of Ambracia, near the city of Actium, in sight of both the land armies; the one of which was drawn up in battle upon the north, and the other upon the south of that strait, expecting the event. The contest was doubtful for some time, and seemed as much in favour of Antony as Cæsar, till the retreat of Cleopatra. That queen, frightened with the noise of the battle, in which every thing was terrible to a woman, took to flight when she was in no danger, and drew after her the whole Egyptian squadron, which consisted of sixty ships of the line; with which she sailed for the coast of Peloponnesus. Antony, who saw her fly, forgetting even himself, followed her precipitately, and yielded a victory to Cæsar, which, till then, he had exceedingly well disputed. It, however, cost the victor extremely dear. For Antony's ships fought so well after his departure, that, though the battle began before noon, it was not over when night came on; so that Cæsar's troops were obliged to pass it on board their ships.

The next day Cæsar, seeing his victory complete, detached a squadron in pursuit of Antony and Cleopatra. But that squadron despairing of ever coming up with them, because so far before it, soon returned to join the main body of the fleet. Antony having entered the admiral-galley, in which Cleopatra was, went and sat down at the head of it; where, leaning his elbows on his knees, and supporting his head with his two hands, he remained like a man overwhelmed with shame and rage; reflecting with profound melancholy upon his ill conduct, and the misfortunes it had brought upon him. He kept in that posture, and in those gloomy thoughts, during the three days they were going to Tænarus,\* without seeing or speaking to Cleopatra. At the end of that time, they saw each other again, and lived together as usual.

" The 4th before the nones of September.

\* Promontory of Iaconia.

The land army still remained entire, and consisted of eighteen legions and 22,000 horse, under the command of Canidius, Antony's lieutenant-general, and might have made head against Cæsar, and given him abundance of difficulty. But seeing themselves abandoned by their generals, they surrendered to Cæsar, who received them with open arms.

From Tænarus, Cleopatra took the route of Alexandria, and Antony that of Libya, where he had left a considerable army to guard the frontiers of that country. Upon his landing he was informed that Scarpus, who commanded this army, had declared for Cæsar. He was so struck with this news, which he had no reason to expect, that he would have killed himself, and was with difficulty prevented from it by his friends. He, therefore, had no other choice to make than to follow Cleopatra to Alexandria, where she was arrived.

When she approached that port, she was afraid, if her misfortune should be known, that she should be refused entrance. She therefore caused her ships to be crowned, as if she was returned victorious; and no sooner landed, than she caused all the great lords of her kingdom, whom she suspected, to be put to death, lest they should excite seditions against her, when they were informed of her defeat. Antony found her in the midst of these bloody executions.

Soon after she formed another very extraordinary design. To avoid falling into Cæsar's hand, who, she foresaw, would follow her into Egypt, she designed to have her ships in the Mediterranean carried into the Red sea, over the isthmus between them, which is no more than thirty leagues broad; and afterwards to put all her treasures on board those ships, and others which she already had in that sea: but the Arabians who inhabited the coast having burnt all the ships she had there, she was obliged to abandon her design.

Changing, therefore, her resolution, she thought only of gaining Cæsar, whom she looked upon as her conqueror, and to make him a sacrifice of Antony, whose misfortunes had rendered him indifferent to her. Such was this princess's disposition. Though she loved even to madness, she had still more ambition than love; and the crown being dearer to her than her husband, she entertained thoughts of preserving it at the price of Antony's life. But concealing her sentiments from him, she persuaded him to send ambassadors to Cæsar, to negociate a treaty of peace with him. She joined her ambassadors with his; but gave them instructions to treat separately for herself. Cæsar would not so much as see Antony's ambassadors. He dismissed Cleopatra's with a favourable answer. He passionately desired to make sure of her person and treasures; her person to

A. M. 3974.

Ant. J. C. 30.



adorn his triumph, her treasures to enable him to discharge the debts he had contracted upon account of this war. He therefore gave her reason to conceive great hopes, in case she would sacrifice Antony to him.

The latter, after his return from Libya, had retired into a country-house, which he had caused to be built expressly on the banks of the Nile, in order to enjoy the conversation of two of his friends, who had followed him thither. In his retirement it might have been expected that he would hear with pleasure the wise discourses of those two philosophers. But as they could not banish from his heart his love for Cleopatra, the sole cause of all his misfortunes, that passion, which they had only suspended, soon resumed its former empire. He returned to Alexandria, abandoned himself again to the charms and caresses of Cleopatra, and, with design to please her, sent deputies again to Cæsar to demand life of him, upon the shameful conditions of passing it at Athens as a private person ; provided Cæsar would assure Egypt to Cleopatra and her children.

This second deputation not having met with a more favourable reception than the former, Antony endeavoured to extinguish in himself the sense of his present misfortunes, and the apprehension of those that threatened him, by abandoning himself immoderately to feasting and voluptuousness. Cleopatra and he regaled one another alternately, and strove with emulation to exceed each other in the incredible magnificence of their banquets.

The queen, however, who foresaw what might happen, collected all sorts of poisons, and to try which of them occasioned death with the least pain, she made the experiment of their virtues and strength upon criminals in the prisons condemned to die. Having observed that the strongest poisons caused death the soonest, but with great torment, and that those which were gentle brought on an easy but slow death, she tried the biting of venomous creatures, and caused various kinds of serpents to be applied in her presence to different persons. She made these experiments every day, and discovered at length that the aspic was the only one that caused neither torture nor convulsions ; but merely throwing the persons bitten into an immediate heaviness and stupefaction, attended with a light sweating upon the face, and a numbness of all the organs of sense, gently extinguished life ; so that those in that condition were angry when any one awakened them, or endeavoured to make them rise, like people exceedingly sleepy. This was the poison she fixed upon.

To dispel Antony's suspicions and subjects of complaint, she applied herself with more than ordinary solicitude in caressing him. Though she celebrated her own birth-day with little solemnity, and suitable to her present condition, she kept

that of Antony with splendour and magnificence above what she had ever displayed before ; so that many of the guests who came poor to that feast went rich from it.

Cæsar, knowing how important it was to him not to leave his victory imperfect, marched in the beginning of the spring into Syria, and from thence sat down before Pelusium. He sent to summon the governor to open the gates to him ; and Seleucus, who commanded there for Cleopatra, having received secret orders upon that head, surrendered the place without waiting a siege. The rumour of this treason spread in the city. Cleopatra, to clear herself of the accusation, put the wife and children of Seleucus into Antony's hands, in order that he might revenge his treachery by putting them to death. What a monster was this princess ! The most odious of vices were united in her person ; an avowed disregard of modesty, breach of faith, injustice, cruelty, and what crowns all the rest, the false exterior of a deceitful friendship, which covers a fixed design, of delivering up to his enemy the person she loads with the most tender caresses, and with marks of the warmest and most sincere attachment. Such are the effects of ambition, which was her predominant vice.

Adjoining to the temple of Isis she had caused tombs and halls to be erected, superb as well for their beauty and magnificence, as their loftiness and extent. Thither she ordered her most precious effects and moveables to be carried ; gold, silver, jewels, ebony, ivory, and a large quantity of perfumes and aromatic wood ; as if she intended to raise a funeral pile, upon which she would consume herself with her treasures. Cæsar, alarmed for the latter, and apprehending lest her despair should induce her to burn them, despatched every day some person to her, to give her great hopes of the most kind and generous treatment, and nevertheless advanced towards the city by great marches.

Upon arriving there, he encamped near the Hippodrome. He was in hopes of making himself master of the city soon, by means of the intelligence which he held with Cleopatra, upon which he relied no less than upon his army.

Antony was ignorant of that princess's intrigues, and being unwilling to believe what was told him of them, prepared for a good defence. He made a vigorous sally ; and after having severely handled the besiegers, and warmly pursued to the gates of their camp a detachment of horse which had been sent against him, returned victorious into the city. This was the last effort of expiring valour ; for, after this exploit, his fortitude and sense of glory abandoned him, or were never after of any service to him. Instead of making use of this advantage, and of applying himself seriously to his defence, by observing the

motions of Cleopatra, who was betraying him, he came, completely armed as he was, to throw himself at her feet, and to kiss her hands. The whole palace of Alexandria immediately resounded with acclamations, as if the siege had been raised ; and Cleopatra, who had no thoughts but of amusing Antony, ordered a magnificent feast to be prepared, at which they passed the rest of the day and part of the night together.

Early on the morrow, Antony resolved to attack Cæsar by sea and land. He drew up his land army upon some eminences in the city ; and from thence kept his galleys in view, which were going out of the port in order to charge those of Cæsar. He waited without making any motion, to see the success of that attack ; but was much astonished when he saw Cleopatra's admiral strike his flag when he came in view of Cæsar's, and surrender his whole fleet to him.

This treason opened Antony's eyes, and made him, when too late, give credit to what his friends had told him of the queen's perfidy. In this extremity he was for signalizing himself by an extraordinary act of valour, capable, in his opinion, of doing him abundance of honour. He sent to challenge Cæsar to a single combat. Cæsar made answer, that if Antony was weary of life, there were other ways to die besides that. Antony, seeing himself ridiculed by Cæsar, and betrayed by Cleopatra, returned into the city, and was a moment after abandoned by all his cavalry. Seized with rage and despair, he then flew to the palace, with design to avenge himself upon Cleopatra, but did not find her there.

That artful princess, who had foreseen what happened, to escape the rage of Antony, had retired into the quarter where stood the tombs of the kings of Egypt, which was fortified with strong walls, and the gates of which she had ordered to be closed. She caused Antony to be told, that, preferring an honourable death to a shameful captivity, she had killed herself in the midst of her ancestors' tombs, where she had also chosen her own sepulchre. Antony, too credulous, did not give himself time to examine a piece of news which he ought to have suspected after all Cleopatra's other infidelities ; and struck with the idea of her death, passed immediately from excess of rage to the most violent transports of grief, and thought only of following her to the grave.

Having taken this furious resolution, he shut himself up in his apartment with a slave ; and having caused his armour to be taken off, he commanded him to plunge his dagger into his breast. But that slave, full of affection, respect, and fidelity for his master, stabbed himself with it, and fell dead at his feet. Antony, looking upon this action as an example for him to follow, thrust his sword into his body, and fell upon the

floor, in a torrent of his blood, which he mingled with that of his slave. At that moment an officer of the queen's guards came to let him know that she was alive. He no sooner heard the name of Cleopatra pronounced, than he opened his dying eyes; and being informed that she was not dead, he suffered his wound to be dressed, and afterwards caused himself to be carried to the fort where she had shut herself up. Cleopatra would not permit the gates to be opened to give him entrance for fear of some surprise; but she appeared at a high window, from whence she threw down chains and cords. Antony was made fast to these, and Cleopatra, assisted by two women, who were the only persons she had brought with her into the tomb, drew him up. Never was there a more moving sight. Antony, all bathed in his blood, with death painted in his face, was dragged up in the air, turning his dying eyes, and extending his feeble hands towards Cleopatra, as if to conjure her to receive his last breath; whilst she, with her features distorted and her arms strained, pulled the cords with her whole strength; the people below, who could give her no farther aid, encouraging her with their cries.

When she had drawn him up to her, and had laid him on a bed, she tore her clothes upon him; and beating her breast, and wiping the blood from his wound; with her face close to his, she called him her prince, her lord, her dearest spouse. Whilst she made these mournful exclamations, she cut off Antony's hair, according to the superstition of the Pagans, who believed that it gave relief to those who died a violent death.

Antony, recovering his senses, and seeing Cleopatra's affliction, said to her, to comfort her, that he thought himself happy since he died in her arms; and that, as to his defeat, he was not ashamed of it, being no disgrace for a Roman to be overcome by Romans. He afterwards advised her to save her life and kingdom, provided she could do so with honour; to be upon her guard against the traitors of her own court, as well as the Romans in Cæsar's train, and to trust only Proculeius. He expired with these words.

The same moment Proculeius arrived from Cæsar, who could not refrain from tears at the sad relation of what had passed, and at the sight of the sword still reeking with Antony's blood, which was presented to him. He had particular orders to get Cleopatra into his hands, and to take her alive, if possible. That princess refused to surrender herself to him. She had, however, a conversation with him without letting him enter the tomb. He only came close to the gates, which were well fastened, but gave passage for the voice through cracks. They talked a considerable time together, during which she continually asked the kingdom for her children; whilst he exhorted

her to hope the best, and pressed her to confide all her interests to Cæsar.

After having considered the place well, he went to make his report to Cæsar, who immediately sent Gallus to talk again with her. Gallus went to the gates as Proculeius had done, and spoke like him through the crevices, protracting the conversation on purpose. In the meanwhile Proculeius brought a ladder to the wall, entered the tomb by the same window through which she and her women had drawn up Antony, and followed by two officers who were with him, went down to the gate where she was speaking to Gallus. One of the two women who were shut up with her, seeing him come, cried out, quite out of her senses with fear and surprise, *O unfortunate Cleopatra, you are taken!* Cleopatra turned her head, saw Proculeius, and would have stabbed herself with a dagger, which she always carried at her girdle. But Proculeius ran nimbly to her, took her in his arms, and said to her, *You wrong yourself and Cæsar too, in depriving him of so grateful an occasion of showing his goodness and clemency.* At the same time he forced the dagger out of her hands, and shook her robes, lest she should have concealed poison in them.

Cæsar sent one of his freedmen, named Epaphroditus, with orders to guard her carefully, to prevent her making any attempt upon herself, and to behave to her at the same time with all the attention and complaisance she could desire; he likewise instructed Proculeius to ask the queen what she desired of him.

Cæsar afterwards prepared to enter Alexandria, the conquest of which there were no longer any to dispute with him. He found the gates of it open, and all the inhabitants in extreme consternation, not knowing what they had to hope or fear. He entered the city, conversing with the philosopher Arius, upon whom he leaned with an air of familiarity, to testify publicly the regard he had for him. Being arrived at the palace, he ascended a tribunal, which he ordered to be erected there; and, seeing the whole people prostrate upon the ground, he commanded them to rise. He then told them, that he pardoned them for three reasons: the first, upon the account of Alexander their founder; the second, for the beauty of their city; and the third, for the sake of Arius, one of their citizens, whose merit and knowledge he esteemed.

Proculeius, in the mean time, acquitted himself of his commission to the queen, who at first asked nothing of Cæsar but his permission to bury Antony, which was granted her without difficulty. She spared no cost to render his interment magnificent, according to the custom of Egypt. She caused his body to be embalmed with the most exquisite perfumes of the East, and placed it amongst the tombs of the kings of Egypt.

Cæsar did not think proper to see Cleopatra in the first days of her mourning: but, when he believed he might do it with decency, he was introduced into her chamber, after having asked her permission; being desirous to conceal his designs under the regard he professed for her. She was laid upon a little bed, in a very simple and neglected manner. When he entered her chamber, though she had nothing on but a single tunic, she rose immediately, and went to throw herself at his feet, horribly disfigured, her hair loose and disordered, her visage wild and haggard, her voice faltering, her eyes almost dissolved by excessive weeping, and her bosom covered with wounds and bruises. That natural grace and lofty mien which were inspired by her beauty, were, however, not wholly extinct; and notwithstanding the deplorable condition to which she was reduced, even through that depth of grief and dejection, as from a dark cloud, shot forth keen glances, and a kind of radiance which brightened in her looks, and in every movement of her countenance. Though she was almost dying, she did not despair of inspiring that young victor with love, as she had formerly done Cæsar and Antony.

The chamber where she received him was full of the portraits of Julius Cæsar. *My lord*, (said she to him, pointing to those pictures,) *behold those images of him who adopted you his successor in the Roman empire, and to whom I am indebted for my crown.* Then taking letters out of her bosom, which she had concealed in it, *See also*, said she, kissing them, *the dear testimonies of his love.* She afterwards read some of the most tender of them, commenting upon them, at proper intervals, with moving exclamations, and passionate glances: but she employed those arts with no success; for, whether her charms had no longer the power they had in her youth, or that ambition was Cæsar's ruling passion, he did not seem affected with either her person or conversation; contenting himself with exhorting her to take courage, and assuring her of his good intentions. She was far from not discerning that coldness, from which she pre-saged no good; but dissembling her concern, and changing the discourse, she thanked him for the compliments Proculeius had made her in his name, and which he had thought fit to repeat in person. She added, that in return she would deliver to him all the treasures of the kings of Egypt. And in fact, she put an inventory into his hands of all her moveables, jewels, and revenues. And as Seleucus, one of her treasurers, who was present, reproached her with not declaring the whole, and with having concealed part of her most valuable effects; incensed at so great an insult, she rose up, ran to him, and gave him several blows in the face. Then turning towards Cæsar, *Is it not a horrible thing*, said she to him, *that while you have not dis-*

*dained to visit me, and have thought fit to console me in the sad condition in which I now am, my own domestics should accuse me before you of retaining some women's jewels, not to adorn a wretch like myself, but as a slight present to your sister Octavia, and your wife Livia; that their protection may induce you to afford a more favourable treatment to an unfortunate princess?*

Cæsar was exceedingly pleased to hear her talk in that manner, not doubting but the love of life inspired her with such language. He told her she might dispose as she pleased of the jewels she had reserved; and after having assured her that he would treat her with more generosity and magnificence than she could venture to hope, he withdrew, imagining that he had deceived her, and was deceived himself.

Not doubting but Cæsar intended to make her serve as an ornament to his triumph, she had no other thoughts than to avoid that shame by dying. She well knew that she was observed by the guards who had been assigned her, who, under colour of doing her honour, followed her every where; and besides that, her time was short, Cæsar's departure approaching. The better, therefore, to cajole him, she sent to desire that she might go to pay her last duty at the tomb of Antony, and take her leave of him. Cæsar having granted her that permission, she went thither accordingly to bathe that tomb with her tears, and to assure Antony, to whom she addressed her discourse as if he had been present before her eyes, that she would soon give him a more certain proof of her affection.

After that fatal protestation, which she accompanied with sighs and tears, she caused the tomb to be covered with flowers, and returned to her chamber. She then went into a bath, and from the bath to table, having ordered it to be served magnificently. When she arose from table, she wrote a letter to Cæsar; and having made all quit her chamber except her two women, she shut the door, sat down upon a couch, and asked for a basket of figs, which a peasant had lately brought. She placed it by her, and a moment after laid down as if she had fallen asleep. But that was the effect of the aspic, which was concealed amongst the fruit, and had stung her in the arm, which she had held to it. The poison immediately communicated itself to the heart, and killed her without pain, or being perceived by any body. The guards had orders to let nothing pass without a strict examination; but the disguised peasant, who was one of the queen's faithful servants, played his part so well, and there seemed so little appearance of deceit in a basket of figs, that the guards suffered him to enter. Thus all Cæsar's precautions were ineffectual.

He did not doubt Cleopatra's resolution, after having read

the letter she had written to him, to desire that he would suffer her body to be laid in the same tomb with that of Antony ; and he instantly despatched two officers. to prevent it. But notwithstanding all the haste they could make, they found her dead.

That princess was too haughty and too much above the vulgar, to suffer herself to be led in triumph at the wheels of the victor's chariot.<sup>2</sup> Determined to die, and thence become capable of the fiercest resolutions, she saw with a tearless and stedfast eye the mortal venom of the aspic glide into her veins.

She died at thirty-nine years of age, of which she had reigned twenty-two from the death of her father. The statues of Antony were thrown down, and those of Cleopatra remained as they were ; Archibius, who had long been in her service, having given Cæsar 1000 talents that they might not be treated as Antony's had been.

After Cleopatra's death, Egypt was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, and governed by a præfect sent thither from Rome. The reign of the Ptolemies in Egypt, if we date its commencement from the death of Alexander the Great, had continued 293 years, from the year of the world 3681 to 3974.

² *Ausa et jacentem vicere regiam  
Vultu sereno, fortis et asperas  
Tractare serpentes, ut atrum  
Corpore combiberet venenum ;  
Deliberatâ morte ferocior ;  
Sævis Liburnis scilicet invidens  
Privata deduci superbo  
Non humilis mulier triumpho.*  
*Hor. Od. xxxvii. l. 1.*

Not the dark palace of the realms below  
Can awe the furious purpose of her soul ;  
Calmly she looks from her superior woe,  
That can both death and fear control !  
Provokes the serpent's sting, his rage disdains,  
And joys to feel his poison in her veins.  
Invidious to the victor's fancy'd pride,  
She will not for her own descend,  
Disgraced a vulgar captive by his side  
His pompous triumph to attend ;  
But fiercely flies to death, and bids her sorrows end.



# CONCLUSION

## OF THE

### ANCIENT HISTORY.

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WE have seen hitherto, without speaking of the first and ancient kingdom of Egypt, and of some states separate, and in a manner entirely distinct from the rest, three great successive empires, founded on the ruins of each other, subsist during a long series of ages, and at length entirely disappear ; the empire of the Babylonians, the empire of the Medes and Persians, and the empire of the Macedonians and the Grecian princes, successors of Alexander the Great. A fourth empire still remains, that of the Romans, which, having already swallowed up most of those which have preceded it, will extend its conquests, and after having subjected all to its power by force of arms, will be itself torn, in a manner, into different pieces, and, by being so dismembered, make way for the establishment of almost all the kingdoms which now divide Europe, Asia, and Africa. Behold here, to speak properly, a picture on a small scale of the duration of all ages ; of the glory and power of all the empires of the world ; in a word, of all that is most splendid and most capable of exciting admiration in human greatness ! Every excellence, by a happy concurrence, is here found assembled ; the fire of genius, delicacy of taste, accompanied by solid judgment ; uncommon powers of eloquence, carried to the highest degree of perfection, without departing from nature and truth ; the glory of arms, with that of arts and sciences ; valour in conquering, and ability in government. What a multitude of great men of every kind does it not present to our view ! What powerful, what glorious kings ! What great captains ! What famous conquerors ! What wise magistrates ! What learned philosophers ! What admirable legislators ! We are transported with beholding in certain ages and countries, who appear to possess them as privileges peculiar to themselves, an ardent zeal for justice, a passionate love for their country, a noble disinterestedness, a generous contempt of riches, and an esteem for poverty, which astonish and amaze us, so much do they appear above the power of human nature.

In this manner we think and judge. But, whilst we are in admiration and ecstasy at the view of so many shining virtues, the Supreme Judge, who can alone truly estimate all things, sees nothing in them but littleness, meanness, vanity, and pride; and whilst mankind are anxiously busied in perpetuating the power of their families, in founding kingdoms, and, if that were possible, rendering them eternal, God, from his throne on high, overthrows all their projects, and makes even their ambition the means of executing his purposes, infinitely superior to our understandings. He alone knows his operations and designs. All ages are present to him; *He seeth from everlasting to everlasting.*<sup>a</sup> He has assigned to all empires their fate and duration. In all the different revolutions which we have seen, nothing has come to pass by chance. We know that under the image of that statue which Nebuchadnezzar saw, of an enormous height and terrible aspect, whose head was of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, and the legs of iron mixed with clay, God thought fit to represent the four great empires, uniting in them, as we have seen in the course of this history, all that is splendid, grand, formidable, and powerful. And of what has the Almighty occasion for overthrowing this immense colossus? *A small stone was cut out without hands,*<sup>b</sup> *which smote the image upon his feet, that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer thrashing-floors, and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them; and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.*

We see with our own eyes the accomplishment of this admirable prophecy of Daniel, at least in part. Jesus Christ, who came down from heaven to clothe himself with flesh and blood in the sacred womb of the blessed Virgin, without the participation of man, is the small stone that came from the mountain without human aid. The prevailing characteristics of his person, of his relations, his appearance, his manner of teaching his disciples; in a word, of every thing that relates to him, were, simplicity, poverty, and humility; which were so extreme, that they concealed from the eyes of the proud Jews the divine lustre of his miracles, how shining soever it was, and from the sight of the devil himself, penetrating and attentive as he was, the evident proofs of his divinity.

Notwithstanding that seeming weakness, and even meanness, JESUS CHRIST will certainly conquer the whole universe. It is under this idea that a prophet represents him to us; *He went forth conquering and to conquer.*<sup>c</sup> His work and mis-

<sup>a</sup> Ecclus. xxxix. 20

<sup>b</sup> Dan. ii. 34, 35.

<sup>c</sup> Apoc. vi. 2.

sion are, *to set up a kingdom for his Father, which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom which shall not be left to other people; like those of which we have seen the history; but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever.*

The power granted to JESUS CHRIST,<sup>d</sup> the founder of this empire, is without bounds, measure, or end. The kings, who glory so much in their might, have nothing which approaches in the slightest degree to that of JESUS CHRIST. They do not reign over the will of man, which is real dominion. Their subjects can think as they please independently of them. There are an infinitude of particular actions done without their order, and which escape their knowledge as well as their power. Their designs often miscarry and come to nothing, even during their own lives. At least all their greatness vanishes and perishes with them. But with JESUS CHRIST it is quite otherwise. *All power is given unto him in heaven and in earth.* He exercises it principally upon the hearts and minds of men. Nothing is done without his order and permission. Every thing is disposed by his wisdom and power. Every thing co-operates, directly or indirectly, to the accomplishment of his designs.

Whilst all things are in motion and fluctuate upon earth; whilst states and empires pass away with incredible rapidity, and the human race, vainly employed with these outward appearances, are also drawn in by the same torrent, almost without perceiving it; there passes in secret an order and disposition of things unknown and invisible, which, however, determines our fate to all eternity. The duration of ages has no other end than the formation of the company of the elect, which augments and tends daily towards perfection. When it shall have received its final accomplishment by the death of the last of the elect, *Then cometh the end,<sup>e</sup> when JESUS CHRIST shall have delivered up the kingdom to GOD, even the FATHER: when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power.* GOD grant that we may all have our share in that blessed kingdom, whose law is truth, whose King is love, and whose duration is eternity! *Fiat, Fiat.*

<sup>d</sup> Matt. xxviii. 18.

<sup>e</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 24.

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*Æneas*, supposed by Virgil contemporary with Dido, i. 102.

*Ænobarbus* (Domitius) consul, declares for Antony, and retires to him, vi. 401.

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**Andromachus**, father of Achæus, is taken and kept prisoner by Ptolemy Euergetes, v. 161. Ptolemy Philopator sets him at liberty, and restores him to his son, 170.

**Andronicus**, general of Antigonus, makes himself master of Tyre, iv. 400. he is besieged in that place by Ptolemy, and forced to surrender, 403-4.

**Andronicus**, Perseus's officer, put to death, and why, vi. 54.

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Antigonus, the brother of Aristobulus I. is appointed by his brother to terminate the war in Ituræa, vi. 200. at his return his brother puts him to death, ib.

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Antioch, city built by Seleucus, upon the Orontes, v. 3.

Antiochus, lieutenant of Alcibiades, attacks the Lacedæmonians with ill conduct, and is defeated with great loss, iii. 89.

Antiochus I. surnamed Soter, reigns in Syria, and marries Stratonice, his father's wife, v. 35. he endeavours to seize the kingdom of Pergamus, 83. he is defeated by Eumenes, ib. he puts one of his sons to death, and dies himself soon after, ib.

Antiochus II. surnamed Theos, ascends the throne of Syria, v. 83. he delivers Miletus from tyranny, ib. he carries the war into Egypt against Ptolemy, 86. the provinces of the East revolt against him, ib. he loses most of those provinces, 87. he makes peace with Ptolemy, and marries Berenice, the daughter of that prince, after having repudiated Laodice, ib. he repudiates Berenice, and takes Laodice again, who causes him to be poisoned, 95. Daniel's prophecies concerning him, 96.

Antiochus Hierax commands in Asia Minor, v. 95. he enters into a league with his brother Seleucus against Ptolemy, 100. he declares war against Seleucus, gives him battle, and defeats him with great danger of his life, 101. he is attacked and defeated by Eumenes, ib. he retires to

Ariarathes, who soon after seeks occasion to rid himself of him, 102. he takes refuge with Ptolemy, who imprisons him, 103. he escapes from prison, and is assassinated by robbers, ib.

Antiochus III. surnamed the Great, begins to reign in Syria, v. 162. fidelity of Achæus towards him, ib. he appoints Hermias his prime-minister, 163. Molon and Alexander, whom he had appointed governors of Media and Persia, revolt against him, ib. he marries Laodice, the daughter of Mithridates, 164. he sacrifices Epigenes, the most able of his generals, to the jealousy of Hermias, 166. he marches against the rebels, and reduces them, 167. he rids himself of Hermias, 168. he marches into Cœle-syria, and takes Seleucia, 170-1. Tyre, and Ptolemais, 171. he makes a truce with Ptolemy, 172. The war breaks out again, 173. Antiochus gains many advantages, ib. he loses a great battle at Raphia, 175. he makes peace with Ptolemy, 176. he turns his arms against Achæus, who had revolted, 177. Achæus is put into his hands by treachery, and executed, 178. expeditions of Antiochus into Media, 244. Parthia, 246. Hyrcania, ib. Bactriana, ib. and even into India, 247. he enters into an alliance with Philip to invade the kingdom of Egypt, 251. and seizes Cœle-syria and Palestine, ib. he makes war against Attalus, 267. upon the remonstrances of the Romans he retires, ib. he recovers Cœle-syria, which Aristomenes had taken from him, 268. Antiochus forms the design of seizing Asia Minor, 269. he takes some places there, 293. an embassy is sent to him from the Romans upon that head, 294. Hannibal retires to him, 297. the arrival of that general determines him to engage in a war with the Romans, 306. he marches against the Pisidians, and subdues them, 310. he goes to Greece at the request of the Aitolians, 319. he attempts to bring over the Achæans in vain, 320. and afterwards the Bœotians, 323. he makes himself master of Chalcis, and all Eubœa, ib. the Romans declare war against him, 324. he makes an ill use of Hannibal's counsels, 325. he goes to Chalcis, and marries the daughter of the person in whose house he lodges, 326. he seizes the straits of Thermopylæ, ib. he is defeated near those mountains, and escapes to Chalcis, 327. on his return to Ephesus, he ventures a sea-fight, and loses it, 331. his fleet gains some advantage over the Rhodians, 334. he loses a second battle at sea, ib. conduct of Antiochus after this defeat, 336. he makes proposals of peace, 338. which are rejected, ib. he loses a great battle near Magnesia, 342. &c. he demands peace, 344. he obtains it, and on what conditions, ib. in order to pay the tribute to the Romans, he plunders a temple in Elymais, 366. he is killed, ib. character of Antiochus, ib. Daniel's prophecies concerning that prince, 367.

Antiochus, the eldest son of Antiochus

the Great, dies in the flower of his youth, v. 311. character of that young prince, *ib.*

Antiochus IV. surnamed Epiphanes, goes to Rome as a hostage, v. 345. he ascends the throne of Syria, 422. dispute between that prince and the king of Egypt, 424. he marches towards Egypt, 426. and gains a first victory over Ptolemy, *ib.* then a second, 427. he makes himself master of Egypt, 428. and takes the king himself, *ib.* upon the rumour of a general revolt, he enters Palestine, *ib.* besieges and takes Jerusalem, *ib.* where he exercises the most horrid cruelties, *ib.* &c. Antiochus renews the war in Egypt, 429. he replaces Ptolemy Philometor upon the throne, and with what view, 432. he returns to Syria, *ib.* he comes back to Egypt, and marches to Alexandria, 434. Popilius, the Roman ambassador, obliges him to quit it, *ib.*

Antiochus, incensed at what had happened in Egypt, vents his rage upon the Jews, v. 436. he orders Apollonius, one of his generals, to destroy Jerusalem, *ib.* cruelties committed there by that general, *ib.* Antiochus endeavours to abolish the worship of the true God at Jerusalem, *ib.* he enters Judæa, and commits horrible cruelties, 439, &c. he celebrates games at Daphne, near Antioch, 443. several of his generals defeated by Judas Maccabæus, 444. he goes to Persia, attempts to plunder the temple of Elymais, and is shamefully repulsed, 449. upon receiving advice of the defeat of his armies in Judæa, he sets out instantly with design to exterminate the Jews, 450. he is struck by the hand of God on his way, and dies in the most exquisite torments, *ib.* Daniel's prophecies concerning this prince, 451.

Antiochus V. called Eupator, succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes in the kingdom of Syria, vi. 126. he continues the war with the Jews, 127. his generals and himself in person are defeated by Judas Maccabæus, 127-8. he makes peace with the Jews, and destroys the fortifications of the temple, 130. Romans discontented with Eupator, 134. his soldiers deliver him up to Demetrius, who puts him to death, 135.

Antiochus VI. surnamed Theos, is placed upon the throne of Syria by Tryphon, vi. 147. he is assassinated soon after, 149.

Antiochus VII. surnamed Sidetes, marries Cleopatra, wife of Demetrius, and is proclaimed king of Syria, vi. 152. he de-thrones Tryphon, who is put to death, 153. he marches into Judæa, 161. besieges John Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, *ib.* the city capitulates, *ib.* he turns his arms against Parthia, 162. where he perishes, 163. an adventure of this prince in hunting, *ib.*

Antiochus VIII. surnamed Grypus, begins to reign in Syria, vi. 169. he marries Tryphena, the daughter of Physcon, king of Egypt, 170. he defeats and expels Zebina, *ib.* his mother Cleopatra endeavours to poison him, and is poisoned herself, *ib.* Antiochus reigns some time in peace, *ib.*

war between that prince and his brother Antiochus of Cyzicum, 172. the two brothers divide the empire of Syria between them, 173. Grypus marries Selene, the daughter of Cleopatra, and renews the war against his brother, 180. he is assassinated by one of his vassals, 181.

Antiochus IX. surnamed the Cyzicenean, makes war against his brother Antiochus Grypus, vi. 172. he marries Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had repudiated, *ib.* after several battles, he comes to an accommodation with his brother, and divides the empire of Syria with him, 173. he goes to the aid of the Samaritans, and is unsuccessful in the war, 174. after his brother's death he endeavours to possess himself of his dominions, 181. he loses a battle against Seleucus the son of Grypus, who puts him to death, *ib.*

Antiochus X. surnamed Eusebes, son of Antiochus the Cyzicenean, causes himself to be crowned king of Syria, and deposes Seleucus, vi. 182. he gains a battle against Antiochus and Philip, brother of Seleucus, *ib.* he marries Selene, the widow of Grypus, *ib.* he is entirely defeated by Philip, and obliged to take refuge amongst the Parthians, *ib.* by their aid he returns into Syria, *ib.* he is again expelled, and retires into Cilicia, where he ends his days, 184.

Antiochus XI. son of Grypus, endeavours to revenge the death of his brother Seleucus, vi. 182. he is defeated by Eusebes, and drowned in endeavouring to pass the Orontes, *ib.* &c.

Antiochus XII. surnamed Dionysius, seizes Cœle-syria, and reigns a very short time, vi. 182-3.

Antiochus XIII. called Asiaticus, sent by Selene, his mother, to Rome, vi. 186. on his return he passes through Sicily, and receives an enormous affront from Verres, 186-7. he reigns some time in Syria, 190. Pompey deprives him of his dominions, *ib.*

Antipas, or Antipater, Herod's father, excites great troubles in Judæa, vi. 207, &c. he sends troops to aid Cæsar, besieged in Alexandria, 388.

Antipater, Alexander's lieutenant, is appointed by that prince to govern Macedonia in his absence, iv. 124. he defeats the Lacedæmonians, who had revolted against Macedonia, 225. Alexander takes his government from him, and orders him to come to him, 304. suspicions entertained of Antipater in respect of Alexander's death, 314. Antipater's expeditions into Greece, after Alexander's death, 346. he is defeated by the Athenians near Lamia, to which he retires, 347. he surrenders that place by capitulation, 348. he seizes Athens, and puts a garrison into it, 350. he puts Demosthenes and Hyperides to death, *ib.* he gives Phila, his daughter, to Craterus in marriage, 355. he is appointed regent of the kingdom of Macedonia, in the room of Perdiccas, 364. death of Antipater, 369.

Antipater, eldest son of Cassander, v. 9. dispute between that prince and his brother Alexander for the crown of Macedonia, ib. he kills his mother Thessalonica, who favoured his younger brother, ib. Demetrius drives him out of Macedonia, 10. he retires into Thrace, and dies there, ib.

Antiphon, courtier of Dionysius. Witty saying, which cost him his life, iii. 341.

Antony (Mark) contributes by his valour to the re-establishment of Auletes upon the throne of Egypt, vi. 379, &c. when triumvir, he cites Cleopatra before him, and why, 391. his passion for that princess, ib. her ascendant over him, ib. she carries him with her to Alexandria, 394. Antony returns to Rome, and marries Octavia, Cæsar's sister, 395. he makes some expeditions against the Parthians, 396. then goes to Phœnicia to meet Cleopatra, 397. his injurious treatment of Octavia, ib. he makes himself master of Armenia, and returns to Alexandria, which he enters in triumph, 398. he celebrates there the coronation of Cleopatra and her children, ib. open rupture between Cæsar and Antony, 399. Antony puts to sea, accompanied by Cleopatra, 403. he is entirely defeated in a sea-fight off Actium, 404. all his troops surrender themselves to Cæsar, ib. he returns to Alexandria, 405. he sends ambassadors to treat of peace with Cæsar, ib. seeing himself betrayed by Cleopatra, he sends to challenge Cæsar to a single combat, 408. believing Cleopatra had killed herself, he falls upon his sword, ib. he expires in Cleopatra's arms, 409. that princess celebrates his funeral with great magnificence, 410.

Anysis, king of Egypt, i. 62.

Aornis, a rock of India, besieged and taken by Alexander, iv. 268.

Apame, the daughter of Antiochus Soter, and widow of Magas, v. 85.

Apaturia. Feasts celebrated at Athens, iii. 96.

Apaturius, officer of Seleucus Ceraunus, forms a conspiracy against that prince, and poisons him, v. 162. he is put to death, ib.

Apega, an infernal machine, invented by Nabis, v. 243.

Apelles, courtier of Philip, v. 189. abuses his power, 190. he endeavours to humble and enslave the Achæans, 191. he perishes miserably, 203.

Apelles, Perseus's accomplice in accusing Demetrius, is sent ambassador to Rome by Philip, v. 414. after the death of Demetrius, he escapes into Italy, 417.

Apelles, officer of Antiochus Epiphanes, endeavours to make Mattathias sacrifice to idols, v. 433. Mattathias kills him, with all his followers, 439.

Apellicon, an Athenian, library erected by him at Athens, vi. 325.

Apis, an ox adored under that name by the Egyptians, i. 29. killed by Cambyzes, ii. 87.

Apis, king of Argos, ii. 161.

Apollo. Temple erected in honour of him at Delphi, i. xxxiv.

Apollocrates, eldest son of Dionysius the younger, commands in the citadel of Syracuse, in the room of his father, iii. 367. he surrenders that place to Dion, and retires to his father, 374.

Apollodorus, of Amphipolis, one of Alexander's officers, iv. 207.

Apollodorus, friend of Cleopatra, favours the entrance of that princess into Alexandria, and in what manner, vi. 384.

Apollodorus, governor of Gaza for Lathyrus, defends that place against Alexander Janneus, vi. 201. he is assassinated by his brother Lysimachus, 202.

Apollonides, officer in the army of Eumenes, occasions the loss of a battle, iv. 366. he is seized and put to death, ib.

Apollonides, magistrate of Syracuse, vi. 280. his wise discourse in the assembly of the people, ib.

Apollonius, a lord in the court of Antiochus Epiphanes, is sent ambassador by that prince, first to Egypt, v. 424. then to Rome, 425. Antiochus sends him with an army against Jerusalem, with orders to destroy that city, 436. his cruelties there, ib. he is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, and killed in the battle, 444.

Apollonius, governor of Cœle-syria and Phœnicia, marches against Jonathan, and is defeated, vi. 142. he forms a plot against the life of Ptolemy Philometor, 143.

Apollonophanes, physician of Antiochus the Great, discovers to that prince the conspiracy formed against him by Hermias, v. 168. salutary advice which he gives Antiochus, 170.

Appius (Claudius) Roman consul, is sent into Sicily, to aid the Mamertines, i. 135. he defeats the Carthaginians and Syracusans, ib.

Appius (Claudius) Roman senator, prevents the senate from accepting the offers of Pyrrhus, v. 55.

Appius (Claudius) Roman, commands a body of troops, and is beaten near Uskana, against which he marched with design to plunder it, vi. 28.

Apries ascends the throne of Egypt, i. 70. success of that prince, ib. Zedekiah, king of Judah, implores his aid, 71. he declares himself protector of Israel, 72. Egypt revolts against him, ib. and sets Amasis on the throne, ib. he is obliged to retire into Upper Egypt, 73. Amasis defeats him in a battle, in which he is taken prisoner, and put to death, 74.

Aquilius (Manius) Roman proconsul, is defeated in a battle by Mithridates, who takes him prisoner, and puts him to death, vi. 510.

Arabians (Nabathæan) character of that people, iv. 407.

Aracus, Lacedæmonian admiral, iii. 90.

Araspes, a Median nobleman, is appointed by Cyrus to keep Panthæa prisoner, ii. 22. passion which he conceives

for that princess, 23. goodness of Cyrus in respect to him, *ib.* he does that prince great service in going as a spy amongst the Assyrians, *ib.*

Aratus, son of Clinias, escapes from Sicyon, to avoid the fury of Abantidas, v. 108. he delivers that city from the tyranny, *ib.* and unites it with the Achæan league, 109. he appeases a sedition upon the point of breaking out at Sicyon, 111, &c. he is elected general of the Achæans, 112. he takes Corinth from Antigonus, 116, &c. he makes several cities enter into the Achæan league, 117. he has not the same success at Argos, 120. he marches against the Ætolians, 131. Cleomenes, king of Sparta, gains several advantages over him, 138. Aratus's envy of that prince, 141. he calls in Antigonus to aid the Achæans against the Lacedæmonians, 143. he marches against the Ætolians, and is defeated near Caphyræ, 181. Philip's affection for Aratus, 181-2. Apelles, Philip's minister, accuses him falsely to that prince, 192. he is declared innocent, 193. he accompanies Philip into Ætolia, his expeditions against the Ætolians, Lacedæmonians, and Eleans, 194-5. Philip causes him to be poisoned, 211. his funeral solemnized magnificently, 212.

Aratus the younger, son of the great Aratus, is chief magistrate of the Achæans, v. 188. Philip causes him to be poisoned, 212.

Arbaces, governor of the Medes for Sardanapalus, revolts against that prince, and founds the kingdom of Media, i. 280.

Arbaces, general in the army of Artaxerxes Mnemon, against his brother Cyrus, iii. 129.

Arbela, city of Assyria, famous for Alexander's victory over Darius, iv. 204.

Arcesilas, Alexander's lieutenant. Provinces that fell to his lot after that prince's death, iv. 341.

Archagathus, son of Agathocles, commands in Africa after his father's departure, i. 130, he perishes there miserably, 131.

Archelaus, governor of Susa for Alexander, iv. 210.

Archelaus, general for Antigonus, marches against Aratus, who besieged Corinth, and is taken prisoner, v. 116. Aratus sets him at liberty, 117.

Archelaus, one of the generals of Mithridates, takes Athens, vi. 311. he is driven out of it by Sylla, 316. he is defeated by the same captain, first at Charonea, 318. and then at Orchomenus, 320. he escapes to Chalcis, *ib.* and has an interview with Sylla, near Delium, 322. Archelaus goes over to Murræna, 327. he engages the latter to make war against Mithridates, *ib.*

Archelaus, son of the former, is made high-priest and sovereign of Comana, vi. 366. he marries Berenice, queen of Egypt, 378. he is killed in a battle with the Romans, *ib.*

Archelaus, son of the latter, enjoys the same dignities as his father, vi. 252. he marries Glaphyra, and has two sons by her, *ib.*

Archelaus, second son of Archelaus and Glaphyra, ascends the throne of Cappadocia, vi. 252. Tiberius does him great services with Augustus, *ib.* he draws the revenge of Tiberius upon himself, 253. he is cited to Rome, and why, 254. he is very ill received there, *ib.* he dies soon after, *ib.*

Archias, a Corinthian, founder of Syracuse, ii. 425.

Archias, a Theban, is killed by the conspirators at a feast given by Philidas, one of them, to the Bœotarchs, iii. 406.

Archias, comedian, delivers up the orator Hyperides, and several other persons, to Antipater, iv. 352.

Archibius. His attachment to Cleopatra, vi. 413.

Archidamia, Lacedæmonian lady. Heroic action of hers, v. 70. she is put to death by order of Amphares, 135.

Archidamus, king of Sparta, ii. 385. he saves the Lacedæmonians from the fury of the Helots, *ib.* he commands the troops of Sparta at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, 433. he besieges Platææ, 448.

Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, gains a battle against the Arcadians, iii. 425. his valour during the siege of Sparta by Epaminondas, 439. he reigns in Sparta, 455.

Archidamus, brother of Agis, escapes from Sparta to avoid the fury of Leonidas, v. 136. Cleomenes recalls him, 138. he is assassinated in returning home, *ib.*

Archidamus, ambassador of the Ætolians, endeavours to engage the Achæans to declare for Antiochus, v. 322.

Archilochus, Greek poet, inventor of iambic verses, ii. 210. character of his poetry, *ib.*

Archimedes, famous geometrician, vi. 267. he invents many machines of war, 268. prodigious effects of those machines, 286. he is killed at the taking of Syracuse, 295. his tomb discovered by Cicero, *ib.*

Archon, one of Alexander's officers. Provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, iv. 341.

Archon is elected chief magistrate of the Achæans, vi. 29. wise resolution which he makes that people take, 31.

Archons instituted at Athens, iii. 277. their functions, *ib.*

Ardis, king of Lydia, i. 308.

Areopagus: its establishment, iii. 275. authority of that senate, *ib.* Pericles weakens its authority, 277.

Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa, submits to Pompey, vi. 369.

Arete, daughter of Dionysius the tyrant, first married to her brother Theorides, and afterwards to her uncle Dion, iii. 345. during the banishment of the latter she is married to Timocrates, 360. Dion receives her again, 375. her death, 377.

**Arethusa**, a fountain famous in fabulous history, iii. 38.

**Areus**, one of the Spartan exiles, is reinstated by the Achæans, and carries accusations against them to Rome, v. 379. the Achæans condemn him to die, 381. his sentence is annulled by the Romans, 384.

**Areus**, grandson of Cleomenes, reigns at Sparta, v. 69.

**Areus**, another king of Sparta, v. 122.

**Argæus** is placed by the Athenians upon the throne of Macedonia, iv. 38. is defeated by Philip, 40.

The **Agilian**: a name given to the slave who discovered Pausanias's conspiracy, ii. 346.

**Arginusæ**. Isles famous for the victory of the Athenians over the Lacedæmonians, iii. 92.

**Argo**, king of Lydia, i. 306.

**Argos**, foundation of that kingdom, ii. 161. kings of Argos, ib. war between the Argives and Lacedæmonians, i. xciii. they refuse to aid the Greeks against the Persians, iii. 158. Argos besieged by Pyrrhus, v. 75. Aratus endeavours to bring that city into the Achæan league, 121. but without success, ib. Argos is subjected by the Lacedæmonians, 146. and afterwards by Antigonus, vi. Argos surrenders to Philocles, one of Philip's generals, 276. the latter puts it again into the hands of Nabis, 278. it throws off the yoke of that tyrant, and re-establishes its liberty, 303.

**Argus**, king of Argos, ii. 161.

**Ariæus**, of Alexandria, philosopher: Augustus Caesar's esteem for him, vi. 410.

**Ariæus** commands the left wing of Cyrus's army at the battle of Cunaxa, iii. 130. he flies upon advice of that prince's death, 132. the Greeks offer him the crown of Persia, 137. he refuses it, and makes a treaty with them, 138.

**Ariamnes**, an Arabian, deceives and betrays Crassus, vi. 224.

**Ariamnes**, king of Cappadocia, vi. 246.

**Ariarathes I.** king of Cappadocia, vi. 245.

**Ariarathes II.** son of the former, reigns over Cappadocia, vi. 245. he is defeated in a battle by Perdiccas, who seizes his dominions, and puts him to death, ib.

**Ariarathes III.** escapes into Armenia after his father's death, vi. 245. he ascends the throne of his ancestors, 246.

**Ariarathes IV.** king of Cappadocia, vi. 246.

**Ariarathes V.** marries Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus the Great, v. 102. the Romans lay a great fine upon him for having aided his father-in-law, v. 366. he sends his son to Rome, and with what view, vi. 9. he declares for the Romans against Perseus, 10. death of Ariarathes, 86.

**Ariarathes VI.** goes to Rome, and why, vi. 9. he refuses to reign during his father's life, 86. after his father's death he ascends the throne of Cappadocia, ib. he renews the alliance with the Romans, 87.

he is dethroned by Demetrius, ib. he implores aid of the Romans, ib. Attalus re-establishes him upon the throne, ib. he enters into a confederacy against Demetrius, 248. he marches to aid the Romans against Aristonicus, and is killed in that war, ib.

**Ariarathes VII.** reigns in Cappadocia, vi. 248. his brother-in-law Mithridates causes him to be assassinated, 249.

**Ariarathes VIII.** is placed upon the throne of Cappadocia by Mithridates, vi. 249. he is assassinated by that prince, ib.

**Ariarathes IX.** king of Cappadocia, is defeated by Mithridates, and driven out of his kingdom, vi. 249.

**Ariarathes X.** ascends the throne of Cappadocia, vi. 252. Sisinna disputes the possession of it with him, and carries it against him, ib. Ariarathes reigns a second time in Cappadocia, ib.

**Ariarathes**, son of Mithridates, reigns in Cappadocia, vi. 306. he is dethroned by the Romans, ib. he is reinstated a second, 307, and then a third time, ib.

**Ariaspes**, son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, deceived by his brother Ochus, kills himself, iii. 458.

**Aridæus**, bastard brother of Alexander, is declared king of Macedonia after the death of that prince, iv. 316. Olympias causes him to be put to death, 384.

**Arimanius**, a deity adored by the Persians, ii. 137.

**Arimazes**, Sogdian, governor of Petra Oxianna, refuses to surrender to Alexander, iv. 248. he is besieged in that place, 249. he submits to Alexander, who puts him to death, 251.

**Ariobarzanes**, satrap of Phrygia, under Artaxerxes Mnemon, ascends the throne of Pontus, i. cvii. he revolts against that prince, iii. 456.

**Ariobarzanes I.** is placed upon the throne of Cappadocia by the Romans, vi. 250. he is twice dethroned by Tigranes, ib. Pompey reinstates him in the quiet possession of the throne, ib.

**Ariobarzanes II.** ascends the throne of Cappadocia, and is killed soon after, vi. 250.

**Ariobarzanes III.** reigns in Cappadocia, vi. 250. Cicero suppresses a conspiracy forming against him, ib. he sides with Pompey against Cæsar, 251. the latter lays him under contribution, ib. he refuses an alliance with Cæsar's murderers, 252. Cassius attacks him, and having taken him prisoner, puts him to death, ib.

**Ariobarzanes**, governor of Persia for Darius, posts himself at the pass of Susa, to prevent Alexander from passing it, iv. 212. he is put to flight, 213.

**Aristagoras** is established governor of Miletus by Histæus, ii. 251. he joins the Ionians in their revolt against Darius, 253. he goes to Lacedæmon for aid, 255. but ineffectually, 256. he goes to Athens, ib. that city grants him some troops, 257. he is defeated and killed in a battle, 259.

Aristander, a soothsayer in the train of Alexander, iv. 199.

Aristazanes, officer in the court of Ochus, iv. 18.

Aristeas, citizen of Argos, gives Pyrrhus entrance into that city, v. 75.

Aristenes, chief magistrate of the Achæans, engages them to declare for the Romans against Philip, v. 272, &c.

Aristides, one of the generals of the Athenian army at Marathon, resigns the command to Miltiades, ii. 270. he distinguishes himself in the battle, 271. he is banished, 276. he is recalled, 301. he goes to Themistocles at Salamis, and persuades him to fight in that strait, 315. he rejects the offers of Mardonius, 323. he gains a famous victory over that general at Plataeæ, 328. he terminates a difference that had arisen between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, 329. confidence of the Athenians in Aristides, 341. his condensation for that people, ib. he is placed at the head of the troops sent by Athens to deliver the Greeks from the Persian yoke, 343. his conduct in that war, 344. he is charged with the administration of the public revenues, 350. his death and character, 354.

Aristides, painter, his works greatly esteemed, vi. 105.

Aristion usurps the government at Athens, and acts with great cruelty, vi. 312. he is besieged in that city by Sylla, ib. he is taken and put to death, 316.

Aristippus, philosopher, his desire to hear Socrates, iii. 218.

Aristippus, citizen of Argos, excites a sedition in that city, v. 73. he becomes tyrant of it, 120. he is killed in a battle, 121. continual terrors in which that tyrant lived, 120.

Aristobulus I. son of John Hyrcanus, succeeds his father in the high-priesthood and sovereignty of Judæa, vi. 199. he assumes the title of king, ib. he causes his mother to be put to death, ib. then his brother Antigonus, 200. he dies soon after himself, ib.

Aristobulus II. son of Alexander Jannæus, reigns in Judæa, vi. 206. dispute between that prince and his brother Hyrcanus, 206-7. Pompey takes cognizance of it, 208. Aristobulus's conduct makes him his enemy, ib. Pompey lays him in chains, 209. and sends him to Rome, 211.

Aristocracy, form of government, ii. 168. Aristocrates commands the left wing of the Athenians at the battle of Arginusæ, iii. 93.

Aristodemus, chief of the Heracidae, possesses himself of Peloponnesus, ii. 166.

Aristodemus, guardian of Agesipolis, king of Sparta, iii. 181.

Aristodemus of Miletus is left at Athens by Demetrius, iv. 414.

Aristogenes, one of the generals of the Athenians at the battle of Arginusæ, iii. 93.

Aristogiton conspires against the tyrants

of Athens, ii. 203. his death, ib. statues erected in honour of him by the Athenians, 205.

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Mysteries. Feasts of the less and greater mysteries celebrated at Athens, in honour of Ceres Eleusina, i. xxvii.

NABARZANES, general of the horse in the army of Darius, in conjunction with Bessus, betrays that prince, iv. 218, &c. he retires into Hyrcania, 219. he surrenders himself to Alexander upon his promise, 228.

Nabis makes himself tyrant of Sparta, v. 242. instances of his avarice and cruelty, 242-3. Philip puts Argos into his hands by way of deposit, 273. Nabis declares for the Romans against that prince, 278-9. the Romans declare war against him, 281. Q. Flaminius marches against him, 299. he besieges him in Sparta, 302. obliges him to

sue for peace, 303. and grants it him, ib. Nabis breaks the treaty, 309. he is defeated by Philipæmen, 313. and obliged to shut himself up in Sparta, ib. he is killed, 318.

Nabonassar, or Belesis, king of Babylon, i. 282.

Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, joins with Cyaxares, king of Media, besieges Nineveh, and entirely ruins that city, i. 283. he associates his son Nabuchodonosor with him in the empire, and sends him at the head of an army against Nechao, ib. Nabopolassar's death, 289.

Nabuchodonosor I., or Saosduchinus, king of Nineveh, i. 287. that prince is attacked by Phraortes king of the Medes, 301. he defeats him in the plain of Ragau, ravages his dominions, and puts him to death, ib. he sends Holofernes with a powerful army to revenge him upon the people who had refused him aid, 302. entire defeat of his army, ib.

Nabuchodonosor II., is associated in the empire of Assyria, by Nabopolassar, i. 283. he defeats Nechao, and conquers Syria and Palestine, ib. he besieges Jerusalem, makes himself master of it, and carries away a great number of Jews captive to Babylon, ib. Nabuchodonosor's first dream, 289. that prince marches against Jerusalem, takes it, and carries away all its treasures, 290. he defeats the army of Pharaoh king of Egypt, returns to Jerusalem, and demolishes its fortifications, ib. he causes himself to be adored as a god, 291. he besieges Tyre, and takes it after a long siege, ib. Nabuchodonosor's second dream, 292. he is reduced to the condition of beasts, he recovers his former shape, 293. and ascends the throne, ib. he dies, ib.

Naravusus, Numidian lord, joins Barca in the war with the mercenaries, i. 155.

Navy. Naval affairs of the ancients, iii. 296.

Naupactum, city of Ætolia, ii. 156. besieged by Acilius, v. 330.

Naxos, island, one of the Cyclades, ii. 253. sedition at Naxos, which occasions the revolt of the Ionians against Darius, ib.

Neapolis, quarter of the city of Syracuse so called, iii. 39.

Nearchus, officer of Alexander, undertakes to view the coast, from the Indus to the bottom of the Persian gulph, iv. 292. he succeeds in his enterprise, 293.

Nechao, king of Egypt, i. 67. he undertakes to open a communication between the Nile and the Red Sea, ib. able navigators by his order undertake to sail round Africa, and happily effect it, 68. Nechao marches against the Babylonians and Medes, to put a stop to their progress, ib. he defeats Josiah, king of Judah, who opposed his march, ib. he beats the Babylonians, takes Carchemis, and returns into his kingdom, ib. on his way he passes through Jerusalem, deprives Jehoaz of the crown, and gives it to Jehoiakim, 69. he is conquered by Nabuchodonosor, who re-

takes Carchemis, *ib.* death of Nechao, 70.

Nectanebus is placed by the revolted Egyptians upon the throne of Egypt in the room of Tachos, *iii.* 454. he is supported by Agesilaus, *ib.* by his aid he reduces the party of the prince of Mendes, 455. not being able to defend himself against Ochus, he escapes into Æthiopia, from whence he never returns, *iv.* 19.

Nehemiah, Jew, cupbearer of Artaxerxes, obtains permission of that prince to return to Jerusalem, and to rebuild its fortifications, *ii.* 377, &c. he acquires himself of his commission with incredible zeal, *ib.*

Nelus of Scepsis, to whom Theophrastus had left the works of Aristotle, *vi.* 325.

Nemæa: games instituted near that city, *i.* xlii.

Neolas, brother of Molo and Alexander, brings the latter the news of Molo's defeat by Antiochus, and then kills himself through despair, *v.* 167.

Neoptolemus, one of Alexander's captains: provinces that fell to him after the death of that prince, *iv.* 341. he joins Antipater and Craterus against Perdiccas and Eumenes, 362. he marches with Craterus against the latter, *ib.* and is killed in a battle, 363. character of Neoptolemus, 361.

Neoptolemus, uncle of Pyrrhus, reigns in Epirus in his nephew's place, *i.* cix. Pyrrhus causes him to be dethroned, *cx.*

Neoptolemus, Greek poet, *iv.* 98.

Neriglissor puts himself at the head of a conspiracy against Evilmerodach, king of Assyria, and reigns in his stead, *i.* 294. he makes war against the Medes, and is killed in a battle, *ii.* 20.

Nero (C. Claudius) consul, quits his province and makes haste to join his colleague, in order to attack Asdrubal in conjunction with him, *i.* 201.

Nevius, Roman officer, surprises Philip's camp near Apollonia in the night, *v.* 210.

Nicæa, city built by Alexander at the place where he had defeated Porus, *iv.* 276.

Nicaner is deputed by the Ætoliens to Philip, *v.* 308. he endeavours to engage that prince to join Antiochus against the Romans, *ib.*

Nicanor, young officer in Alexander's army: rash boldness which costs him his life, *iv.* 271.

Nicanor, Cassander's brother, is put to death by order of Olympias, *iv.* 385.

Nicanor, governor of Media under Antiochus, is surprised in his camp in the night by Seleucus, and obliged to fly, *iv.* 405. he is killed in a battle, 422.

Nicanor, officer of Seleucus Ceraunus, conspires against that prince and poisons him, *v.* 162. he is put to death by Achæus, *ib.*

Nicanor, lieutenant-general of Antiochus Epiphanes, marches against the Jews, and is defeated by Judas Macca-

bæus, *v.* 446, &c. Demetrius Soter sends him with an army into Judæa to assist Alcimus, *vi.* 136. he is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, and is killed in battle, *ib.*

Nicias, general of the Athenians, makes them conclude a peace with the Lacedæmonians, *iii.* 13. he opposes the war of Sicily in vain, 24. he is appointed general with Lamachus and Alcibiades, *ib.* his conduct on arriving in Sicily, 33. after some expeditions he forms the siege of Syracuse, 40. the city is reduced to extremities, 45. the arrival of Gylippus changes the face of affairs, 47. Nicias writes to the Athenians to state his condition, and to demand reinforcement, 49, 50. two colleagues are appointed him, 52. he is compelled by his colleagues to engage in a sea-fight, in which he is defeated, 55. his land-army is also defeated, 56. he hazards another sea-fight in concert with Demosthenes, and is again defeated, 61. he determines to retire by land, 62. he is reduced to surrender at discretion, 66. is condemned to die, and executed, 68.

Nicias, treasurer to Perseus, throws the treasures of that prince into the sea by his order, *vi.* 34. Perseus puts him to death, *ib.*

Nicocles, son of Evagoras, reigns at Salamis after his father's death, *iii.* 447.

Nicocles, king of Paphos, submits to Ptolemy, *iv.* 402. he makes an alliance secretly with Antigonus, *ib.* he kills himself, 403.

Nicocles, tyrant of Sicyon, is driven out of that city by Aratus, *v.* 108, &c.

Nicogenes, in whose house Themistocles resides at Ægæ, supplies his guest with the means of going to the court of Persia in safety, *ii.* 361.

Nicolaus, one of Ptolemy's generals, refuses to desert with Theodotus, and continues to adhere to Ptolemy, *v.* 172, &c.

Nicolaus, a venerable old man, harangues the Syracusans, to dissuade them from condemning the Athenian generals, *iii.* 67.

Nicomedes I. king of Bithynia, *i.* cvi.

Nicomedes II. son of Prusias, king of Bithynia, goes to Rome, *vi.* 89. he kills his father, who had given orders for murdering him, and reigns in his stead, *ib.* he sets up a child under the name of Ariarathes, and causes the kingdom of Cappadocia to be demanded for him of the Romans, 306. his death, 307.

Nicomedes III. ascends the throne of Bithynia, *vi.* 307. he is dethroned by Mithridates, *ib.* the Romans reinstate him, *ib.* he is again expelled by Mithridates, 310. Sylla reconciles him and Mithridates, who restores him to his dominions, 324. Nicomedes, in gratitude for the services of the Romans, at his death leaves the Roman people his heirs, 329.

Nicostratus of Argos commands one of the detachments of Ochus's army in that prince's expedition into Egypt, *iv.* 18.

Nicostratus, prætor of the Achæans

defeats the troops of Androsthenes, who commanded for Philip at Corinth, v. 287.

Nilaus, son of Codrus, settles in Asia Minor, ii. 166.

Nile, river of Africa, its sources, i. 10. cataracts of the Nile, 11. causes of its inundation, ib. time that its inundation continues, 12. measure or depth of its inundation, 12, 13. canals of the Nile, 14. fertility occasioned by the Nile, 14, 15. double prospect occasioned by the Nile, 16. canal of communication between the two seas by the Nile, 17.

Nimrod, founder of the Assyrian empire, i. 264. history confounds him with his son Ninus, ib. Scripture places him very near Abraham; for what reason, 266.

Nineveh, city of Assyria, its foundation, i. 265. description of that city, 266. kings of Nineveh, 267, &c. destruction of that city, 303.

Ninus, king of Assyria, succeeds Nimrod, and is often confounded with that prince, i. 266. he builds Nineveh, 267. his expedition against the Bactrians, 268. he marries Semiramis, and has a son by her, ib. he dies soon after, ib.

Ninyas, son of Ninus and Semiramis, reigns in Assyria, i. 278. effeminacy and indolence of that prince, ib.

Nitocris, queen of Babylon, i. 294. inscription which she causes to be put upon her tomb, ib.

No-Amon, famous city of Egypt, i. 64.

Nobility. Wherein true nobility consists, iv. 397.

Nomi, or governments of Egypt, i. 2.

Numidians, people of Africa, i. 155. their principal force consisted in cavalry, 224.

Nysius, general of Dionysius the younger, relieves the citadel of Syracuse closely besieged by the Syracusans, iii. 368. he burns and plunders part of the city of Syracuse, 371. Dionysius drives him out of Syracuse, of which he had made himself master, 380.

Nysa, nurse of Bacchus, v. 26.

Nysa, sister of Mithridates, falls into the hands of Lucullus, vi. 335.

Obedience: model of it in the education of the Spartan youth, ii. 185. means necessary to be used for obtaining voluntary obedience, 9.

Obelisks of Egypt, i. 4.

Ocha, sister of Ochus, is buried alive by order of that prince, iv. 2.

Ochus takes the name of Darius, for having put a stop to the insolence of Smerdis the Magian, ii. 224. See Darius I.

Ochus, son of Artaxerxes Longimanus, marches at the head of a great army against Sogdianus, iii. 2. he gets that prince into his hands, and puts him to death, ib., &c. he ascends the throne of Persia, and changes his name from Ochus to Darius, ib. See Darius Nothus.

Ochus, son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, opens his way to the empire by the murder

of his brothers, iii. 457. he ascends the throne of Persia, and takes the name of Artaxerxes, iv. 1. cruelties which he commits, ib. his successful expeditions against Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Egypt, 16. after those expeditions he abandons himself to pleasures, 20. he is poisoned by Bagoas, 21.

Octavia, widow of Marcellus, and sister of young Cæsar, marries Antony, vi. 395. she leaves Rome to go to Antony, and arrives at Athens, 397. Antony forbids her to come any further, ib. she returns to Rome, ib. affront which she receives from Antony, 401.

Octavius (Cæ.) prætor, commands the Roman fleet against Perseus, vi. 40, &c. means which he uses to make that prince quit the island of Samothracia, which was deemed a sacred and inviolable asylum, 59. Perseus puts himself into his hands, 61. Octavius receives the honour of a triumph, 71. The Romans send him to Syria as ambassador, 127. he is murdered there, 134. the senate erect a statue to him, ib.

Octavius, Crassus's lieutenant, endeavours in vain to console him for his defeat, vi. 232. he accompanies that general in his interview with Surenæ, 235. he is killed in defending him, 237.

Odeon, or theatre of music at Athens, ii. 392.

Oebares, Darius's groom, by his address secures the crown of Persia to his master, ii. 96.

Oebazus, Persian lord, barbarous cruelty of Darius towards him, ii. 246.

Economy. It is one of the principal constituents of political ability, ii. 396.

Olthaces, king of Colchis, is subdued by Pompey, who makes him serve as an ornament in his triumph, vi. 370.

Olympia, castle in the neighbourhood of Syracuse, iii. 39.

Olympiads. Epochæ of the Olympiads, ii. 164.

Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus, is married to Philip, king of Macedonia, and has by that prince Alexander the Great, iv. 44. Philip repudiates her, 96. Alexander carries her to Epirus, 97. Polyperchon recalls her from Epirus, whither she had retired during Antipater's regency, and divides the government with her, 370. Olympias causes Arideus, and his wife Eurydice, to be put to death, 384-5. Cassander besieges her in Pydna, whither she had retired, takes her prisoner, and puts her to death, 385-6.

Olympic. Solemn games of Greece, i. xliii. ladies admitted to them, lvii.

Olynthus, city of Thrace, iii. 397. the Lacedæmonians declare war against it, ib. it is compelled to surrender, 400. Olynthus, upon the point of being besieged by Philip, implores the aid of the Athenians, iv. 57. Philip makes himself master of that city by the treason of two of its citizens, and plunders it, 61.

Onesicritus, philosopher and historian : Alexander deputed him to the Brachmans, to engage them to join in his train, iv. 280. he can prevail upon none of them to do so, except Calanus, 281.

Onesimus, Macedonian lord, not being able to dissuade Perseus from making war with the Romans, quits his party, and retires to Rome, vi. 36.

Onias, son of Jaddus, high-priest of the Jews, succeeds his father, iv. 366. his death, v. 3.

Onias, high-priest of the Jews, makes himself venerable for his piety, v. 419. he refuses Heliodorus the treasures kept in the temple of Jerusalem, ib., &c. he is deposed by the intrigues of Jason his brother, 423. his death, 425.

Onias, son of the former, having failed of the high-priesthood, retires into Egypt, vi. 141. he builds a temple there for the Jews, ib., &c.

Onomarchus, brother of Philomelus, general of the Phocæans, takes upon him the command of the troops in his stead, iv. 51. he is defeated by Philip, and killed in the battle, 53. his body is fastened to a gibbet, ib.

Onomastes, governor of Thrace for Philip, executes the cruel decree of that prince against the people of Maronea, v. 380.

Ophellas, governor of Libya and Cyrenaica, revolts against Ptolemy, and renders himself independent, iv. 411. he suffers himself to be seduced by Agathocles, and carries him troops into the country of the Carthaginians, i. 130. Agathocles puts him to death, 131.

Oppius, Roman proconsul, marches against Mithridates, and is taken prisoner, vi. 310.

Oracles : famous ones of antiquity, i. xxxiii. of Dodona, xxxiv. of Trophonius in Boeotia, ib. of the Branchidae, ib. of Claros, ib. of Delphi, xxxv. usual character of oracles, xxxvii. whether they are to be ascribed to the operation of devils, or the knavery of men, xxxviii.

Orations : funeral orations pronounced in Greece over the tombs of those who had died fighting for their country, ii. 437.

Orator : quality most essential to an orator, iv. 25, 26.

Orchestra, part of the theatre of the ancients, i. lxxx.

Orchomenus, part of Boeotia, where the battle between Sylla and Archelaus was fought, vi. 320.

Orestes, son and successor of Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, ii. 162.

Orestes, Roman commissary, goes to Corinth, and notifies to the Achæans the decree of the senate for separating several cities from their league, vi. 99, 100. he flies to escape the violence of the people, 100.

Oretes, governor of Asia Minor for Cambyzes, puts Polycrates to death, and seizes the island of Samos, ii. 89. Darius puts him to death, 227.

Oroandes, of Crete, promises Perseus to receive him into his ship, and embarks part of the riches of that prince, vi. 60. he runs away with those treasures, 61.

Orobazus is sent ambassador to Sylla by Arsaces, king of Parthia, to make an alliance with the Romans, vi. 306. Arsaces puts him to death at his return, 307.

Orodes, king of Parthia, vi. 219. war of that prince with the Romans under Crassus, ib. Orodes, jealous of the glory Surena had acquired by the defeat of Crassus, puts him to death, 239. grief of that prince for the death of his son Pacorus, 243. he chooses Phraates for his successor, who causes him to be put to death, 244.

Oromasdes, divinity worshipped by the Persians, ii. 140.

Orontes, son-in-law of Artaxerxes Mnemon, commands the land army of that prince in the war against Evagoras, iii. 194. he accuses Tiribazus falsely, 195. he terminates the war with Evagoras by a treaty of peace, ib. Artaxerxes punishes him for his false accusation, 200.

Orontes, governor of Mysia, joins with the provinces of Asia Minor in their revolt against Artaxerxes Mnemon, and then betrays them, iii. 456.

Orphans : Charondas's law in favour of them, ii. 427-8.

Orsaces, an old general, accompanies Pacorus in his expedition by order of Orodes, vi. 240. he is killed in a battle, 241.

Orsinis, governor of Pasargadæ, re-establishes good order throughout the whole province, iv. 295. he goes to meet Alexander with magnificent presents, ib. he is put to death in consequence of the secret intrigues of the eunuch Bagoas, 295-6.

Ortygia, island near Syracuse, iii. 38.

Osiris, Persian lord, marches at the head of an army against Megabyzus, ii. 374. he is defeated and taken prisoner, ib. Megabyzus generously sends him back to Artaxerxes, ib.

Ostanes, chief of the Magi, accompanies Xerxes in his expedition against Greece, ii. 335.

Ostracism, a kind of sentence amongst the Athenians, by which persons were condemned to banishment, ii. 276. the banishment of Hyperbolus puts an end to the ostracism, iii. 20.

Osymandias, king of Egypt, i. 50. magnificent edifices which he caused to be erected, ib. famous library formed by that prince, ib. his tombs surrounded with a circle of gold, which Cambyzes afterwards took away, ib.

Otanes, Persian lord, discovers the imposture of Smerdis the Magian, by the means of his daughter, ii. 93. he forms a conspiracy against that usurper, 94. he re-establishes Syllon, tyrant of Samos, 233-4.

Othryades, Lacedæmonian, obtains the

victory for the Lacedæmonians over the Argives by his valour, i. xciv. he kills himself upon the field of battle, ib.

Oxathres, brother of Darius, distinguishes himself in the battle of Issus, iv. 149. Alexander puts Bessus into his hands, to inflict upon that traitor the punishment he deserved, 240.

Oxyartes, Persian prince, entertains Alexander in his house, and gives him his daughter Roxana in marriage, iv. 257.

Oxydracæ, people of India, iv. 286. their capital besieged and taken by Alexander, ib. they submit to that prince, 283.

Oxyrinchus, city of the Lower Thebais, i. 33. wonder related of that city by the Abbé Fleury in his Ecclesiastical History, ib.

Pacorus, son of Orodes, king of the Parthians, enters Syria at the head of an army, and besieges Antioch, vi. 240. he raises the siege of that city, and is defeated in a battle, ib. he returns into Syria, and is defeated and killed in a battle, 243.

Padaretus, Lacedæmonian : his love of his country, ii. 177.

Pagan. Definition of a Pagan by Tertullian, ii. 366. See Paganism.

Paganism. General reflections upon paganism, i. xxii. &c. absurdities of paganism, xxxi-ii. what the highest perfection to be expected from it was, ii. 428.

Palamedes, tragedy written by Euripides on the occasion of the death of Socrates, iii. 246.

Palestine, province of Syria, i. xxi.

Palestræ, public schools in which the athletes exercised themselves in wrestling, i. xlvi.

Palica, city of Sicily, near which there was a temple famous for the sanctity of the oaths taken there, ii. 422.

Palisades, difference of those used by the Greeks and Romans in fortifying their camps, v. 280.

Panmenes commands the troops sent by the Thebans to the aid of Artabazus, and occasions his gaining two considerable victories, iv. 2.

Pammenes, Athenian general, marches to the aid of the city of Megalopolis, besieged by the Lacedæmonians, iv. 11.

Pamphylia, province of Asia Minor, i. xxi.

Panathenæa, festival celebrated at Athens, i. xxiv.

Pancratium, kind of combat amongst the ancients, i. l. &c.

Panætius, Stoic philosopher : he accompanies Scipio in his embassy to the kings of the East, vi. 155.

Pantauchus, Perseus's ambassador to Gentius, engages that prince in his master's interest against the Romans, vi. 46.

Panthea, wife of Abradates, is taken prisoner by Cyrus, ii. 22. conduct of that prince in regard to her, ib. she brings over her husband to Cyrus, 23. her discourse with him before he sets out for the battle,

35. the excess of her grief upon the death of Abradates, 40. she stabs herself with a dagger, and falls dead upon her husband, ib.

Paphlagonia, province of Asia Minor, i. xx.

Papira, mother of the second Scipio Africanus ; magnificent liberality of Scipio in regard to her, i. 249.

Papyrus, plant of Egypt : description of it, i. 42.

Paralus, last of the legitimate children of Pericles, dies of the plague, ii. 443.

Parasanga, measure of distance peculiar to the Persians, iii. 154.

Parchment : invention of parchment, i. 43.

Paris, Trojan, returning home with Helen, whom he had carried off, is driven by a tempest into one of the mouths of the Nile, i. 58. Proteus, king of Egypt, obliges him to leave Helen with him, and to quit Egypt, ib. Paris returns to Troy, ib.

Parmenio, one of Alexander's generals, is placed at the head of the infantry, in the expedition of that prince against the Persians, and does him great service, iv. 125. he seizes the pass of Syria, and makes himself master of the small city of Issus, 143. Alexander confides the treasures laid up in Damascus, and the keeping of the prisoners, to him, 156. Parmenio advises that prince to accept Darius's offers, 177. surprise of Parmenio, on seeing Alexander prostrate himself before the high-priest Jaddus, 180. Alexander causes him to be killed as an accomplice in the conspiracy of Philotas, 237-8. eulogy of Parmenio, 238.

Parmys, daughter of the true Smerdis, marries Darius, ii. 225.

Parricide. Reasons that prevented Solon from making any law against that crime, ii. 198.

Partheniæ, name given to the illegitimate children of the Lacedæmonians : when grown up, they banish themselves from Sparta, and settle at Tarentum in Italy, i. xciv.

Parthenon, temple of Minerva at Athens, ii. 391.

Parthia, country of the Parthians, province of Upper Asia, i. xx. beginning of the empire of the Parthians, vi. 216. kings of Parthia from Arsaces I. to Orodes, ib. &c.

Parysatis, sister and wife of Darius Nothus, iii. 3. her influence over her husband, ib. extreme fondness of Parysatis for her son Cyrus, ib. she obtains pardon of Artaxerxes for that son, and causes him to be sent back to his government, 109. cruelty and jealousy of Parysatis, 156-7. she poisons Statira, 157. Artaxerxes confines her in Babylon, 158.

Pasargada, city of Persia, submits to Alexander, iv. 217.

Patarbemis, officer of Apries, not having been able to seize Amasis in the midst of



the revolted Egyptians, is treated in the most cruel manner by that prince, i. 73.

Patisithes, chief of the Magi, places his brother Smerdis upon the throne of Persia, ii. 91. he is killed with his brother, 94.

Patroclus, governor of Babylon for Seleucus, abandons that city upon the approach of Demetrius, and retires into the marshes, iv. 408.

Patroclus commands the fleet sent by Ptolemy Philadelphus to the aid of the Athenians besieged by Antigonus Gonatas, v. 80. he returns into Egypt; and at Caunus causes Sotades the satiric poet to be put to death, ib.

Patroclus, Athenian, cites Demosthenes before the judges, as a violator of the laws, iv. 30. bad success of his accusation, ib.

Patron, general of the Greeks in the pay of Darius, advises that prince in vain to confide the guard of his person to the Greeks, iv. 218.

Paulus Emilius. See *Emilius*.

Pausanias, king of Lacedæmon, commands the army of the Greeks jointly with Aristides, and gains a great battle over the Persians, ii. 327. he makes the Lacedæmonians lose the chief command by his haughtiness, 343. his secret intrigues with the Persians, 345. he is discovered and punished, 347.

Pausanias, king of Lacedæmon, commands at the siege of Athens, iii. 104. he obtains peace for the Athenians, 118. he neglects to march to the aid of Lysander, and is summoned to take his trial on his return, 179. he refuses to appear, and is condemned to die, ib. he retires to Tegæa, and dies there, ib.

Pausanias, Macedonian prince, possesses himself of the throne of Macedonia, iv. 37. he is dethroned by Iphicrates, ib.

Pausanias, young Macedonian lord, cannot obtain satisfaction of Philip for an insult which he had received from Attalus, iv. 98. he assassinates Philip in revenge, and is torn in pieces upon the spot, 99.

Pausistratus, commander of the Rhodian fleet, is defeated by Polyxenides, Antiochus's admiral, and killed in the battle, v. 334.

Pay of the troops by sea and land amongst the ancients, iii. 300.

Pelagus teaches the first Greeks to live upon acorns, ii. 160.

Pella, capital of Macedonia, famous for the birth of Philip and Alexander, iv. 35.

Pelopidas, Theban: his character, iii. 401. his friendship with Epaminondas, ib. he abandons Thebes, and retires to Athens, 403. he forms the design of restoring the liberty of his country, ib. he is elected Brotoarch, 407. he drives the garrison out of the citadel, 408. he causes the Athenians to declare for the Thebans, 409. he gains an advantage over the Lacedæmonians near Tegyra, 412. he commands the sacred battalion at the battle of Leuctra, 415. he is created Brotoarch with Epaminondas, ravages Laconia, and ad-

vances to the gates of Sparta, 419. at his return he is accused and acquitted, 423. the Thebans send him ambassador to the court of Persia, 426. his influence with Artaxerxes, ib. Pelopidas marches against Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ, and reduces him to reason, 428. he goes to Macedonia to appease the troubles of that court, and brings away Philip as an hostage, 430. he returns into Thessaly, ib. he is seized and made prisoner by treachery, ib. he animates Thebe, wife of Alexander, against her husband, 432. he is delivered by Epaminondas, 433. Pelopidas marches against the tyrant, gains a victory over him, and is killed in the battle, 434, &c. singular honours paid to his memory, 436.

Pelopidas, one of the officers of Mithridates, is sent ambassador by that prince to demand satisfaction of the Romans, and to declare war against them in case of refusal, vi. 308.

Peloponnesus, province and peninsula of Greece, now called the Morea, ii. 155. Peloponnesian war, 431.

Pelops gives his name to Peloponnesus ii. 162.

Pelusium, city of Lower Egypt, i. 17.

Pensions. Manner of giving pensions by the kings of Persia, ii. 115.

Pentacosiomedimni, citizens of the first class at Athens, iii. 269.

Pentathlum, assemblage of several agonistic exercises amongst the Greeks, i. li.

Penthilus, son of Orestes, reigns at Mycenæ with his brother Tisamenus, ii. 162.

Perdiccas, son of Amyntas II. is placed upon the throne of Macedonia by Pelopidas, iii. 429. he is killed in a battle against the Illyrians, 430.

Perdiccas, one of Alexander's generals, receives that prince's ring a moment before his death, iv. 513. provinces which fell to him after the death of Alexander, 341. he is appointed guardian of Aridæus, and regent of the empire, 340. he puts Statira, Alexander's widow, to death, 343. he quells the revolt of the Greeks in Upper Asia, 344. he puts Eumenes into possession of Cappadocia, 359. he marries Cleopatra, Alexander's sister, 360. his unfortunate expedition into Egypt, 561. he is killed there, 563.

Pergamus, city of Great Mysia in Asia Minor, i. xxi. kings of Pergamus, cvi. the kingdom of Pergamus becomes a Roman province, vi. 159.

Periander, tyrant of Corinth, is ranked in the number of the seven sages, ii. 217.

Pericles, Athenian: his extraction, ii. 378. his education, ib. care that he takes to cultivate his mind by the study of the sciences, and to exercise himself in eloquence, ib., &c. means that he employs for conciliating the favour of the people, 383. he undertakes to reduce the power of the Areopagus, and succeeds in it, 384. Thucydides is opposed to him, 390. he adorns Athens with magnificent buildings, ib.

envy of the Athenians against Pericles, 391. he justifies himself, and causes Thucydides to be banished, 393. he changes his conduct in respect to the people, 394. his great authority, *ib.* his disinterestedness, 395 — Expeditions of Pericles into the Thracian Chersonesus, 399. about Peloponnesus, *ib.* and against Eubœa, 400. he reduces the Samians, and demolishes their walls, *ib.* he causes aid to be granted the people of Corcyra against the Corinthians, 401. trouble given him by his enemies, 407. he induces the Athenians to enter into a war with the Lacedæmonians, 410. and to shut themselves up within their walls, 434. he prevents them from taking the field, whilst their lands are ravaged, 435. he pronounces the funeral oration of the Athenians killed during the campaign, 437. the Athenians divest him of the command, and fine him, 442. grief of Pericles for the death of his son Paralus, 443. the Athenians reinstate him, and permit him to enrol his illegitimate sons amongst the citizens, 445. death of Pericles, 446. his panegyric, *ib.*, &c.

Pericles, son of the former, one of the Athenian generals who defeated the Lacedæmonians near the islands Arginusæ, is condemned with his colleagues to die, *iii.* 97.

Perinthus, city of Thrace, besieged by Philip, and delivered by the Athenians, *iv.* 77.

Perjury. Punishment of perjury in Egypt, *i.* 25.

Perpenna, Roman ambassador to Gentius, is imprisoned, *vi.* 47. Anicius delivers him, and sends him to Rome with the news of his victory, *ib.* Perpenna, when consul, marches against Aristonicus, defeats him in a battle, and takes him prisoner, 159. he dies on his return to Rome, *ib.*

Perseus, first king of Mycenæ, *ii.* 161.

Perseus, son of Philip, last king of Macedonia, forms a conspiracy against his brother Demetrius, and accuses him to Philip, *v.* 399. his speech against his brother, 404. Perseus removes from court to avoid his father's indignation, 417. he takes possession of the throne of Macedonia after his father's death, 418. he puts Antigonus, whom his father had chosen his successor, to death, *vi.* 2. he prepares secretly for war against the Romans, 3. he endeavours to gain allies, *ib.* he tries in vain to bring over the Achæans, *ib.* the Romans are informed of his secret measures, 6. Eumenes gives them fresh information concerning his proceedings, *ib.* Perseus endeavours to rid himself of that prince, first by assassination, 8. and afterwards by poison, *ib.* rupture between Perseus and the Romans, 9. interview of Perseus and Marcus, 12. war declared in form, 16. Perseus advances with his troops near the river Penetus, 21. battle of the cavalry, in which that prince gains a considerable advantage, and makes an

ill use of it, 23. he makes proposals of peace, which are rejected, 26. he takes fright upon the arrival of the consul Marcus in Macedonia, and leaves him the passage open, 33. he resumes courage soon after, 38. he solicits aid on all sides, 43. his avarice loses him considerable succours, 44. he is entirely defeated and put to flight by Paulus Æmilius at the battle of Pydna, 55, &c. he is taken prisoner with his children, 61. and serves as an ornament in the triumph of Paulus Æmilius, 71. death of Perseus, *ib.*

Persepolis, capital city of Persia, subjected by Alexander, who burns the palace of it in a drunken revel, *iv.* 215, &c.

Persia, province of Asia, *i.* xx. foundation of the Persian empire by Cyrus, *ii.* 67. kings who reigned in Persia: Cyrus, *ib.* Cambyzes, 83. Smerdis the Magian, 91. Darius, son of Hystaspes, 224. Xerxes, 282. Artaxerxes Longimanus, 358. Xerxes *ii.* *iii.* 1. Sogdianus, *ib.* Darius Nothus, 2. Artaxerxes Mnemon, 108. Ochus, *iv.* 1. Arses, 22. Darius Codomanus, *ib.* destruction of the empire of the Persians by Alexander, 220. vices which occasioned the decline, and at length the ruin, of the Persian empire, 221. manners and customs of the Persians, *ii.* 96. education of the Persians in the time of Cyrus, 2. government of the Persians, 97. form of it monarchical, *ib.* coronation of their kings, *iii.* 108-9. respect paid to them, *ii.* 97. manner of educating their children, 98. public council of the Persians, 100. administration of justice, 102. attention to the provinces, 106. invention of posts and couriers, 110. care of their finances, 113. of war, 115. entrance into the troops, 116. arms of the Persians, *ib.* their chariots armed with scythes, 117. military discipline of the Persians, 119. their order of battle, 120. quality of the Persian troops in the time of Cyrus, and after that prince, 124. arts and sciences of the Persians, 126. their religion, 136. marriages and burials, 141.

Petalism, kind of sentence established at Syracuse, *ii.* 422.

Petra, a very strong place in the country of the Nabathæan Arabians, *iv.* 407.

Petra Oxiana, inaccessible rock, *iv.* 248. Alexander makes himself master of it, 249, &c.

Peucestes, one of Alexander's captains, distinguishes himself at the siege of the city of Oxydraca, *iv.* 287. provinces which fell to him after the death of Alexander, 341. he opposes the progress of Pithon, and drives him out of Media, 384.

Phalanthus, general of the Spartans, called Partheniæ, settles them at Tarentum, *i.* xc.

Phalanx, Macedonian; description of it, *iv.* 45.

Phalaris, his bull taken at the siege of Agrigentum, and sent to Carthage, *i.* 113.

Phalecus is appointed general of the Phœceans during the sacred war, in the room of Phayllus, *iv.* 53. he pillages the

temple of Delphi, as the other had done, and is deposed, *ib.*

Phalerus, port of Athens, *ii.* 340.

Phameas, general of the Carthaginian cavalry, dares not to take the field when Scipio is to support the foragers, *i.* 237. he goes over to the Romans, *ib.*

Phanes of Halicarnassus, general of the Greek auxiliaries in the army of Amasis, upon some discontent goes over to Cambyses, *ii.* 83. the Greeks in the king of Egypt's service murder his children in revenge, 84.

Pharaoh, name common to the kings of Egypt, *i.* 51. one of them gives his daughter to Solomon in marriage, 61.

Pharisees, powerful sect in Judæa, *vi.* 175. persecution of Alexander Jannæus and his party by the Pharisees, 191. end of their tyranny, 206.

Pharnabazus, governor of Asia, and general of the troops of Darius and Artaxerxes, kings of Persia, aids the Lacedæmonians against the Athenians, *iii.* 80. he makes peace with the latter, 83. he sends complaints against Lysander to Sparta, 121. his whole province is ravaged by Agesilaus, 173. interview of Agesilaus and Pharnabazus, 176. the latter is charged by Artaxerxes with the war against Egypt, 451. the enterprise miscarries through his fault, 452.

Pharnaces makes the army revolt against his father Mithridates, and is elected king in his stead, *vi.* 367. he is declared the friend and ally of the Romans, 369. he is defeated and driven out of Pontus by Cæsar, 390.

Pharnacias, eunuch of Xerxes II. supplies Sogdianus with the means of assassinating that prince, *iii.* 1.

Pharos, its famous tower or light-house, *v.* 19.

Phasael, brother of Herod, is made governor of Jerusalem, *vi.* 212. he is taken by the Parthians and put in irons, *ib.* he kills himself to avoid the ignominy of punishment, *ib.*

Phayllus, general of the Phocians during the sacred war, plunders the temple of Delphi to defray the expenses of that war, *iv.* 53. his death, *ib.*

Phayllus, of Crotona, athlete: his affection for the Greeks, and valour, *iv.* 205.

Phebidas, Lacedæmonian, sets out from Sparta at the head of a body of troops against Olynthus, *iii.* 397. he seizes the citadel of Thebes by fraud, 398. he is deprived of the command, and fined, 399.

Phedyma, daughter of Otanes, and wife of Smerdis the Magian, discovers that usurper's imposture, *ii.* 93, 94. she marries Darius after the death of Smerdis, 225.

Phœnicia, province of Syria, *i.* xxi. revolt of Phœnicia against Oclius, *iv.* 14.

Pherendates, Persian lord, made governor of Egypt by Oclius, *iv.* 19.

Pherenicus, one of the principal conspirators against the tyrants of Thebes, *iii.* 403.

Pheron, king of Egypt, *i.* 57. action of that prince against the Nile, 57, 58.

Phidias, famous painter and sculptor: Pericles gives him the direction of the public buildings at Athens, *ii.* 392. ingratitude of the Athenians to Phidias, 407.

Phila, Antipater's daughter, is married to Craterus, *iv.* 355. after the death of Craterus she marries Demetrius Poliorcetes, 356. she kills herself by poison, *v.* 15. praise of that princess, *iv.* 356.

Phila, daughter of Selencus and Stratonice, marries Antiochus Gonatas, *v.* 45.

Philadelphus, name given ironically to Ptolemy II. king of Egypt, *v.* 18. See Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Philammon assassinate Arsinoë, sister and wife of Ptolemy Philopator, *v.* 179. he is beaten to death with staves by the ladies of honour to that princess, 250.

Philani, two brothers, citizens of Carthage, sacrifice their lives for the good of their country, *i.* 103. the Carthaginians out of gratitude consecrate two altars to them, *ib.*

Philanius, Lacedæmonian, accompanies Hannibal in his expeditions, and composes the history of that great captain, *i.* 221-2.

Philetærus, founder of the kingdom of Pergamus, *i.* cvi. *v.* 82. means which he uses for supporting himself in that kingdom, 82.

Philemon, comic poet, preferred by the Greeks to Menander in his own lifetime, *i.* lxxx.

Philidas, one of the conspirators against the tyrants of Thebes, finds means to make himself their secretary, *iii.* 403. on the day fixed by the conspirators, he invites the tyrants to a supper, 404. the conspirators kill them at his house, 406.

Philip, son of Amyntas II. king of Macedonia: his birth, *iv.* 35. Pelopidas carries him to Thebes as a hostage, 38. he flies from Thebes into Macedonia, and is placed upon the throne, *ib.* beginning of his reign, 39. he makes a captious peace with the Athenians, 40. his first conquests, 42. birth of Alexander, 44. Philip's care of his education, *ib.* he endeavours to subject Thrace, and takes Methone, at the siege of which place he loses an eye, 52. he conciliates the amity of the Thesalians, and expels their tyrants, *ib.* he endeavours to seize the pass of Thermopylæ in vain, 53. takes the city of Olynthus, notwithstanding the efforts of the Athenians to prevent it, 61. he declares for the Thebans against the Phocians, and begins in that manner to share in the sacred war, *ib.* he lulls the Athenians with a false peace and false promises, 62, 63. he seizes Thermopylæ, reduces the Phocians, and terminates the sacred war, 66. he causes himself to be admitted into the council of the Amphictyons, 67. —Philip, on his return into Macedonia, pushes his conquests into Illyrium and Thrace, 68. he enters into a league with the Thebans, Argives, and Messenians,

for attacking Peloponnesus with their joint forces, 71. Athens, declaring for the Lacedæmonians, breaks that league, 73. Philip makes an attempt upon Eubœa, *ib.* Phocion drives him out of that island, 75. Philip, forms the siege of Perinthus and Byzantium, 78. Phocion obliges him to raise both those sieges, 81. Philip subjects Atheas, king of the Scythians, and the Triballi, people of Mæsia, 82. by his intrigues he causes himself to be declared generalissimo of the Greeks in the council of the Amphictyons, 85, &c. he seizes Platæa, *ib.* the Athenians and Thebans enter into a league against him, 88. he makes proposals of peace, which are rejected by the advice of Demosthenes, 89. battle of Charonea, in which Philip gains a great victory, 90. Philip, in the council of the Amphictyons, causes himself to be declared general of the Greeks against the Persians, and prepares for that great expedition 96. domestic troubles in his family, *ib.* he repudiates Olympias, and marries another wife, 97. he celebrates the nuptials of Cleopatra his daughter, with Alexander, king of Epirus, and is killed in the midst of them, 98. memorable actions and sayings of Philip, 100. good and bad qualities of that prince, *ib.*, &c.

Philip, son of Demetrius, ascends the throne of Macedonia, v. 158. his affection for Aratus, 182. he takes upon him the defence of the Achæans against the Ætolians, 183. different expeditions of Philip against the enemies of the Achæans, 183. strange abuse that Apelles his minister makes of his confidence, 190. irruption of Philip into Ætolia, 195-6. he takes Thermæ by surprise, 196. excesses committed there by his soldiers, *ib.* prudence which he shows in his retreat, 198. troubles in his camp, 199. punishment of the authors of them, *ib.* irruption of Philip into Læconia, *ib.* new intrigue of the conspirators, 200. their punishment, 202. Philip takes Thebes of Plithiotis from the Ætolians, 205. he concludes a peace with them, 206. —Philip concludes a treaty with Hannibal, 208. he makes preparations for carrying the war into Italy, 209. he is surprised and defeated by the Romans at Apollonia, 210. his change of conduct, *ib.* his bad faith and irregularities, *ib.* he causes Aratus to be poisoned, 211. he makes himself master of the city and castle of Lissus, 212-13. he gains several advantages over the Ætolians, 216. he is repulsed near the city of Elis, 218. different actions of Philip against Sulpitius, 226, &c. he makes peace with the Romans, 244. he enters into a league with Antiochus for invading the dominions of Ptolemy Epiphanes, 251. bad success of Philip against Attalus and the Rhodians, 252. his cruel treatment of the Carians, *ib.* he besieges and takes Abydos, 253, &c. he ravages Attica, 257. the Romans declare war against him, 258. —Philip makes ineffectual attempts against Athens, 259. he endeavours to bring over

the Ætolians to his party, 261. he is defeated in a battle by Sulpitius, 264. he is reduced to abandon the defiles along the Apsus, 270. ineffectual interview of Philip with Flaminius concerning peace, 276-7. he is defeated by Flaminius near Scotussa and Cynoscephalas in Thessalia, 284. the Romans grant him peace, 290. Philip aids Quintius against Nabis, 298, &c. his conduct to Scipio, 300. Philip's causes of discontent from the Romans, 375, &c. the Romans order him to evacuate the cities of Thrace, 379. he vents his rage upon the inhabitants of Maronea, 380. he sends his son Demetrius on an embassy to Rome, 381. complaints against Philip carried to Rome, 395. the Romans send back his son with ambassadors, 396. Philip prepares to renew the war with the Romans, 397. plot of Perseus against Demetrius, 399. he accuses him to Philip, 402. upon a new accusation Philip causes Demetrius to be put to death, 415. he discovers his innocence some time after, and Perseus's guilt, 416-17. whilst he meditates the punishment of the latter he dies, 418.

Philip pretends himself son of Perseus, and seizes the kingdom of Macedonia, vi. 96. he is defeated and killed by Tremellius, 99.

Philip, one of Alexander's captains. provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, iv. 341.

Philip, in concert with his brother Antiochus, destroys the city of Mopsuestia, to avenge the death of his brother Seleucus, vi. 182. he reigns in Syria with his brother Demetrius, after having driven out Eusebes, *ib.* Philip's death, 184.

Philip, Phrygian, is made governor of Judæa by Antiochus Epiphanes, v. 429.

Philip, foster-brother and favourite of Antiochus Epiphanes, is made governor by that prince of his son Antiochus Eupator, and regent of Syria, v. 451. Lysias usurps that employment from him, vi. 126. Philip retires into Egypt, *ib.*

Philip of Acarnania, physician, known from the salutary draught which he gave Alexander, iv. 138.

Philipsburgh, town of Germany, besieged and taken by the French, v. 364.

Philiscus is sent by the king of Persia to reconcile the states of Greece, iii. 426.

Philistus, rich citizen of Syracuse, pays a fine for Dionysius, iii. 312. Dionysius banishes him, 312. Dionysius the younger recalls him to court, 352. death of Philistus, 367. he may be considered as a great historian, 352.

Philocrates, Macedonian, devoted to Perseus, is sent by Philip on an embassy to Rome, v. 414. at his return he delivers a forged letter to that prince under the counterfeited seal of T. Quintius, which occasions the death of Demetrius, 415. Philip causes him to be seized, and put to the torture, in which he dies, 417.

Philocrates, one of the Athenian generals, is defeated and made prisoner with his col-

leagues at the battle of *Ægospotamos*, iii. 103. he is put to death, ib.

*Philomelus*, general of the *Phocæans*, sets them against the decree of the *Amphictyons*, and induces them to take arms, iv. 50. he makes himself master of the temple of *Delphi*, and takes the riches of it to pay his troops, ib. he is defeated in a battle, and throws himself headlong from the top of a rock, 51.

*Philonides*, runner to *Alexander* the Great, famous for his swiftness, i. liii.

*Philopœmen*, *Megalopolitan*, induces his fellow-citizens to reject the offers of *Cleomenes*, v. 149. he signalizes himself at the battle of *Selasia*, 154. he distinguishes himself in the battle near the city of *Elis*, 218. his education, ib. his great qualities, 219. he is elected general of the horse by the *Achæans*, 221. he reforms the *Achæan* troops, 222. he is elected captain-general of the *Achæans*, 236. he gains a famous victory over *Machinidas*, tyrant of *Sparta*, and kills him in the battle, 239. the *Achæans* erect a statue to him, 240. honours which he receives in the assembly at the *Nemæan* games, 241. *Philopœmen* is defeated at sea by the tyrant *Nabis*, 313. he gains a famous victory over that tyrant near *Sparta*, ib. after the death of *Nabis* he seizes *Sparta*, and obliges that city to enter into the *Achæan* league, 318. he refuses the presents offered him by the *Spartans*, 319. he secretly favours the *Spartan* exiles, and causes war to be declared against that city, 359-60. he makes himself master of *Sparta*, and reinstates the exiles, 360. he attacks *Messene*, and is taken prisoner, 385. the *Messenians* put him to death, 386. honours paid to his memory, 387. trial, of *Philopœmen* after his death, 388.

*Philosophers*; *Philosophy*. It is wonderfully proper for forming the hero, iii. 445. the study of this science incompatible with slavery, ii. 423.

*Philotas*, son of *Parmenio*, commands a body of horse in *Alexander's* expedition against *Persia*, iv. 125. pretended conspiracy of *Philotas* against *Alexander*, 233, &c. he is put to death, 237.

*Philotas*, governor of *Upper Asia*, is put to death by *Pithon*, iv. 344.

*Philoxenus*, poet: favourite of *Dionysius* the tyrant; his generous frankness, iii. 340, &c.

*Philoxenus*, *Macedonian*, seizes *Harpalus*, and causes him to be put to the torture, iv. 302.

*Phocæa*, city of *Ionia*, is condemned to be destroyed by the *Romans*, vi. 159. the people of *Marseilles*, originally descended from that city, obtain pardon for it, ib.

*Phocion*, general of the *Athenians*, drives *Philip* out of *Eubœa*, iv. 75. he makes that prince raise the siege of *Perrhinus* and *Byzantium*, 81. he rejects the offers of *Harpalus*, 300. he endeavours in vain to prevent the *Athenians* from engaging in the *Lamian* war, 345. he is condemned to die by the *Athenians*, 372.

his body is carried out of the territory of *Attica*, 373. the *Athenians* erect a statue to him, and inter his bones honourably, 377. character and eulogy of *Phocion*, 74, 300, &c.

*Phocis*, part of *Greece*, ii. 157. it is ravaged by *Xerxes*, 310. the *Lacedæmonians* deprive the people of *Phocis* of the custody of the temple of *Delphi*, 399. *Perricles* restores it to them, 400. the *Phocæans* till the ground consecrated to *Apollo*, iv. 49. they are declared guilty of sacrilege, and are fined, 50. they take arms against the decree of the *Amphictyons*, ib. the latter make war against the *Phocæans*, ib. *Philip* reduces them, 66.

*Phoenix*, fabulous bird: wonders related of it, i. 18.

*Phoroneus*, king of *Argos*, ii. 161.

*Phraates* I. son of *Priapatus*, king of the *Parthians*, iv. 218.

*Phraates* II. succeeds his father *Mithridates* in the kingdom of *Parthia*, vi. 217. he is defeated three times by *Antiochus Sidetes*, 162. he releases *Demetrius*, 163. he defeats *Antiochus*, who is killed in the battle, 164. he marries one of that prince's daughters, ib. he is defeated by the *Scythians*, who had called in *Antiochus* to their aid, and is killed in his flight, ib.

*Phraates* III. surnamed *Theos*, king of the *Parthians*, vi. 217. he makes an alliance with the *Romans* during the war with *Mithridates*, ib. he espouses the part of *Tigranes* the younger against the father, 218. death of *Phraates*, ib.

*Phraates* IV. is placed by his father *Orodes* upon the *Parthian* throne, vi. 244. he puts his brothers, father, and his son, to death, ib.

*Phraortes*, king of the *Medes*, succeeds his father *Dejoces*, i. 300. he makes himself master of almost all *Upper Asia*, 301. he makes war against the *Assyrians*, ib. he is defeated, ib. *Nabuchodonosor* puts him to death, ib.

*Phrataphernes*, one of *Alexander's* generals: provinces which fell to him after that prince's death, iv. 341.

*Phrygia*, province of *Asia Minor*, i. xxi.

*Phrynicus*, one of the *Athenian* generals, opposes the recall of *Alcibiades*, iii. 75. he is deprived of the command, 76.

*Phrynon* commands the army of the *Athenians* sent against *Mitylene*, ii. 216. he accepts the challenge of *Pittacus*, and is killed, ib.

*Phyllus*, *Lacedæmonian* officer, is killed at the siege of *Sparta* by *Pyrrhus*, fighting valiantly, v. 72.

*Physacon*. See *Ptolemy Euergetes*, surnamed *Physcon*.

*Phyto*, general of the troops of *Rhegium*, defends that city against *Dionysius*, iii. 335. *Dionysius*, after having made him suffer great indignities, puts him to death, 336.

*Pindar*, Greek lyric poet, character of his works, ii. 419.

Piræus, port of Athens, ii. 340.

Piromis, name given to kings said by the Egyptian priests to have reigned in Egypt, i. 64.

Pisander, Athenian captain, induces the people of Athens to recall Alcibiades, iii. 75-6. the Athenians send him to treat with Alcibiades and Tissaphernes, ib. at his return he changes the form of the government, ib.

Pisander, Lacedæmonian, is appointed by Agesilaus his brother-in-law to command the fleet in his stead, iii. 174. he is defeated by Conon near Cnidus, and killed in the battle, 182.

Pisistratus, Athenian, makes himself tyrant of Athens, ii. 200. lenity of his government, 201. his death, 202. his character, ib. library founded by him at Athens, ib.

Piso (Calpurnius) consul, commands at the siege of Carthage before the arrival of Scipio, i. 237.

Pisutlides, governor of Lydia for Darius, revolts against that prince, iii. 3. he is taken and put to death, 4.

Pithon, one of Alexander's captains, is made governor of Media by Antipater, iv. 365. he causes Philotas to be put to death, and takes possession of his government, 384. he is driven out of Media by Peucestes, and obliged to retire to Seleucus, ib. Antigonus puts him to death, 398.

Pittacus of Mitylene, one of the seven sages of Greece, drives out the tyrant who oppressed his country, ii. 216. he commands the army against the Athenians, ib. he challenges Phrynon their general to single combat, and kills him, ib. the inhabitants of Mitylene give him the sovereignty of their city, ib. he voluntarily abdicates his authority at the expiration of ten years, and retires, 217. his death, ib.

Places. Attack and defence of places by the ancients, ii. 122, &c.

Plague, contagious distemper, ii. 439. description of that disease, ib.

Platææ, city of Bæotia, ii. 156. the Platæans acquire glory at the battle of Marathou, 269. they refuse to submit to Xerxes, 300. the Greeks decree the prize of valour to them after the defeat of Marodonius, 330. the Platæans institute an anniversary festival in honour of those who died in the battle, 332. siege of Platææ by the Thebans, 432. Platææ besieged and taken by the Lacedæmonians, 453. the Thebans demolish it entirely, iii. 413. the Platæans retire to Athens, ib. they induce Alexander to destroy Thebes, iv. 119. that prince permits them to rebuild their city, 205.

Plato, philosopher of Athens: he retires to Megara to avoid the rage of the Athenians, iii. 245. Plato's travels into Sicily, where he appears for the first time at the court of Dionysius the younger, 325. his intimacy and friendship with Dion, 326. Plato's second voyage into Sicily, 331. wonderful change occasioned by his pre-

sence at the court of Dionysius the younger, 332-3. conspiracy of the courtiers to prevent its effects, 334. Plato quits the court, and returns into Greece, 336. adventure that happens to him at Olympia, ib. he returns to the court of Dionysius the younger, 338. Dionysius differs with him, 339. he permits him to return into Greece, ib. Plato's death, iv. 20.

Plenmyrium, isle near Syracuse, iii. 39.

Plistarchus, son of Leonidas, king of Sparta, ii. 316.

Plisthenes, son of Atreus, king of Mycenæ, ii. 162.

Plistonax, king of Lacedæmonia, takes pains to cause a treaty to be concluded between Athens and Sparta, -iii. 12. his death, 90.

Plutarch of Eretria calls in the Athenians to the aid of Eubœa, besieged by Philip, iv. 73. his perfidy, 75. Phocion drives him out of Eretria, ib.

Pœcile, Παικίλη, gallery or porch of paintings at Athens, where the Stoics used to assemble, ii. 275.

Pœm, epic and dramatic, i. lxiii-iv.

Poesy. Greek poets, ii. 207, &c. emulation of the poets in disputing the prizes in the Olympic games, i. lxiii. poets who invented and improved tragedy and comedy, lxv.

Polemarch, magistrate at Athens, employed both to administer justice and command armies, ii. 269.

Poliorectes: name given Demetrius, son of Antigonus, iv. 401.

Polyænus, senator of Syracuse, harangues the people upon the action of Andranadorus, after the death of Hieronymus, vi. 276.

Polybidas, Lacedæmonian, is charged with the war against Olynthus, and takes that city, iii. 400.

Polybius, Greek historian: his function at the funeral of Philopœmen, v. 387. he is chosen ambassador to Ptolemy Epiphanes by the Achæans, 394. he is elected general of the horse by the Achæans, vi. 29. he is deputed to the consul Marcius, to whom he presents the decree of the Achæans, 31. he returns to Achaia, 33. he saves the Achæans a considerable expense, 35. he is included in the number of the exiles, and carried to Rome, 82. his great friendship with the second Scipio Africanus, ib. return of Polybius into Achaia, 107. zeal of Polybius in defending Philopœmen's memory, ib. proof which he gives of his disinterestedness, 108. he establishes good order and tranquillity in his country, ib. he returns to Scipio at Rome, and accompanies him to the siege of Numantia, ib. after Scipio's death he returns into his own country, where he ends his days, ib.

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Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, ii. 89. singular history of that tyrant, ib., &c. his miserable end, 91.

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Epiphanes, renders that prince great services, v. 373.

Polydamas, famous athlete of antiquity, i. xlviii.

Polydectes, king of Sparta, and brother of Lycurgus, i. xciii.

Polydorus, brother of Jason, tyrant of Phææ, succeeds him, and is soon after killed by Polyphron his other brother, iii. 429.

Polygamy. It was allowed in Egypt, i. 26.

Polygnotus, famous painter: generous action of his towards the Athenians, ii. 275.

Polyperchon, Syracusan, in concert with Leptines, kills Callippus, Dion's murderer, iii. 377.

Polyphron is substituted in the room of Jason, tyrant of Phææ, his brother, iii. 429. he kills Polydorus his other brother, and is soon after killed himself by Alexander of Phææ, ib.

Polysperchon, one of the generals of Alexander's army, reduces a country called Bubacene, iv. 257. he ridicules a Persian for prostrating himself before Alexander, 260. that prince causes him to be put in prison, and pardons him soon after, ib. Polysperchon takes the city of Ora, 268. he is appointed regent of the kingdom, and governor of Macedonia by Antipater, 369. he recalls Olympias, 370. he endeavours to secure Greece to himself, 371. he is driven out of Macedonia by Cassander, 383. he causes Hercules, the son of Alexander, and his mother Barsina, to be put to death, 409.

Polystratus, Macedonian soldier, carries drink to Darius at the point of death, and receives his last words, iv. 220.

Polyxenides, admiral of the fleet of Antiochus the Great, is defeated by Livius, and reduced to fly, v. 331. he defeats Pausistratus, who commanded the fleet of Rhodes, by a stratagem, 334. he is defeated by Æmilius, and compelled to retire to Ephesus, 336.

Polyxenus, brother-in-law of Dionysius, having declared against that prince, flies to avoid falling into his hands, iii. 332.

Polyzelus, brother of Hiero I. king of Syracuse, gives his brother umbrage, ii. 417. Theron, his son-in-law, takes his part. peace is made by the mediation of the poet Simonides, 418.

Pompeius (L.) Roman officer, commands a small body of troops during the war with Persens, and retires to an eminence, where he defends himself valiantly, vi. 27.

Pompey succeeds Lucullus in the war against Mithridates, vi. 353. his conduct upon arriving in his government, 354. he offers Mithridates peace, 357. he gains several victories over that prince, 358. he marches into Armenia against Tigranes, who comes and surrenders himself to him, 359. he pursues Mithridates, and in his way subjects the Albanians and Iberians,

361, &c. tired of following Mithridates, he comes to Syria, of which he takes possession, and puts an end to the empire of the Seleucidae, 362. he marches to Pontus, 364. he returns into Syria, 365. Pompey's expeditions into Arabia, 369. he takes Jerusalem, enters the temple, and even the Holy of Holies, 210. after having reduced all the cities of Pontus, he returns to Rome, 369. he receives the honour of a triumph, 370. after his defeat at Pharsalia, he retires into Egypt, 380. he is killed, 381.

Pontus, kingdom of Asia Minor, i. xx. chronological abridgment of the history of the kings of Pontus, cvii.

Popilius (C.) is sent ambassador into Egypt, in order to put an end to the war there, v. 431. he obliges Antiochus to quit Egypt, and leave the two Ptolemies, brothers, in quiet possession of it, 435. he is sent into Peloponnesus to publish the decree of the senate there in favour of the Greeks, vi. 29.

Porphyry, Tyrian, a learned Pagan, declared enemy of Christianity and the Holy Scriptures, v. 459.

Porus, Indian king, refuses to submit to Alexander, iv. 270. he is defeated and taken prisoner, 273. Alexander restores to him his dominions, 276.

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Pothinus, Ptolemy's minister, dethrones Cleopatra, vi. 380. he advises the death of Pompey, 381. he endeavours to render Caesar odious to the Egyptians, 383. he prevents the effect of Caesar's decree, and makes the Egyptians take arms against him, 385. Caesar causes him to be put to death, 386.

Potidaæ, city of Macedonia, revolts against the Athenians, to whom it was tributary, ii. 403. it is besieged and taken by the Athenians, ib. Philip takes that city from them, iv. 42.

Poverty. Love of poverty instituted at Sparta, iii. 257.

Prexaspes, confidant of Cambyses, kills Smerdis by that prince's order, ii. 88. his base and inonstrous flattery of Cambyses, 89. he promises the Magi to declare before the people Smerdis the Magian the true son of Cyrus, 94. he speaks to the people from the top of a tower, declares the contrary to them, throws himself down from the top of the tower, and is killed, ib.

Priapatius, son and successor of Arsaces II. king of the Parthians, vi. 217.

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Procles, son of Aristodemus, reigns at Sparta with his brother Eurysthenes, i. xcii.

Proculeius, Roman officer, comes to Cleopatra in her retirement, and advises her to put herself into Cæsar's hands, vi. 409. makes himself master of the person of that princess, 410. Cæsar orders him to ask her what she desires of him, ib.

Prodicus : name given by the Lacedæmonians to the guardian of the kings, i. xciii.

Proteus, king of Argos, ii. 161.

Promachus, one of Alexander's officers, dies in a debauch with that prince, iv. 298.

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Proteus, king of Egypt, i. 58. he detains Helen and her riches, and restores her to Menelaus, ib. &c.

Prothous, senator of Sparta, opposes the war against the Thebans, but is disregarded, iii. 415.

Protenes, famous painter, Demetrius's regard for him during the siege of Rhodes, iv. 438.

Protomachus, one of the Athenian generals that gained the victory near the islands Arginusæ, and were condemned at their return, iii. 93.

Providence. Discourse of Socrates upon Providence, iii. 221.

Proxenus, of Bœotia, commands a body of Grecian troops in the army of Cyrus the younger, against his brother Artaxerxes, iii. 126. he is seized by treachery, and put to death, 142. character of Proxenus, 143.

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Ptolemais, daughter of Ptolemy Soter, is married to Demetrius Poliorcetes, v. 15.

Ptolemy, son of Amyntas II. disputes the crown with Perdiccas, iii. 429. Pelopidas excludes him from the throne, 430.

Ptolemy, son of Seleucus, is killed at the battle of Ipsus, iv. 150.

Ptolemy I. son of Lagus, one of Alexander's generals, takes several cities of India, iv. 267. he is dangerously wounded

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Ptolemy V. called Epiphanes, at the age of five years ascends the throne of Egypt, after the death of Ptolemy Philopator, v. 249. Antiochus the Great and Philip enter into a league to invade his dominions, 251. Ptolemy is put under the guardianship of the Romans, 257. Aristomenes, the young king's guardian for the Romans, takes Palestine and Cœle-syria from Antiochus, 267. Antiochus retakes those provinces, 268. Scopas's conspiracy against Ptolemy frustrated by Aristomenes, 296. Ptolemy is declared of age, ib. he marries Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus, 309. he makes an alliance with the Achæans, 371. he treats Hyrcanus, the son of Joseph, with great marks of favour and friendship, ib. &c. he takes a disgust to Aristomenes, and puts him to death, he abandons himself to all sorts of excesses, 372. the Egyptians form several conspiracies against him, 373. Ptolemy chooses Polycrates for his prime minister, ib. with that minister's assistance

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Ptolemy VII. called Euergetes II. and Physcon, son of Ptolemy Epiphanes, is placed by the Alexandrians upon the throne of Egypt in his eldest brother's stead, v. 429. the two brothers unite and reign jointly, 432. they prepare to defend themselves against the attacks of Antiochus, 432-3. the Romans oblige that prince to leave those two princes in tranquillity, 435. Physcon dethrones Philometor, vi. 130. the Romans divide the kingdom between the two brothers, 131. Physcon, dissatisfied with the part given to him, goes to Rome, and demands to be put in possession of the island of Cyprus, ib. the Romans adjudge it to him, 132. the people of Cyrenaica oppose Physcon's entrance into their country, ib. that prince re-establishes himself in that country, and gives occasion to attempts against his life by his bad conduct, 133. he makes a second voyage to Rome, and carries his complaints thither against his brother, ib. he undertakes to make himself master of the island of Cyprus, ib. Philometor defeats and takes him prisoner, and afterwards generously restores him his dominions, ib.—Physcon marries Cleopatra, the widow of Philometor, ascends the throne of Egypt, and puts his brother's son to death, 144. Physcon's

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Ptolemy VIII. called Lathyrus, succeeds his father Physcon, vi. 171. Cleopatra, his mother, obliges him to repudiate his eldest sister, and marry Selene his youngest, *ib.* Lathyrus aids Antiochus the Cyprian against John Hyrcanus, 174. Cleopatra takes her daughter Selene from Lathyrus, and obliges him to quit Egypt, and content himself with the kingdom of Cyprus, 177. Lathyrus sends an army to besiege Ptolemais, and marches in person against Alexander, king of the Jews, over whom he gains a great victory, 178. barbarous action of Lathyrus after the battle, *ib.* he raises the siege of Ptolemais, 179. he makes an ineffectual attempt against Egypt, *ib.* he is recalled by the Alexandrians, and replaced upon the throne of Egypt, 184. a rebellion rises up against him in Egypt, *ib.* Lathyrus destroys Thebes, whither the rebels had retired, *ib.* he dies soon after, *ib.*

Ptolemy IX. king of Egypt. See Alexander I. son of Physcon.

Ptolemy X. son of Alexander I. king of Egypt. See Alexander II.

Ptolemy XI. surnamed Auletes, is placed by the Alexandrians upon the throne of Egypt, in the room of Alexander II. vi. 191. he causes himself to be declared the friend and ally of the Roman people by the influence of Cæsar and Pompey, 372. he oppresses his subjects in consequence with taxations, *ib.* he is dethroned, *ib.* the Alexandrians substitute his daughter Berenice in his place, *ib.* he goes to Rome, and with money gains the suffrages of the principal persons of the commonwealth for his re-establishment, 373. he causes most of the ambassadors, sent by the Egyptians to Rome to justify their revolt, to be murdered, 374. an oracle of the Sibyl is set up against him, *ib.* Gabinius reinstates him upon the throne, 378-9. Auletes puts his daughter Berenice to death, 379. his ingratitude and perfidy to Rabirius, *ib.* death of Auletes, 380.

Ptolemy XII. son of Ptolemy Auletes, reigns after his father with his sister Cleopatra, vi. 380. he expels Cleopatra, *ib.* he causes Pompey to be assassinated by the advice of Theodotus, 381. Cæsar makes himself judge between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, 383. he secures the person of Ptolemy, 384. he releases him, 383. Pto-

lemy renews the war against Cæsar, *ib.* he is defeated, and drowned in the Nile endeavouring to escape, 389.

Ptolemy I. king of Cyprus, brother of Ptolemy Auletes, is deposed by the Romans, who confiscate his treasures, vi. 196. he poisons himself, *ib.*

Ptolemy II. son of Ptolemy Auletes, is made king of Cyprus by Cæsar, vi. 384. Cæsar gives him the crown of Egypt jointly with Cleopatra, 389. death of Ptolemy, poisoned by that princess, 391.

Ptolemy, son of Antony and Cleopatra, is proclaimed king of Syria, by Antony, vi. 399.

Ptolemy Apion, natural son of Physcon, is made king of Cyrenaica, by his father, vi. 171. he leaves his kingdom to the Romans at his death, 181.

Ptolemy Ceraunus, or the Thunder, son of Ptolemy Soter, quits the court and retires first to Lysimachus, and afterwards to Seleucus, v. 19. he engages the latter in a war with Lysimachus, 34. he assassinates Seleucus and possesses himself of his dominions, 37. he marries his sister Arsinoë, widow of Lysimachus, and causes her two children by that prince to be murdered, 38, 39. he banishes her into Samothracia, 39. he is soon after punished for those parricides by the Gauls, who kill him in a battle, 40.

Ptolemy Macron, governor of the island of Cyprus under Ptolemy Philometor, revolts against that prince, enters into the service of Antiochus Epiphanes, and gives him possession of the island of Cyprus, v. 427. Antiochus gives him a share in his confidence, and the government of Cæsarea and Palestine, *ib.* he marches against the Jews, and is defeated by Judas Macabæus, 446. he becomes a friend to the Jews, vi. 126. Antiochus Eupator deprives him of his government, 127. Ptolemy, through despair, poisons himself, *ib.*

Ptolemy, son of Pyrrhus, is killed in a battle against the Lacedæmonians, v. 74.

Ptolemy, one of the principal officers of Philip, unites with Apelles in his conspiracy against that prince, v. 200. Philip causes him to be put to death, 204.

Pul, king of the Assyrians, who repents upon the preaching of Jonah, i. 279.

Pulcher (P. Claudius) consul, is beaten at sea by Adherbal the Carthaginian general, i. 147.

Punic : origin and signification of that word, i. 78. Punic wars, 133, 160, 229.

Pydna, city of Macedonia, is subjected by Philip, iv. 42. famous victory gained by Paulus Æmilius over Perseus, near that city, vi. 51.

Pylos, a small city of Messenia, taken by the Athenians during the Peloponnesian war, ii. 460.

Pyramid. Description of the Pyramids of Egypt. i. 5. judgment to be formed of those famous structures, 6, 7.

Pyrrhus, general of the Ætolians, is twice beaten by Philip, v. 216.

**Pyrrhus**, son of **Æacides**, king of Epirus, flies from the fury of the rebels, v. 6. he is re-established upon the throne of Epirus by **Glaucias**, king of Illyrium, ib. the Molossians revolt against him, and plunder all his riches, ib. he retires to **Demetrius**, son of **Antigonus**, 7. he distinguishes himself at the battle of Ipsus, ib. he goes to Egypt as a hostage for **Demetrius**, ib. he marries **Antigone**, daughter of **Berenice**, ib. **Ptolemy** gives him a fleet and money, of which he makes use for repossessing himself of his dominions, ib. **Pyrrhus** takes **Macedonia** from **Demetrius**, and is declared king of it, 11, 12. he divides that kingdom with **Lysimachus**, 14. he is soon obliged to quit it, 15. the **Tarentines** call in **Pyrrhus** to their aid against the Romans, 48. that prince goes to Italy, 51. he defeats the consul **Levinus**, 54. he causes proposals of peace to be made to the Romans, ib. conversation of **Pyrrhus** with **Fabrice**, 57. **Pyrrhus** gains a second advantage over the Romans, 63. expeditions of **Pyrrhus** in Sicily, 64. he returns into Italy, 66. he plunders the temple of **Proserpine** in the country of the **Locrians**, ib. he is defeated by the Romans, 67. he returns into Epirus, 68. he throws himself into **Macedonia**, and makes himself master of it for a time, after having defeated **Antigonus**, ib. expedition of **Pyrrhus** into **Peloponnesus**, 70. he besieges **Sparta** ineffectually, ib. he is killed at the siege of **Argos**, 76. good and bad qualities of **Pyrrhus**, ib. &c.

**Pythagoras**, a **Lacedæmonian**, commands part of the fleet of **Cyrus** the younger, in the expedition of that prince against his brother **Artaxerxes**, iii. 126.

**Pythagoras**, son of **Evagoras**, defends the city of **Salamis**, besieged by **Artaxerxes**, during his father's absence, iii. 194.

**Pythagoras**, philosopher, ii. 423. he goes to Italy and settles at **Crotona**, where he opens a school of philosophy, 424. novice of silence which he makes his disciples observe, ib.

**Pytharchus** of **Cyzicum** gains the favour of **Cyrus**, who gives him the revenues of seven cities for a pension, ii. 115.

**Pytheas**, magistrate of the **Bæotians**, induces them to unite their forces with those of the **Acheans** against the Romans, vi. 102. **Metellus** puts him to death, 103.

**Pytheus**, famous astronomer and geographer, vi. 94.

**Pythia**, name of the priestess of **Apollo** at **Delphi**, i. xxxv.

**Pythian**, celebrated games of Greece, i. xliii.

**Pythias**, friend of **Damon**: trial to which their friendship was put, iii. 345-6.

**Pythius**, **Lydian** prince, generous offer which he makes **Xerxes** of his riches, ii. 290. means which the princess his wife uses to make him sensible of the injustice and absurdity of his conduct, 291. cruelty which **Pythius** experiences from **Xerxes**, ib.

**Pythodorus**, sent by the Athenians to

the aid of the **Leontines**, is banished for not having undertaken the conquest of **Sicily**, iii. 22.

**Python**, of **Byzantium**, famous rhetorician, is deputed by **Philip** to the **Thebans** to incline them to peace, iv. 87.

**Quoit**. See **Discus**.

**Rabirius Posthumus**, Roman knight, goes to **Ptolemy Auletes**, in order to be paid the sums he had lent that prince at **Rome**, vi. 379. perfidy of **Ptolemy** towards him, ib. **Rabirius** is accused at **Rome** of having assisted **Ptolemy** in corrupting the senate, ib. **Cicero** undertakes his defence, ib.

**Race**. See **Course**.

**Ragau**: name of the plain where **Nabuchodonosor** conquered **Phraortes**, i. 301.

**Rameses Mianum**, king of Egypt, i. 51. he makes the **Israelites** suffer infinite hardships, 52.

**Rammius**, citizen of **Brundisium**, is ordered by **Perseus** to poison **Eumenes**, vi. 8. he goes to **Valerius** at **Chalcis**, discovers the whole to him, and follows him to **Rome**, ib.

**Raphia**, city of **Palestine**, near which **Antiochus** the Great was defeated by **Ptolemy Philopator**, v. 175.

**Reading**, of history especially: of what use it is to a prince, iv. 111. delicacy of the **Lacedæmonians** in respect to the books that youth were suffered to read, ii. 211.

**Regillus** (**L. Emilius**) is charged with the command of the Roman fleet in the room of **Livius**, v. 332. he gains a complete victory over **Polyxenides**, **Antiochus's** admiral, 336. he receives the honour of a triumph, 353.

**Regulus** (**M. Attilius**) consul, gains a great victory over the **Carthaginians** with his fleet, i. 137. he goes to **Africa**, ib. the **Romans** continue him in the command as proconsul, 138. he defeats the **Carthaginians**, and seizes **Tunis**, 139. he suffers himself to be dazzled by his glorious successes, ib. he is defeated and taken prisoner by the **Carthaginians**, 142. the **Carthaginians** send him to **Rome** to propose the exchange of prisoners, 144. at his return they put him to a cruel death, 145.

**Religion**. Origin and source of the religion of the ancients, i. xxii. attention of the ancients in discharging all the duties of religion, ii. 136. the veil of religion often serves to cover the most criminal designs, and the most unjust enterprises, iii. 7.

**Reomithras**, one of the revolted chiefs against **Artaxerxes Mnemon**, delivers up the principal rebels to that prince, to make his own peace, and keeps the money which he had brought from Egypt for the confederacy, iii. 456.

**Resurrection of the body**. Confused notions which the ancients had of the resurrection of the body, iii. 95.

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**Spithroates**, satrap of Ionia, and son-in-law of Darius, distinguishes himself by his valour at the battle of the Granicus, iv. 128. Alexander lays him dead with his lance, ib.

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Teles, king of Lacedæmon, assassinated by the Messenians, *i.* xciv.

Telescope, glass for seeing remote objects : invention of it, v. 236.

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Temenes, one of the principal Hæracidæ, re-enters Peloponnesus, ii. 166. Argos falls to him by lot, ib.

Temple, famous one of Ephesus, iv. 108.

Ten. Council of Ten established at Athens, iii. 117.

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Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, comes from a remote country to visit Alexander, iv. 228.

Tharaca, king of Æthiopia, after the death of Sethon, i. 64.

Tharsish, second son of Javan, settles in Greece, ii. 159.

Thasus, island in Thrace, revolts against the Athenians, ii. 369. Cimon obliges it to submit, ib.

Theano, priestess at Athens, refuses to curse Alcibiades, iii. 33.

Thearides, brother to Dionysius the elder, is sent to Olympia by that tyrant to dispute the prizes of poetry and the chariot-race, iii. 358.

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Themistus, magistrate of Syracuse, conspires with Andranodorus to seize the sovereignty, &c. 278. he is killed by order of the other magistrates, *ib.*

Thenon, commander of the citadel of Syracuse, surrenders himself to Pyrrhus, v. 64. that prince puts him to death, 65.

Theocritus, poet at the court of Hiero, vi. 267.

Theodorus, chief of the Eumolpidæ at Athens: what he ventured to say in respect to the maledictions or curses, iii. 84.

Theodorus, citizen of Syracuse, ventures to declare himself openly against Dionysius in favour of liberty, iii. 331.

Theodotus, uncle of Heraclides, is deputed by him to Dion to conjure him to return to the aid of Syracuse, iii. 371. he puts himself into Dion's hands, 373. Dion pardons him, *ib.*

Theodotus, governor of Bactriana, revolts against Antiochus, and causes himself to be declared king of that province, v. 87. he dies, 102.

Theodotus, son of the former, succeeds his father, v. 102. forms a league offensive and defensive with Arsaces, *ib.*

Theodotus is charged by Antiochus with the war against Molo, v. 164. he is defeated and obliged to abandon the field of battle, *ib.*

Theodotus, Ætolian, governor of Cælesyria for Ptolemy, defends the entrance into that province against Antiochus, and obliges that prince to retire, v. 165. he is accused and obliged to go to the court of Egypt to give an account of his conduct, 171. in resentment for that affront, he declares for Antiochus, and puts the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais into his hands, 171-2. he enters the camp of Ptolemy in the night with design to kill him, 174. he fails in that attempt, and escapes to his camp, *ib.*

Theodotus, one of the principal conspirators against the life of Hieronymus, is put to the rack, and dies without discovering any of his accomplices, vi. 274.

Theodotus, preceptor to the last Ptolemy, advises that prince to put Pompey to death, vi. 381. he goes to present the head of that Roman to Cæsar, 382.

Theogiton, of Megara, gives the Greeks wise advice after the battle of Platææ, ii. 329.

Theophrastus, Antigonus's general, refuses to quit Corinth, v. 117. Aratus causes him to be put to death, *ib.*

Theophrastus, philosopher, his dispute with an old woman of Athens, in buying something of her, iii. 301.

Theopompus, king of Sparta, commands

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Theopompus, disciple of Isocrates, gains the prize of eloquence over his master, and has the weakness and vanity to brag of it, iv. 12.

Theoxena, Thessalian lady, daughter of Mordicus, marries Poris, v. 398. tragical and courageous end of Theoxena, 399.

Theramenes, one of the Athenian generals, is charged with the care of burying the dead after the battle of the Arginusæ, iii. 95. not being able to execute that order, he makes the other generals responsible for it, and accuses them at Athens, *ib.* he is deputed to Lysander during the siege of Athens, 104-5. he opposes the violence of his colleagues, and draws their hatred upon himself, 115. he is accused by Critius, and put to death, *ib.*

Thermæ, capital city of Ætolia, taken by surprise, and ravaged by Philip, v. 196.

Thermopylæ, pass of mount Æta, in Thessaly, ii. 303. battle of Thermopylæ between the Lacedæmonians and Xerxes, 304, &c. victory of the Romans over Antiochus near Thermopylæ, v. 326.

Theron, tyrant of Agrigentum, makes an alliance with Gelon, and gains in conjunction with him a great battle over the Carthaginians, ii. 413.

Theseus, king of Athens, ii. 163. he dies in the island of Scyros, whither he had been obliged to fly, 365. Cimon brings his bones to Athens, *ib.*

Thesmothetæ, Athenian magistrates, iii. 277.

Thespiæ, city of Achaia, ruined by the Thebans, iii. 413.

Thespis, Greek poet, considered as the inventor of tragedy, ii. 214.

Thessalonica, wife of Cassander, is killed by Antipater his eldest son, v. 9.

Thessalus, third son of Pisistratus, ii. 202.

Thessaly, province of ancient Greece, ii. 156. the Thessalians submit to Xerxes, 303. they implore aid of the Thebans against Alexander of Phææ, iii. 429. Pelopidas delivers them from his power, *ib.* they have recourse to Philip against their tyrants, iv. 52. that prince delivers them, *ib.*

Thesta, sister of Diouysius the elder, and wife of Polyxenes: courageous answer which she gives her brother upon the occasion of her husband's escape, iii. 332.

Thetæ, name of the lower class of people at Athens, iii. 269.

Thethmosis, or Amosis, having driven the shepherd-kings out of Egypt, reigns there, i. 51.

Thimbron, Lacedæmonian general, marches against Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, iii. 153-4. upon some discontent he is recalled, 158.

Thirty. Council of thirty established

at Athens, by Lysander, iii. 105. cruelties which they commit in that city, 114. Thrasybulus drives them out of Athens, 117. they endeavour to reinstate themselves, and are all put to the sword, 118.

Thoas, Ætolian, charged with the execution of a design to seize Chalcis, fails in the attempt, v. 317. he goes to Antiochus, and induces him to enter Greece, 319.

Thrace, province of Europe: very singular customs of its inhabitants, ii. 250. Thrace subjected by Philip, iv. 69, &c.

Thraso, confidant of Hieronymus, is accused by Theodotus of having conspired against that prince, vi. 274. he is put to death, ib.

Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, is besieged by Halyattes, i. 308. stratagem which he uses to deliver himself from that siege, ib.

Thrasybulus, brother of Gelon, reigns at Syracuse after Hiero's death, ii. 421. he causes himself to be dethroned by his cruelty, ib.

Thrasybulus is made general of the Athenians, iii. 78. he accuses Alcibiades at Athens, and causes him to be deposed, 89. he quits Athens to avoid the cruelty of the thirty tyrants, 117. he expels the tyrants from that city, and restores its liberty, ib.

Thrasylus is made general of the Athenians, iii. 78.

Thrasymenus, lake of Tuscany, famous for Hannibal's victory over the Romans, i. 181.

Thucydides, Greek historian: he is commanded to go to the aid of Amphipolis, iii. 7. the Athenians make it a crime in him to have suffered that city to be taken, and banish him, ib.

Thucydides, brother-in-law to Cimon, is set up against Pericles by the nobility of Athens, ii. 390. Pericles prevails to have him banished, 393.

Thurium, city of Sicily: its foundation, ii. 426.

Thymbra, city of Lydia, famous for the battle between Cyrus and Cræsus, ii. 31.

Thyrea, small territory of Greece, which occasioned the war between the Argives and Lacedæmonians, i. xciii.

Thyus, governor of Paphlagonia, revolts against Artaxerxes, iii. 203. he is conquered by Datames, ib.

Tiberius Gracchus is sent by the senate into Asia, to examine into the conduct of Eumenes, and that of Antiochus, vi. 86. See Gracchus.

Ticinus, river of Italy, near which P. Scipio was defeated by Hannibal, i. 175.

Tiglath-Pileser, king of Nineveh, i. 282. he aids Abaz, king of Judah, against the kings of Syria and Israel, 283.

Tigranes, son of a king of Armenia, obtains his father's pardon from Cyrus, ii. 13. he commands the Armenian troops, 16.

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THE END.



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